

The Indian Libertarian

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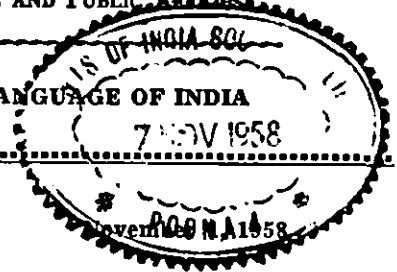
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Editorial

MILITARY COUP D'ETAT IN PAKISTAN

PRESIDENT Mirza has at last done what he was contemplating to do ever since he became Governor of East Pakistan superceding the legitimately elected Party of Fazlul Huq and Bhashani. He said then that he would hand over Bhashani to his best marksman! Later he talked of a controlled democracy as the destiny of Pakistan. Now egged on by Commander in Chief Ayub Khan, he has made a clean and startling sweep of the Constitution so recently passed, dismissed the Supreme and High Courts, Legislatures Central and Provincial, Cabinets of Ministers and put the country under Martial Law to be administered by the Comander-in-Chief! The suddenness and thoroughness of the Coup D'etat is breath-taking. Both Pakistanis and Indians are yet too dazed to realise the full implications of what has happened. Indians have refrained from hasty expressions condemning their difficult neighbour and gloating over his misfortune. They have on the contrary begun to ponder over conditions in India and whether we too could invite such a fate by the extent and depth of corruption so evident in our own democracy, administration, business and all forms of social life. Are we so much better that such things are unthinkable in our midst?

It is necessary not only to analyse and lay bare the rot in Pakistan that has caused this catastrophe with such incalculable consequences for the future, but we have also to look impartially within our own country for signs of similar or equivalent weaknesses.

Sri C. Rajagopalachari with his usual insight laid his finger (in his speech in Madras October 18) on the source of Pakistan's weakness. He said that "Paki-

stan had got off to a bad start comparatively, because it had secured independence not by unabated opposition to British rule but by the Muslim League's opposition to the National Congress. Even the leadership thrown up during the fight with the Congress had disappeared with the death of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan."

There is substance in this interpretation but it needs to be probed further.

One of the deeper roots of the instability of Pakistan as independent society and state lies in the minority status of Muslims in India since their emergence as rulers from beyond the northwest frontier. Both in the Sultanate and Mughul Rule, the Muslims were a small alien minority living on the Indian peoples mainly by ruthless exploitation. They contributed but little to the formative forces of Indian society. India was a plural society throughout the years of Muslim rule, Hindus and Muslims living their own lives more or less in isolated spheres each wrapped up in their own psychological climate and culture. They formed two circles touching and entering into each other only near the periphery, such contact being rarely healthy, being vitiated by the relation of conqueror with all rights and conquered with no human rights worth mentioning. The relation between the two societies was overwhelmed by Power and obscured the human nature of both, exaggerating the brutality of one and the timidity of the other.

Economically, Muslim society was mostly parasitic, the Hindus working and creating the bulk of the wealth of the country much of which was annexed by the ruling groups—the court of the sovereign and the military and civil officialdom dependent on it. The

bulk of local administration and tax collection was carried on by the administrative classes continuing from the days of the Mauryans (as recalled by Mr. Panikkar in his Survey of Indian History). Aurangzeb created an avoidable chaos in the administration by fanatically ordering that Hindu revenue officials be replaced by Muslims. Of course with the increase in the proportion of Muslims more by birth than by immigration, the proportion of Muslims engaging themselves in arts and crafts and agriculture increased somewhat. But the essential sociology and psychology of their status has never substantially altered even into our own times.

They have retained the mentality of a military garrison living dangerously and precariously in the midst of an alien population till today. Such minorities naturally develop a fear psychosis with the possibility of a vast upheaval of the subject race against them always loading their unconscious mind. Hence the tendency for them to react savagely even against slight expressions of independence in thought or word or action on the part of the subject populace. Cruelty gets exaggerated under such circumstances. Witness Dyerism in British days such as those at Amritsar, which was only the most terrible of their kind. The savagery of invading marauders like Chengiz Khan and Taimur are also to be accounted for to a great extent by the need of a small invading group to defend itself against a vast alien population spread over a vast territory until they could get away with their loot. They had to stupefy the unfortunate people that they attacked in their homeland to delay their rally until they could get away safely.

This situation accounts for the predominance of force in the psychosis of Muslims in India and elsewhere. They came into the country by force, remained by force and administered the country by force. To this day Muslims maintain their influence even in India after independence by the prestige of force. Muslims are more ready as a people to take to the lathi and sword and pistol (where they can) to settle

scores with Hindus. They assert their claims as a community by taking the law into their hands. The ancient *causa-belli* between Hindus and Muslims such as music before mosques and cow killing and control over tombs of Muslim Pirs etc. remain unsettled because of the unhistorical and unpolitical nature of Hindu leadership. The present Congress leadership retains the characteristic defect of Hindu psychosis though disguised under the form and face of Europe-derived secular nationalism without its inherent strength. Hindu-Muslim nationalism of the Congress brand is unreal and has the defects of both Hindu weakness and Western chauvinism and self-righteousness.

Also minorities have always a more intense self-consciousness vis-a-vis the majority society and have an ineradicable tendency to judge of every development of social life in terms of gain or loss to their own narrow interests considered as a group.

This trait is enhanced when the minority has been formed from a ruling class. The original conquerors were foreigners, Afghans or Muguls or Persians or Arabs but local convert populations identified themselves with the foreigners and thought of themselves as flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone to share in their prestige and power and economic benefits. Foreign adventurers from Persia, Arabia, Afghanistan, Samarkand and elsewhere from the pan-Muslim world had greater chances of preferment in Muslim courts than native converts from Hinduism. Thus the separate individuality of the Indian Muslim minority has been maintained till today. Muslim contemplate the glory and power of their group in bygone days and pine for their recovery of them under present circumstances. They have no stomach for a common destiny with Hindus in a common nationalism. Of course there are certain exceptions called nationalist Muslims but by and large the trait referred to is true and undeniable.

The Aligarh movement and the career of the Muslim League are eloquent demonstrations of this reading of the Muslim mind. It is not a question of right and wrong but one of fact and truth. The traits of dependence for creative work in society (from the economic to the cultural) upon a subservient multitude and the maintenance of power over them for smooth exploitation and the fear of perpetual upheaval were continued and intensified during British rule before the days of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms and the demand for separate electorates egged on by British Governors like Bamfylde Fuller. Thereafter British patronage and favour to the "favourite wife" grew inordinately. And the new middle class of Muslim officialdom began to rival the corresponding Hindu groups. These middle classes overshadowed in influence the old governing classes of Hindus and Muslims—landlords, administrators, professional classes and learned groups. It is these that shared power with the British and created modern India. In this process, the Hindu governing class found their feet in the new dispensation and gradually became strong enough to measure swords with the British. They were a full self-governing society able to get on with day to day work as well as higher work in the sciences and the arts—indeed in all the panoply of a full civilisation able to assimilate modern civilisation and start

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FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

By M. N. Tholal

RIGHTLY to understand what is happening in Pakistan, one must keep the main facts of the situation there in mind. We are apt to forget that some six years after the birth of Pakistan, rioting on a tremendous scale broke out in Western Pakistan during which hundreds of Ahmediyas were killed as Kafirs, their shops were looted, their houses burnt and their women kidnapped. Such was the intensity of the hatred against these people—whose only fault is that they have a Prophet of their own despite Prophet Mohammad's firm declaration that he was the Last of the Prophets—that the police looked on and the military was not called to their rescue until the holy work of expropriating the Kafirs was over. Even the Chief Minister of Punjab was found between two minds. What could he do as a believer except letting the believers indulge in the good pious work?

This terrible tragedy made the well-wishers of Pakistan think furiously. The educated and the tolerant, who usurped the reins of power soon after, came down with a heavy hand upon the ringleaders of rioters and those who had incited feelings against Ahmediyas, many of whom, Maulvis and Maulanas of repute, were sent to prison. The educated argued with much justice: "Today it is the Ahmediyas. Tomorrow it will be the Shias. The day after tomorrow it will be some

(Continued from page 2)

an independent career in the modern world. Hindus had administrators, soldiers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, artisans etc. in sufficient numbers by the present decade to take over Indian social order and administration in tolerable decency.

But the Muslims had an easier task. They developed a middle class out of favour-seekers most of whom were not up to the mark. They had easy university degrees, easy civil service posts, easy business patronage and so on. These were children of British favouritism.

The Muslim politicians were also British favourites. They were not of the calibre of Gandhis, Nehrus, Prasads, Patels, Rajagopalacharis etc. Politics meant only preferment to them—power and self. No wonder that Muslim society in Pakistan had not the stamina to function independently. The only value they knew was force. The army *coup d'etat* is entirely intelligible in view of this analysis. It is also in tune with Muslim psychology in Pan-Islam. The Iraqi Coup no doubt precipitated the Mirza-Ayub Khan "revolution", who are right in saying that "revolution" meaning *force* was their authority for the Coup.

What will be the repercussion of this drastic but characteristic *action* of "strong men" in Pakistan on their Indian policy?

Needless to say that it will make a strong bid for settlement by the arbitrament of force. India needs to strengthen American guarantees to prevent Pakistan from attacking her. This is now a subject of the highest priority for us.

other sect. Where is this heresy-hunting going to stop? And where is it going to lead Pakistan." So they resolved to disable these Maulanas and keep them in prison and out of power by hook or crook. For, when the existence of the country is at stake, it is no use being too finicky about the means.

On the other side were the vast majority of the Muslims, the Sunnis and the Shias, with the Holy Koran for their guide. The Holy Book was quite explicit on the issue. The Prophet had unequivocally declared that he was the last of the Prophets. Thus for the faithful and the believers there could be no question regarding the end of the prophets after Mohammad. What kind of an Islamic state was Pakistan going to be if even the unequivocal utterances of the Prophet Mohammad were allowed to be disregarded by Muslims themselves?

NEED OF GUIDANCE AND CONTROL

We in India are inclined to make fun of the Pakistan President's belief in guided democracy, without trying to put ourselves in his place and asking what we would have done there. Clearly, if the views of the vast majority of the people are not to be allowed to prevail, and if they are not to be allowed to murder and rob their countrymen and co-religionists for defying the Holy Koran, the need for guided or controlled democracy has to be recognised.

It may be said, that was five years ago and the scenes have not been repeated to justify the extraordinary step taken by Gen. Mirza. But those who have been reading Pakistan papers and following the trend of events there know that the Muslim Leaguers, who were out to win the elections at any cost, had again begun flirting with the organisers and instigators of the Ahmediya massacres of five years ago when the Muslim League administration chose to close its eyes. Indeed talks were scheduled to be held between the Muslim League and the Jamait-e-Islam on the Friday following the declaration of Martial Law. And the leader of this Jamait-e-Islam was no other than the notorious Maulana Maudoodi who was found responsible for the disturbances resulting in the massacres of Ahmediyas by the Enquiry Commission set up to find out the causes of the trouble. As a result of this alliance, the victory of the Muslim League-Jamait-e-Islam coalition was absolutely certain, aided as it would have been by the goondas of western Pakistan.

ISLAMIC WAY OF LIFE

These goondas are a power to be reckoned with. They must be, for even ten years after the establishment of Pakistan they could enact disgraceful scenes in the heart of the Capital and escape scot-free. On the eve of Mohurrum last, a handful of Karachi goondas took the law into their own hands and molested about twenty women for hours together in the

heart of fashionable Karachi in the presence of police constables as well as thousands of people who had gathered there for prayers. The molestation continued unabated without any attempt on the part of any one to rescue its fair victims. According to *Dawn* the goondas first lifted a young girl and kept passing her from one to another across the street. Another girl fainted in the process. Seven women were pushed about all the way in the main shopping centre. Armed guards and the police refused to intervene, saying they were on duty! The object of such scenes of goondaism obviously was to terrify the women into adopting what the goondas and their preceptors regard as the Islamic way of life. And in an Islamic country with an Islamic constitution, who can take exception to such scenes?

The fact of the matter is that Pakistan was founded on the cry of *Allaho-Akbar*, and the leaders of Pakistan now, in the interest of the Muslims of Pakistan, object to that cry and all that it implies. Jinnah failed to build up leadership in the League or could not do so owing to the intellectual poverty of those who followed him. It does not, after all, require brains to shout *Allaho-Akbar*. Indeed he used to say: "Gentlemen, me and my stenographer, we two constitute the All-India Muslim League!" And now that he is gone and with him his stenographer (because he is also no more) the leaders of Pakistan find themselves at loggerheads without any ideology and without any objective, unless it is personal gain.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising if the President of Pakistan and his friends came to rely more and more on the Army and the inevitability of Army rule. In an unguarded moment, Dr. Khan Sahib, who came out of prison to rise to power, blurted out once that what Pakistan needed was not general elections but a revolutionary council, such as Egypt has. As the President's best friend he was obviously speaking out the President's mind. His denial of what he had said carried no weight because a year earlier he had described Army rule as the best form of government for Pakistan.

Commenting on Muslim League demonstrations against joint electorates last year, Dr. Khan Sahib had said, "The disgraceful incident" (which is unprintable) "proves that we are unfit for democracy" and the East Bengal Chief Minister had said that humanity seemed to have degraded itself to such a level that "I am ashamed to be a human being," while Finance Minister Amjad Ali confessed the incident had shown that "we Pakistanis are still far away from being a nation of civilized people".

THE POLITICAL COMPLEXION

With the approach of the general elections, which almost all politicians in Pakistan were certain would never be held, politics in the country assumed a complexion which was totally repugnant to those at the helm. In the first place, to attract voters, all parties became doubtful of the wisdom of the administration of West Pakistan as one unit, and its dissolution became a certainty with the formation of any new government after the elections. With its dissolution the leadership of West Pakistan and its overlordship over the more populous East Pakistan would have

been in jeopardy and we must not forget that the western Pakistani, whatever his political complexion, is not prepared to more than tolerate the Bengali-speaking Muslims as second-class citizens of Pakistan. Even with the unjust equation of the two in the matter of electing representatives to the National Assembly, East Pakistan had only to enter into an alliance with any one province of West Pakistan to oust for ever the ambitious Punjabi Muslims who think it is their birth-right to rule over Pakistan.

This shift in power aside, a more disturbing factor came into the picture with the denunciation of the Baghdad Pact and the alliance with the West even by those who had formulated the foreign policy of Pakistan, i.e., the Muslim Leaguers. With the Muslim League going into the opposition on the foreign policy issue, the Republicans were left alone, as the Awami League and the National Awami Party had made no secret of their preference for the neutral stand on foreign affairs. It is hardly likely that they would have translated their ideas into action after coming into power, but on a question like this neither the President nor the Army were prepared to take any chances. So the two friends, Mirza and Ayub, began making preparations to strike and no one can deny that the hour to strike came as soon as it was announced that talks for an electoral alliance between the Muslim League and the Jamait-e-Islam of Maulana Maudoodi would be held on the Friday following.

UNPREDICTABLE FUTURE

What the future has in store for Pakistan is unpredictable. Will those who have tried to save Pakistan from destruction at the hands of those who wanted to wage a holy war on the Ahmediyas themselves go in for the destruction of Pakistan by waging a holy war on India? The temptation to indulge in a military adventure may prove too much even for the most cool-headed Army Chief under certain circumstances and those responsible for India's defence have to be doubly on their guard with the Army at last in power in Pakistan. General Ayub has made it clear that the Army rule is not going to end before it has set right the civil, administrative, economic and social fabric of Pakistan. That is going to take a lot of time—quite a number of years—and even President Mirza, with all the supremacy of his authority, as enunciated by General Ayub himself, will not find it so easy to ask the General to step down from the seat of power he has bestowed on him by a thoroughly unconstitutional act. When the power comes plainly to reside in the gun, there is no knowing who may be facing the firing squad the day following. Popular leaders have been put in prison and forces have been unleashed which it will be difficult even for martial law to curb, unless it is able to show good results to the people and ensure that justice will be done as between the eastern and the western wings of Pakistan.

General Ayub has already declared that a war with India will be most popular in Pakistan. Does that mean he will resort to it when everything else fails? It can hardly mean anything else, and Indians should feel thankful to the Pakistani general for his forthright statement. It is a threat which India will ignore at her peril.

THE MIDNIGHT COUP

By Varahamira

WE are not surprised at the midnight coup in Pakistan. A cursory glance at the history of Islamic countries will tell us that Islam and Democracy cannot go together. Military coups are not uncommon in Islamic countries and Pakistan has stood up to the Islamic traditions.

First Egypt, then Iraq and now Pakistan under the military jackboot—it is the same pattern set by President Nasser. By assuming absolute power and kicking the ladder by which he ascended the heights, President Mirza has acted in the best traditions of Muslim dictators. Politics has descended in Pakistan in the last five years to a game of jockeying for power and position. The way was open for a dictator and it was appropriate that the army should supply one.

Pak politicians have largely themselves to blame for this crisis. They have failed the people almost continuously during the past decade and made a mockery of democracy. Since the death of Liaqat Ali Khan, we have been witnessing in Pakistan shameful exploitation of ignorant masses in the name of Islam by all sorts of political adventurers, ceaseless, ruthless and unscrupulous scrambling for office by Pak politicians, their ever-changing, shifting loyalties, alignment and realignment of groups. The people were increasingly becoming resentful of the manner in which they were exploited by the dictatorship of the lowest order—political adventurers, gangsters, thugs and exploiters who were getting richer and richer day by day by their nefarious activities at the cost of the starving and unemployed masses. The people lost their confidence in all leaders and political parties, and consequently in democracy too. They were looking forward to somebody who could take their country back to sanity.

A WELCOME CHANGE

It is the same sickening sequence of corrupt rulers, interminable political instability, national humiliation, and deteriorating living standards that undermined the people's faith in democracy, and impelled them to turn to the army for *succour*. President Mirza understood the pulse of the people and struck with dramatic suddenness at the constitutional set-up of Pakistan.

He abrogated the Constitution, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, dismissed the ministries at the centre and in the provinces, banned all political parties and froze their funds in the banks, and rounded up all political leaders. The people of Pakistan who were disgusted with the goings-on in their country have welcomed all these revolutionary changes with a great sense of relief. They believe perhaps that a strong, efficient, effective and stable regime of President Mirza, unencumbered by the slow tortuous democratic machinery, will be able to solve all long outstanding national problems with expedition and firmness.

MILITARY RULE IS NO SOLUTION

But will Mirza's military rule solve any problem at all? At best, it might root out corruption, bring the Nation to sanity, and unite the country. When the politicians go mad with lust for power and the Nation is on the verge of ruin, a strong military rule might become imperative, not permanently but till the Nation is brought to sanity. Will President Mirza quit his office after the Nation is brought to sanity and restore democracy in Pakistan? Unlike De Gaulle of France and Nu Win of Burma, President Mirza does not promise to quit his office, hold free elections and restore democracy in Pakistan even in the distant future! This portent does not augur well for the future of Pakistan.

PAK FACING SERIOUS SITUATION

The Pakistan Military Law Administration which has been taking a series of drastic measures to suppress the political parties for the past few days is now facing a serious situation.

In Kalat, according to reports received here, there is a widespread revolt which the present rulers have not yet been able to control.

Reports reaching India from Kabul and Dacca suggest that unrest is simmering in Baluchistan, North West Frontier region and East Bengal over the arrests of Khan Abdul Chaffar Khan, "Baluchi Gandhi"—Samad Khan, G. M. Syed and Moulana Bhashani.

RIFT AMONG ARMY OFFICERS

The Pak Army is 70% Punjabi, 20% Pathan, and 10% Sindhi and East Bengali. The Punjabi dominated Pak Army is behaving like an army of occupation in East Pakistan and North West Frontier region, outraging the Pakhtoon and East Bengali parochialism. Already there are reports of strong organised underground movements in East Bengal and N.W.F. region. In the meanwhile rift between Gen Ayub Khan who is a Pathan and the Punjabi dominated armed forces has developed. Gen Ayub is reported to have shot dead several Punjabi and Army officers who disagreed with him and President Mirza is said to be furious over this high-handed action of the former. President Mirza is the Naguib to General Ayub Khan. The predominance of the army in the governance of the country, on one hand, and the abject dependence of the President on the army for support in the absence of a civilian "popular" government, on the other, has actually made him the prisoner of the Army. General Ayub Khan himself is not quite sure of the loyalty of the army officers who are mostly Punjabis. President Mirza, with a view to preventing General Ayub from becoming the Nasser of Pakistan, is trying to win over the army officers by clever manoeuvres.

STRUGGLE FOR POWER ON

The international structure of the Army and the relations between the three services are decisive poli-

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DELETE ARTICLE 370 OF CONSTITUTION: MAKE KASHMIR ONE WITH INDIA

JOINT DEMAND BY PT. PREM NATH AND PROF. BALRAJ MADHOK

On Sept. 21, Pt Prem Nath Dogra, President, J.K. Praja Parishad and Prof. Balraj Madhok, North-West Zonal Secretary of Jana Sangh, jointly addressed the press in Jammu. Their statement urging full accession was despatched the same day. But gentlemen below the text of the statement—with regrets for the unavoidable delay

—Ed.

EVEN eleven years after the accession and repeated declaration about its finality and irrevocability, there still exists a feeling of uncertainty about the oneness of Jammu & Kashmir State with the rest of India. This abnormality which is brought home even to a casual visitor by a number of obvious and unnatural distinctions—e.g. permit system, separate nomenclature and mode of appointment of the head of the State, separate citizenship camouflaged as permanent residency, absence of full jurisdiction of Supreme Court and Election Commission of India and indirect election to Lok Sabha—is defended in the name of special position accorded to Jammu & Kashmir State in the Constitution of India. These distinctions are being presented as safe-guards for the political and economic well-being of the people of the State.

But actually it is these distinctions which are keeping the Kashmir question as such alive and preventing the return of normalcy to the State. The ruling circles in Kashmir have developed a vested interest in this special position because it enables them to play havoc with democratic liberties of the people and to prolong their own spell of power.

No wonder, therefore, that their ambition to remain absolute arbiters of the fate of the State is aroused and they tend to consolidate their own position by making light of their constitutional obligations towards the people of the State and to India as a whole.

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tical factors in any system of military dictatorship. The Air Force Chief, Askar Ali, is Mirza's chief confidante and has a more efficient military mind than General Ayub. The Navy Chief Chowdhury is a very ambitious person with an outlook very different from that of General Ayub Khan or Mirza. He is at present supporting General Ayub against both his Punjabi army rivals and President Mirza for his own reasons. Opportunism and callousness are after all not the monopolies of Pakistan's politicians and they are already showing signs of quick development in the fighting forces of the country. We saw hitherto the struggle for power in Pakistan among the politicians, and now we shall see the struggle for power among the officers of the Defence Services and the consequent alignment and realignment of groups.

The people of Pakistan welcomed the recent coup because they were tired of their politicians. They will soon discover that officers of the fighting forces of their country are no better. Democracy in Pakistan is gone for ever. It is idle to hope for the restoration of democracy by dictators. Islam and Democracy cannot go together. For the first time in the history of Islam, parliamentary democracy was tried in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and it failed there miserably. Whence this axiomatic truth: Islam and Democracy cannot go together.

As a result, instead of arousing and strengthening national feelings in the minds of the people—which can be the only effective and lasting safe-guard against the forces of disruption and separation—they prefer to appeal to the selfishness of the people by offering special privileges and benefits. Naturally selfish motives cannot be a substitute for an emotional sense of oneness born out of nationalism. What is worse, corruption and nepotism exercised in the distribution of these benefits is discrediting India along with the ruling circles in the State, in the eyes of the common people.

The special position enjoyed by the State has thus become a curse instead of a blessing for Jammu and Kashmir State. It tends to strengthen undemocratic and dictatorial trends in the Government and a sense of separatism in the people. Both these trends are dangerous, both for the State and India. Anyone, therefore, who tries to defend and perpetuate these distinctions between Jammu & Kashmir and the rest of India—be he Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed or Pt. Nehru—is neither a friend of Jammu and Kashmir nor of India. He is, maybe unwittingly, sabotaging the wider interests of both, including his own.

Praja Parishad and Bhartiya Jana Sangh have been demanding the removal of these distinctions and full application of the Indian Constitution as a whole to the Jammu & Kashmir State, from their very inception. We are convinced that so long as this special position lasts we cannot get out of the Kashmir "question"; and so long as Kashmir "question" exists, normal democratic life cannot return to this State. Our demand for One Constitution, One Flag and One President for the whole of India including Jammu & Kashmir State is not a sentimental cry. It is the cornerstone of Indian unity. Without it Kashmir will continue to be a festering sore bedeviling the lives of the people of the State by perpetuating a sense of uncertainty in their minds.

It is gratifying that some erstwhile ardent supporters of this special position (National Democratic Conference) have also been forced by the realities of their new situation to raise their jurisdiction of the Election Commission and Supreme Court to the State. They now realise—what we realised long ago—that there can be no free elections and no safe-guards for the democratic liberties of the people, so long as the election officers and judges in the State remain on the mercy of the State authorities. They have thereby paid a compliment to realism and patriotism of the Praja Parishad. But we are convinced that half measures will not take us far. The situation demands deletion of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and removal of all distinctions between the State and the rest of India. Without that there can be no democracy and no peace or true union of hearts between the people of Kashmir and their brethren of the rest of India.

—Organiser

The Pak Military Coup And Its Implications

By L. N. S.

WHILE the comments of the Indian press on the Pak coup have been either childishly complacent or mildly critical, it is certainly curious that world reaction to it have been either nil or not reported in the dailies. To get a proper perspective of the latest developments across our artificial border as well as to place the Pak move in its proper context, a brief survey of developments in the past decade is necessary.

The circumstances in which Pakistan came to birth constitute a sordid chapter in the history of modern India, with Indian leadership content to play a passive role in the global policies of astute empire-builders and seasoned diplomats. While we have been gulling ourselves into the ludicrous belief that it was non-violence that brought us Swaraj, it was shameful violence to which we succumbed in the moment of our greatest temptation.

The stupidities of American diplomacy as long as they were in the hands of that supreme charlatan, Roosevelt, contributed to swell the prestige and might of Soviet Russia as the only country to emerge from a devastating war with all-round gains. The post-war honey-moon of a Soviet-American marriage of inconvenience broke down under the stress of expanding communism which resorted to its classic expedients to destroy the Western democracies through attrition. President Roosevelt's death came none too soon, but it did happen, and it was left to his political legatees to realise what a ghastly mess he had made of the European balance of power. President Eisenhower has been the symbolic head of a reaction from a pro-communist trend in American politics which found in the adamant simplicities and intransigent immobilities of Dulles a statuesque and heroic figure. The decision taken after much typically democratic heart-searchings and hesitations to contain communism, and even challenge it in its own ground, was tried out in all the alarms and excursions of international politics commencing from the Korean affair to the intervention in Lebanon which still continues. In all these moves and counter-moves on the chess board, the players have been Russia and America, while the rest of the world has consigned to the role of inferior dignitaries if not of mere pawns.

The partition of India originally decided upon to accommodate the Muslim minority was not so altruistic as at one time thought. Whether it was deliberately planned or not, Pakistan has now become a spring-board from which the Western powers could carry out their policies to save as much of Asia as possible from the clutches of the communist bear. Pakistan is a crazy, misshapen, unviable abortion, a *lusus naturae* which could only furnish comic relief in a sombre setting. But it was brought into being to serve as a rod in pickle with which we could be beaten into submission, if at any time we should evince any tendency to run amuck. This aspect of it has never been understood or taken into account by the pretence politicians of New India.

The part played by Pandit Nehru in making himself ridiculous and the country a thing of shreds and patches is so patent that he who runs may read it. He has been the victim of delusions and illusions which have committed the country to courses from which there is nothing but a shameful retreat or a futile fight now open to us. In either case we stand to lose so compendiously that it is a matter for some wonder how the magnitude of the crisis still remains uncomprehended by almost all sections of the people. In the name of planning, he steadily plunged the country into a morass of reckless extravagance and recurring bankruptcy, and boasting of it into the bargain. The bulk of our foreign aid has been pouring into our country steadily and in increasing volume from America more than from any other country; and yet the recipient of these contemptuously doled out alms has lost not a single opportunity of slanging his country's benefactors and embarrassing them on the world stage and in the world forums with the freedom of a clown and the cheek of a street arab. America smiled with growing wryness, but was determined to save us in spite of ourselves. She made the most of the fiction that we are going the democratic way when the truth is very much the reverse, and has been keeping her foothold in Pakistan more and firmly against future eventualities.

The alternate rhythm of communist strategy having shifted for a second time to Asia, after its last rebuff in Europe, in the Arab world, America was confronted with a notice to quit from Formosa etc., delivered by China but backed by Russia from behind the scenes. America has no territorial ambitions or land-hunger or lebensraum to gratify. But a retreat from the Far East would expose the entire South Pacific area to the pressure of expansive communism the more so as there are considerable minorities of the Chinese spread over the region. Further such a withdrawal from the East would have a spectacular and disintegrating effect on Asiatic opinion and morale that the collapse of the countries in the region before communist ideology backed with force could be taken as a foregone conclusion.

Coupled with that eventuality, the unmistakable drift of Nehru's policies towards the installation of communism (without the label) in the Indian administrative and power centres posed a grave problem for America, ultimately in her own self-interest. If nothing was done to arrest the Indian progress to communism, a vital area would be lost to the democracies in their final show-down with world communist forces. Pakistan which was called in to redress the balance whenever it was tilted too dangerously by Indian experimental exuberances, was therefore given the cue to switch over to a state of military preparedness so that she could act as a brake on India. For in a predominantly uncertain world, we can say with *almost mathematical assurance that the only area of Asia that is never likely to go communist is the Islamic belt of it*. How conveniently it is situated too from point

of view of Western strategists! From the Mediterranean through Turkey to Persia, and from Persia to Pakistan, we have an almost continuous land line which not only offers ideal terrain for defence, but also infinite scope for stabbing Russia in its softest parts, her belly. In fact the ostensible reason for the Baghdad Pact is now seen to have other undeclared objectives wrapped in secrecy, but known to its inspirers.

The architects of Pakistan had a popular song in the years immediately preceding and following the partition. It was something to the effect: "Smiling we got Pakistan, but fighting we shall get Hindustan." That is the ultimate goal of pious muslim ambitions. Putting Pakistan on a war-footing had thus a double objective; it is a sort of alert notice to Russia and China to behave, and it is a prodding of our backs with a warning that if we should ever go communist then we may count on being over-run by the Pak-hordes and denuded of our northern half. In any military trial of strength between India and Pakistan, the success would go to Pak in a matter of weeks if not days, because she is armed and equipped with the resources of the richest and most militarily advanced nation in the world, while our military equipment is legally the discarded junk of out-dated, ballistic science, bought at fantastically bloated prices.

Against that threat we have no effective answer or protection. Our leader has already epitomised appeasement in a new slogan. "What do a few square miles of territory this way or that way amount to? A corridor between West and East Pakistan might be 'arranged' and peace restored to this great and wonderful sub-continent; and Pandit Nehru himself commend it to our bemused acceptance in the name of Panch Shila.

If on the other hand we forswore communism and all its works, we would be confronted with local discontents fanned to flame by our Marxist and allied fraternity planning the coming of the proletarian holiday. We have been pampering labour to such lengths that it has grown lazy, inefficient but truculent. For we find that our ruling prices are absurdly above world-prices, and so find ourselves deprived of the advantages of selling in the open markets of the world where we are unable to compete with not only the countries of the West but also with China and Japan. We are now subsidizing exports by making the internal consumer foot the difference between world prices and our costs. In these circumstances, if there should be any leftist rising of our proletariat, it would offer an excellent handle to Pak war-lords to 'intervene' and save us in spite of ourselves from the communist contagion but also incidentally expand their own territory at the cost of India. For the realistic politician and the sentimental Muslim in Pakistan agree in wishing for the restoration of the glory of the extinct Mughals once again from the ramparts of Delhi.

American diplomacy is thus planning to hoist us with our own petard. It depends on our leadership whether the next trial of strength between Western capitalist democracies and eastern communist tyrannies is to be staged on Indian soil. The Muslim-Hindu conflict would offer a cloak of screen for the deeper conflict to work itself out. America could always remain behind the scenes, and make Pakistan the instrument of its global policies and plans and we can do

nothing about it, except wait like the sheep we are for the uplifted stick to descend on our bare necks.

The only way out while there is yet time is for us to retrace our steps. Is Pandit Nehru great enough to do it, or will he continue to luxuriate in his own world of toys and dolls and make-believe and affect to play like Bottom all the heroic roles that can be thought of at once. Are the people surrounding him, like flies round a honey-pot, capable of speaking home-truths to him and extricate us from a progressively worsening situation?

Our dishonesties, hyprocrisies and cynicisms are coming home to roost. If we do nothing, we must go through the valley or national humiliation—perhaps to our extinction. We shall owe that indelible shame to one man and a servile group who have played with the destinies of an ancient land and a famous people. Cromwell dismissed a venal opposition with the memorable words: 'We have had enough of you: In the name of God, Go.' When and from whose lips are we to hear these sweet words addressed to the main architect of our accumulating misfortunes and ripening disasters?

In Lighter Vein

Since the Sputnik, money is no object in U.S. Scientific research — Report

But where is the money's worth?

Nothing changes the face of politics as the change from one generation to another — Begehot
Rather from one degeneration to another

Mr. Mills Lane, President of the Citizens' Southern Bank fills the Entrance Hall of his biggest Bank with sheep to promote a new agricultural project — Report
Our C. D. Projects too, officers are filled with sheep.

In some parts of Afghanistan, women do not even consult doctors; they die in silence — Jones A. Michner
Leaving the doctors to die in peace.

The number of Ministers in one of the States will soon be increased — Report
By adding a few more ciphers, presumably.

The recent world cleavage in international situation which will yield only to the strokes of force or the erosion of time—Lord Strang
As there is no chance of any erosion of force.

The word, "Shylock" has been included in the list of unparliamentary terms by the Bihar legislative assembly—News
Pound of flesh is of course parliamentary.

"Can you do double-entry?" was the standard question one employer asked his prospective book-keepers. One reply startled him. "I can do triple-entry", a little guy told him. "Triple entry?"
"Sure" the guy said. "One entry for the working partner showing the true profits, another for the silent partner, showing a very small profit, and a third for the income-tax department, showing a loss."

CREATIVE EDUCATION

By Anthony Elenjittam

GOVERNMENT totalitarianism is fast encircling the field of Education in India today. The Education Bill in Kerala State is but the logical sequence of Communist totalitarianism. But, in other States of the Indian Union, where there are still Congress Governments in power, the strangling grip of the Government on educational institutions is too obvious to anyone who is engaged in educational activities.

There is a tendency for regimentation, standardisation, centralization and totalitarianism in the educational policy pursued by the Central and State Governments. Far from securing that freedom of mind, formation of character and creative learning that will help the students to settle down in life happily and successfully, there is an undue stress laid on paper titles, diplomas, cramming up of the prescribed books and falling in line with the Government directives and policies. Schools and colleges under direct government control are fast becoming factories for manufacturing human tools for government services. But a vast majority of them join the army of the unemployed, as even the cleverest wire-pulling and personal influence cannot guarantee jobs for all the qualified and trained personnel emerging out of the government educational institutions. Our matriculates and graduates are today among the most frustrated class in Indian society. This happens because the creative dynamics of education is lost sight of, and paper titles and labels with a view to securing jobs become the *summum bonum* of students who are trained in Government-recognised, aided or Government-controlled educational institutions.

As John Locke has written:

"The business of education is not to perfect a learner in all, or any of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits that may enable him to obtain any part of knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of, in the future course of his life."

In other words, schools and colleges, are meant only to give a direction, orientation, push in life to children and youth during their formative years. In fact, schools and colleges can give but a start in education, while the process of education, learning and self-unfoldment continues throughout life, as a result of the push pupils receive in schools in their teens and twenties. Totalitarianism, state-directed and standardised forms of education can manufacture marionettes and automata, but not creative human beings, with freedom of heart and mind, with life-long orientation to wider learning and solid character.

Ralph Borsodi, that eminent American educationist, who refused to fall in line with the broad-based State-controlled education in the United States, and built up his own *School of Living*, wrote:

"A society which makes no adequate provisions for right-education of adults throughout the whole course of life and in connection with their activities both when they act personally and privately, and when they participate in group and public action, is committing

intellectual and spiritual suicide. It is too bad to have to record the fact, but it is nevertheless true, that millions of individuals in this day and age are engaged in committing intellectual and spiritual suicide, and millions of them have succeeded in doing so." (Education and Living Vol. I. p. 22.)

But the intellectual and spiritual suicide that is going on in Indian educational institutions must have hit a far higher percentage of victims than it could happen in a highly developed country like the U.S. Our school children, and even many of our college students, after their examinations, go and sell their text books to any second hand book shop at any price. They say: "We have finished the exams. We have passed. We have finished our education!" Then they are hunting for a job, as though educational titles were passports to enter the *sancta sanctorum* of Government and non-Government job chambers.

In our own country, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo Ghose and their likes, as a protest against the prevailing system of education, set up their own schools, which are schools for living, learning, forming character and helping individuals to grow from within, with freedom, joy and zest for life. All those who aspire after creative education, must set up their own schools, far away from Government recognition and automata out of free human beings. We need a creative system of education which can imprint our national character to our children, who can grow in freedom, creative dynamics and joy of life.

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Assam—Tripura—Pakistan Borders

By Principal Devaprasad Ghosh
(President Bharatiya Jana Sangh)

EVER since March, 1958, now some six months ago, Pakistani forces stationed on the Assam-Tripura borders (under the pretext of taking anti-smuggling measures described as "Operation Close door") have been creating trouble, by repeated incursions and wanton firing. Protest Notes have been duly sent from the Indian side, but hardly to any effect. Even Cease Fire agreements have been reached from time to time, only to be broken by Pakistani forces whenever it suited them. Prime Minister Nehru has had to admit in Parliament that during the last six months, Cease Fire agreements have been made and violated thrice. This chronic trouble, however, reached an acute phase in August last when for about three weeks (August 6-26) a regular fustillade was kept up across the Kushiya River on the Cachar (Karimgunj) border in Assam, and a village named Tukergram (on the North bank of the Kushiya River, but in Indian territory) was seized under cover of night (on August 6-7); besides, on the Tripura border, incursions were made, and an Indian, village, named Lakshmipur, in Tripura State about 12 miles from Agartala, was similarly seized about the same time, and some members of Border Police (including its Commandant) captured. This sort of Pakistani aggression—apparently with impunity—caused a good deal of concern in India, and had its repercussions even in Parliament. I myself felt inclined to visit the affected area in order to assess personally the situation there, and so contacted leading men in Cachar and Tripura in this connection.

VISIT TO THE "FIRING ZONE"

In response, I received an urgent call to proceed there at once; and so, on Sunday, August 31, at 8 a.m. I started from Dum Dum (by plane), and after about two hours flight across flood-stricken East Bengal, reached Silchar (Cachar) about noon. The same afternoon, about 3.30 P.M., accompanied by local leaders, I started (by car) for Karimganj (31 miles away). On the way, at Pasgram village, I met a group of Kaibarta Das agriculturists (representing 82 families) who said that after Partition, they had settled down as refugees at Mahadevpur village (on the Surma River), but due to the recent Pakistani firing they had been again displaced and were moving about from place to place seeking shelter, and complained about the treatment meted out to them.

About 5 P.M. we reached Bhanga on the Kushiya River just opposite Tukergram village, at the confluence of the Surma and Kushiya (into which the Barak River flowing from the East bifurcates at this point). At Bhanga there is a big Bazar; in fact, it is the most important trade centre on Cachar-Sylhet side. We found the entire Bhanga Bazar deserted, and its shops all locked up. We met the Border Police force

there who pointed out to us (through Binoculars) the trenches and Bunkers set up by the Pakistani forces on the opposite bank of the river, and also showed us round the trenches and other defence arrangements on this side. We met the people of the locality who said that some 400 families had been affected by closure of the Bazar on which they depended for their livelihood, and that hardly any steps had been taken by the authorities for relieving their distress. The houses were all more or less damaged. There is a big saw mill there (owned by Sri Jagannath Koley, the well-known Calcutta businessman); we were invited to go inside it—it was a huge structure with a tin (corrugated iron sheet) roof; we were astonished to find the entire roof riddled with bullets. We went to houses in the interior of the village—about half a mile from the river back—and learned that there too bullets had rained like hail-stones. It looked as if a sort of regular target practice had been indulged in from across the Kushiya River by the trigger-happy Pakistani forces on the Bazar and the village of Bhanga.

PEOPLE'S LOSS OF CONFIDENCE

There is no question of "disputed" territory here, for these places south of the Kushiya River are in Cachar District (within Indian Union), and excepting for the isolated village of Tukergram (which is in Cachar District), the rest of the villages to the North of the Kushiya are in Sylhet District (Pakistan). The firing of the Pakistani forces across the Kushiya River seems thus to be quite wanton. When asked why they were not returning, now that Cease Fire had been declared, the villagers said that Cease Fire had been declared and violated so many times that they had lost all confidence.

We stayed at Bhanga for about an hour; and then proceeded to Karimganj (Sub-Divisional Head Quarters), where we remained for the night. Next morning (Monday, September 1), we proceeded again—in our exploration of the Firing Zone—further to the West, covering in our journey Fakira Bazar, Sutar-kandi (where there is a custom Check Post), Latu (on the Longhai River) and Mahishashan. The same tale of wanton shooting and firing was everywhere—even at the Sutarkandi Check-Post, where we were shown shattered glass-panes, bullet marks and damaged walls. The officers informed us that normally for the protection of the check post, a section (of 12 men under a Havildar) of Border Armed Police used to be posted there; where the firing was at its height, another similar section (of 12 men) was brought in; but only that morning (September 1) the older section (which knew the terrain and the local conditions) had been removed in view of the latest Cease Fire (in force since August 27). It seemed very curious

that if there had to be any removal at all, the more experienced section (and not the new comers) should be removed. The officers pointed out to us the village of Jarapata (in Indian territory) nearby, which had been saved in the nick of time from infiltration from the Pakistani village of Baragram—and this through the courage and alertness of a private gentleman, and not on account of any precautionary measures taken by the authorities, who in fact adopted none in this affected area in spite of the past 6 month's trouble.

It will be sufficient to illustrate the remissness of the authority to mention that no telephone connections were functioning in this area. Besides, on the way to Latu, we had to cross the ferry at Dasgram on the Longhai River. Ferry-man (as well as the lessee of the ferry ghat) was a Muslim—not a very dependable factor in the present crisis; for there have been many instances of Fifth Column activities among the Muslims of this area. In fact, this ferry is a very important link in the communications of the affected area; if it does not function properly, Latu and Mahishashan become inaccessible. When we attempted to cross over, the ferry-man did not seem at all interested, and it took us a full half-hour to cross the small stream.

When we reached Latu village (about 10 A.M.), we found its Bazar partly open, and learnt that for the three weeks of firing it had been closed. Latu is mainly Muslim. We then proceeded to Mahishashan, where also there is a customs check post as it is the last Railway Station in Indian territory in this area. There were the same marks of bullets and firing here and at Latu as elsewhere. A lady in the Railway Staff quarters had been severely injured by bullets at Mahishashan, fired from a neighbouring *tila* hillock) in Indian territory, where Pakistanis had infiltrated under cover of night. After having seen all these, and distressed by the signs of official neglect and absence of elementary precautions everywhere, we went back to Karimganj about noon. One very curious, if not significant, story reached us here; a Border Police Officer who had done extremely valuable work in this area by a close watch on enemy activities on spotting local Fifth Columnists had suddenly been transferred from this—possibly as a reward for patriotism and ability. Indeed, much more than all Pakistani firing, this official negligence (if not virtual collusion with Pakistani intruders) is the most distressing factor of the whole situation.

TWELVE THANAS CLAIMED FROM SYLHET DISTRICT

On Monday night, we returned to Silchar from Karimganj; and immediately sat in a conference with local leaders, regarding particularly the claim to 12 Thanas in Sylhet District, allotted to Pakistan on an incorrect reading of the Dadcliffe Award. The Cachar leaders were of opinion that this claim should be pressed at the Noon-Nehru conference of (September 9-10), and in fact, later, they despatched to Delhi two representative M.L.A.s to explain their case to Pandit Nehru. I doubt very much, however, if Nehru has done anything about it.

Next day (September 2). I called on the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar District (by previous appointment), who received me with great respect. We

had an hour's talk on the Border situation; and I acquainted him with my impressions, and also conveyed to him the complaints and misgivings of the public in this connection. In particular, I stressed the utter ineptitude shown by the authorities in keeping the village Kukergram (on the other side of the Kushi-yara River) absolutely unguarded, so that Pakistanis were able simply to walk over, guided by local Muslims, under cover of night, and take possession of the village situated at the most strategic point of the junction of the rivers Kushi-yara, Surma and Garak. The D.C. could give no satisfactory explanation, but only said that, since the notification that had declared all this region "Disturbed Area," all movements (Whether of the Border Police or the Military) were under the control of the Army Authorities; he himself had nothing to do with it. I also drew his attention to the absence of telephone connection and unsatisfactory ferry arrangement in an area which is for all practical purposes a "War Zone."

Another most surprising and almost incredible thing I came to learn at Silchar; and that is this. The Chief Minister of Assam, Bimala Prasad Chaliha (an M.L.A. from Cachar District in the recent bye-election) never cared to visit this stricken area from Bhanga via Sutar-kandi to Latu and Mahishashan (along the Kushi-yara and Longhai Rivers) during the fateful three weeks (August 6-26), when people there suffered untold hardship. Not merely that, I was astonished to learn that not one of the 13 Cachar M.L.A.s toured this Firing Zone during that period. In the public meeting that I addressed at Silchar that evening, I charged them with incredible callousness and dereliction of duty and castigated them roundly. I understand, however, that, since my public castigation, Mr. Chaliha (with some other Assam Ministers) has deigned to visit the afflicted area.

"NATIONALIST" MUSLIM TRAITORS

While in Cachar, reports reached me about Fifth Column activities of many local Muslims. But far more serious than these were the reports about the antecedents of some prominent Muslim leaders there, who are now pillars of the Assam Congress, M.L.A.s and some even Congress Ministers. It is alleged that all of them were notorious Muslim Leaguers before partition, and some *even after* partition. For instance, Mr. Moinul Huq Chaudhuri (now a Minister of the Assam Congress Cabinet) is reported to have made himself so very conspicuous in the anti-Hindu riots and massacres of 1950 that he had to be held as a "Security Prisoner" for several months. Then there is Mr. Abdul Hamid (a Congress M.L.A.), about whom the interesting report is that when—just before the partition boundaries were finalized about August 15, 1957—there have been a "National Division" according to which Karimganj was allotted to Pakistan, this Abdul Hamid came to Karimganj with a large Pakistani following and raised the Pakistani flag there amidst noisy demonstrations. He is reported to have a brother, Mr. Abdul Aziz, residing at Sylhet who is a big Pakistani stalwart there and who runs a *Bengali* weekly at Sylhet violently anti-Hindu and anti-India. These are only some instances of Pakistani infiltration into the Assam Congress, which constitutes a national danger.

ANTI-BENGALEE LEADERSHIP OF ASSAM

My attention was also drawn to another very sinister feature of the situation, and that is the anti-Bengalee sentiments stirred up amongst the Asamiyas in general. There is a general impression in Cachar that because of the fact that Cachar is Bengali-speaking, the elements that just now have the upper hand in the Government of Assam—though they constitute only about one-third of Assam's total population—viz. Asamiya-speaking minority, have hardly any soft corner for Cachar; and just as they engineered the virtual "transfer" of Sylhet to Pakistan by joining hands with the Muslim League during the so-called "*Refrendum*" in 1947, similarly they would not be sorry if Pakistan were now to grab Cachar by hook or by crook, but would look upon it as good riddance. Of course, this attitude towards Sylhet and Cachar—is a gross betrayal of the cause of Indian Nationalism; but it appears that the anti-Bengalee vendetta has been fanned to such a pitch among the Asamiya elements in Assam that they would not hesitate to commit even treason to feed fat their ancient grudge.

TRIPURA, AGARTALA AND LAKSHMIPUR

On September 3, I flew to Agartala from Silchar, and landed at the Singarbil Aerodrome (just on the Pakisani border. Next morning, I made a trip to the Lakshmipur area—accompanied by some Agartala gentlemen—about 21 miles away. Unlike Tukurgram (in Cachar), Lakshmipur had been guarded with a small Border Police Force. Report has it that guided by some local Muslims, a Pakistani force pounced upon and overwhelmed this small Indian police picket, captured their Commandant and some others, and left some severely wounded behind.

A DISGRACEFUL EPISODE: WOUNDED LEFT TO DIE

A most harrowing tale was told us about the fate of one of these wounded policemen. This man was left severely wounded by Pakistani bullets in a paddyfield lying between Lakshmipur and the adjacent village, Kalkaliya, from where we made our observation. No one from the Indian side made any attempt to rescue this man the whole night; he lay there untended, crying for water and for help; next morning also passed like this and it was only in the afternoon that a rescue party went up to where he lay (presumably after the Pakistanis had stopped firing) and it was found that the unfortunate Policeman was dead. This disgraceful story of official cowardice and callousness made us hang our heads in shame.

TALKS WITH THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF TRIPURA

I had an interview with the Chief Commissioner of Tripura, for about half-an-hour. Naturally, after I had given him an account of my experiences and also my suggestions, talks turned upon the then impending Noon-Nehru Conference; and I was told by him that he had officially sent all necessary materials regarding Tripura borders that might help the Conference. I addressed a big public meeting at Agartala that evening, and exhorted the public to make arrangements for their own defence and protection, if the Government failed to do so. Next day,

on September 5, I flew back and reached Calcutta the same afternoon.

NOON-NEHRU CONFABULATIONS

The general impression that I have gathered as a result of my visit to the affected areas is that the people over there feel that they are not receiving the protection they are entitled to from the Government; and that the Local Government—imbibing the mis-directed "Appeasement" policy of the Nehru Government at the Centre—have badly let them down. It is quite clear that a Government which cannot provide for the security of life and property of the people committed to its care forfeits the right to rule and carry on the administration.

Since then, the much-trumpeted Noon-Nehru confabulations have taken place. Compliments have been exchanged; joint and several communiques have been issued. In the joint statement, the most curious feature is that no reference whatsoever has been made to the last six months' unprovoked Pakistani incursions and firings, no apology obtained from Pakistan for the same, and both India and Pakistan—the complainant and the accused—have been placed on the same footing; and it is full of the usual platitudes and pious wishes. In Mr. Noon's separate statement, however, there are some revealing details—revealing to some extent the "surrenders" that Nehru (as usual) has made: for instance, exchange of "Enclaves" in Cooch Behar area conceding 11 square miles of extra land to Pakistan, cession of portion of Indian territory to Pakistan in Jalpaiguri District (half of Berubari Union), granting of an area near Tripura border to Pakistan in order to facilitate the running of Pakistani Railways, granting of Pakistani rights up to mid-stream in certain rivers the whole bed and breadth of which are in Indian territory, etc etc., and the proclamation of *status quo ante bellum* till final demarcation.

OMINOUS SILENCE ABOUT TUKERGRAM AND LAKSHMIPUR

Only these precious documents are significantly silent on what has been decided about the villages of Tukurgram (in Cachar) and Lakshmipur (in Tripura). Before the latest Pakistani "bellum" of August 6-7 last, both these villages were in India. The question is, has Nehru insisted on, and secured, the evacuation of these Indian villages by the Pakistanis? Or has he awarded these villages to Pakistan as a reward for her spirit of aggressive enterprise? The people of India are waiting for the answer.

A very interesting story has been broadcast over the All-India Radio from Delhi, and the story has been filmized in the Government cinema "documentaries," presumably for the delectation of the Indian public. The story is how, when Begum Noon was about to get down from the plane at the Palam Air Port, one of her slippers somehow slipped out, our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, gallant Knight that he is, promptly caught hold of the erring slipper and restored it to the dainty ankles of the Pakistani Begum. A touching act of chivalry as it was, it was hardly consistent with the Nation's honour and dignity; it was however fitting prelude to the disgraceful surrender that followed in the Indian Premier's licking the feet of Pakistan.

IN DEFENCE OF FREE ECONOMY

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

IT has become a fashion among our politicians and economists to launch vigorous attacks against capitalism which is also known as the competitive system of free enterprise economy. Karl Marx was the first economist to launch a vigorous attack on capitalistic mode of production and, according to him, it should be replaced by Socialism. But unfortunately his prophecy did not come out true, for the simple reason, that his assumptions were not based on reality. History has proved him wrong, and now it is believed in some quarters that Marxism is as dead as the dodo. No doubt that competitive system has its imperfections like any other system, but these imperfections are more glaring in other economic systems than in competitive system or in Free Market Economy.

Competitive system is the only system which offers the greatest hope of improving the lot of mankind. No other system has that characteristic. The period since Industrial Revolution was a period of free enterprise, private property and competition. As a result of all these, the real income of the people has increased to such heights that it was regarded as unattainable in the previous periods. Even though it has its own defects yet it does not follow that it should be abolished; on the contrary every attempt should be made to remove those defects and make it workable. Under wise legislation it can be made workable under modern conditions, as it has a capacity of evolutionary growth.

It is only in the competitive system that every individual is assigned a particular role to play in the economic order according to his ability and capacity. It may happen that some persons are cast in parts to which they are not fitted but even then the casting is arranged and the play goes on. So it is under competitive system that proper modifications take place without any interference from outside. Competitive or Free Market economy serves as a regulator of prices. Competition among the sellers enable the consumers to get the commodities at the lower prices and the competition among the consumers enable the producers to get the returns and cover the costs of production. Sometimes there may be overproduction but it will serve as a safeguard to the consumers in case the demand rises.

It is only in the competitive system that the producer is able to use the factors of production in the best possible manner and pay their rewards in accordance to their economic worth. Although these forces work imperfectly yet they cannot be removed either by monopoly or by socialism. Monopoly will curtail the output and as a result of this, demand for labour will fall and the prices of the commodities will go up. So the consumers will be doubly hit, namely, they will be compelled to pay higher prices and secondly

they will be unemployed. Will the labourers lot be improved under Socialism? Certainly not. This can be seen from the conditions of labourers in Russia whose real income is far below than the wages of American workers.

Under competitive system the entrepreneurs are very alert to devise improved methods of production, inventions etc. with the result that technical progress is achieved. Competition lowers the prices and the consumers get the benefit of improved methods and technological progress. Entrepreneurs under competitive system work in anticipation of consumer's demand and in this way consumer's sovereignty is maintained. Consumer "is not subjected to the alternative of either turning to one single purveyor or else doing without. A choice as to what you would have and when and how you would have it, satisfies a deep rooted human instinct. In the advocacy of socialistic organization, the advantage of unified supply are much dwelt on. But the consumer in a socialistic state has to accept whatever the all-controlling managers put before him. The satisfaction which comes from the freedom of choice explains in large part the persistence of competition."

According to socialists the competitive system is detrimental to the workers as there is exploitation of workers and waste of natural resources—Competitive system is also attacked on the ground that it is the cause of business depressions. But it can be argued that unfair methods can be forbidden by proper legislation. In athletics players sometimes resort to unfair practices but umpires and referees are there to see to it that the rules of the game are observed. In the same way if the state will act as an umpire or referee and not an active fielder all the unfair methods in the industry are banished. There is no need for the State to interfere in the economic matters of the individual on the grounds of welfare and morality. Welfare is an abstract concept. What is welfare from the point of individual may not be welfare from the point of State. Similarly morality. It is not the function of the state to make man moral. It lies outside the purview of the State. In modern States under the guise of morality and welfare the governments interfere in the economic matters of the individuals and come in the way of economic law of demand and supply and thereby cause more harm than good.

So it is clear that we do not advocate the undiluted laissez-faire but rather a policy of interference with private enterprise whenever interference will promote the public interest. Even then, the state interference should be directed towards raising the plane of competition and improving its operations and after the appropriate degree of control has been exerted, there will be ample room for the play of competitive

forces that induce progress and protect the interests of the consumers."

It is said, by some, that the only way to mitigate the business depressions in competitive system is to form combinations. But according to Prof. Taussig "Combination may conceivable mitigate fluctuations" but "it is by no means certain that this desirable outcome will be reached;" in fact "it is quite conceivable that it may intensify rather than mitigate fluctuations." The advocacy of combinations as a means of avoiding overproduction and industrial irregularity is commonly a mere excuse for trying to build up a monopoly which will restrict production and secure regularity at the expense of extra levies on the public. In the main oscillations in the industry must be accepted as inevitable concomitants of the regime of private property. They may be mitigated but they are not likely to cease. They are the part of the price which must be paid for that progress which private ownership and employing capitalism secure. No doubt they are the black features of the existing system. A systematically organized scheme of production would preclude these evils. But deliberate planning of industry—carried universally—and this means socialism—would lack all vigour, the elasticity, the forward movement which mark existing industry."

Now the question arises whether socialism can solve the problem. It is not possible to administer enterprises of such a great magnitude and to coordinate their several activities under socialism. In a socialist regime failure is certain unless men of high ability are placed in charge of state enterprises. But how to choose the managers? There will not be competition. The only way which the managers will be selected will be based by a system of political selection and the result will be disastrous. As there will not be any profit motive which is sine qua non of economic progress in competitive system the managers will not be interested to put in their best efforts in the state. So that would be a lack of drive in socialism which is present in the existing competitive system. In socialism there will not be any programme of invention which is essential for the economic progress. There will be more serious abuse as under socialism we will, establish tyrannical bureaucracy which will concern more to maintain power than the welfare of the people. In socialism, too, the individuals will lose their precious natural right, namely liberty. As consumers they will have to accept what is produced by the all controlling Planning body. As producers they will have to make the use of the resources as per instructions from the Planning Authority. In other words individuals as producers and consumers will have no liberty.

From this it is quite clear that competitive system is the only system which performs the services of value in promoting the orderly functioning of a highly complicated economic and social organization. All the imperfections can be removed by a proper legislation, but there is no need for the State to interfere, as it may lead to more abuse like corruption, bribery nepotism etc. If monopoly element which is created by the State in the industry is abolished and everyone is allowed to play his role in the economic order, the welfare of the people will definitely increase and this will lead to the rapid economic development of the country.

At present our Government is interfering at every moment in the economic matters of the private enterprise with the result that the economic progress of the country has been retarded. At present we are facing number of crisis, namely, food crisis, unemployment crisis and foreign exchange crisis. What is the cause of this? Is private enterprise to be blamed? Certainly not. It is state interference that is the root cause of the present ills that our country faces today. The only remedy is to allow free competition among the producers without any element of monopoly. The State should not give any preference to some at the cost of others. If this method is followed, our country will be able to achieve rapid economic progress without a begging bowl. Might not it be better to bear those ills, we have than fly to others that we know not? We shall mark what is well in striving to better. So Free competitive economy is the only remedy under the present conditions in India. Neither Socialism nor Monopoly will solve the present malaise.

LET'S ABOLISH THE INCOME TAX

THE advice of America's founding fathers was good—that we should keep government simple. We make it too complicated. A legislator has to go through hundreds of bills, each one with many pages in difficult legal language. It is a hard enough job for the legislator. What about the people? How many of them understand the bills that are passed?

The founding fathers understood these difficulties and therefore proposed that representatives of the people be elected to run the government within the limits of the Constitution. No one should be given too much power. Even honest people abuse power. That is why our forefathers were so wise; they understood nature.

The founding fathers limited the power of taxation and they did not permit an income tax. We will not restore freedom until we get rid of the income tax.

The income tax gives too much power to the collector. Nearly all our constitutional liberties are violated. It permits prying into our private affairs. The income tax says, "You are guilty unless you can prove yourself innocent." It creates a government of men, not of law. The power of the collector can be used in a vindictive way, to ruin individuals who are not liked.

Most people agree with me about the income tax. Many say to me, "I'm for you, but don't mention my name." Isn't this one more proof that the income tax rules by fear?

The only two arguments I've heard in favor of the income tax are: 1. it is a way of taxing the rich; and 2. the government needs the money. As for the first, this is not true any more, as 83 percent of the income tax comes from incomes of \$6,000 and under. As for the second, how much money does government really need? Fifty cents of every dollar collected by government is wasted money.

We must get back to a higher moral standard. We must find out about the income tax, teach it to the people and arouse them. When the people are aroused, the politicians will give them anything they want.

Foreign Exchange Crisis And Gold Loan

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

AT present our country is facing number of crisis but the most serious is foreign exchange crisis. According to Prof. Shenoy the only remedy lies in the devaluation of the rupee but this suggestion was turned down not only by other economists and businessmen but also by Prime Minister and Finance Minister on the ground that it will aggravate the situation and the cost of the Plan will rise. The other remedy that is put forward is to promote exports. Export or perish is the slogan of the government. But what to export and whom to export are not clearly told. To export more, our prices must be competitive in the international markets and secondly the quality of our exports must be improved. As it is, our prices are high due to high cost of production and the quality is also not of a requisite high type. Under these conditions to ask the private enterprise to export more is to leap in the dark. Recently some prominent economists and businessmen have suggested that the Government should attempt to mobilise people's holdings of gold and silver to meet the foreign exchange crisis. Mr. C. B Mehta in his presidential address at the ninth general meeting of Bombay Bullion Association made some important points which are worth considering. According to him exports cannot be stimulated to meet all foreign exchange requirements. In order to solve the present crisis he suggested that the Government should float a Gold Loan. According to the survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India there is a large amount of gold within the country and if this is properly mobilised the present foreign exchange crisis can be averted. In order to make the people part with their gold they should be promised that they will be paid back in gold and gold alone. According to Mr. Mehta, Government should issue Gold Mohur weighing one tola (180 grains with fineness 99.5). As the price of gold within the country is higher by 45 to 50 Rupees per tola some people have objected to the flotation of loan but in the opinion of Mr. Mehta this higher price should not come in the way of issuing a gold loan as gold will be paid for gold. Another point that he made was that the Income Tax Authorities should not consider the gold as concealed income. Subscribers should be assured that Income Tax authorities should not inquire into the origin of gold under Wealth Tax and Income Tax laws. If this assurance is given to the subscribers then it will be possible for the large number of people to come forward to buy certificates and to avoid the foreign change crisis that our country faces at present. According to Mr. Mehta France also floated such a loan and she was able to collect £65 millions by giving the above concessions to the subscribers.

But the question is, can we follow the French Example? Is gold loan absolutely necessary?

It is not possible to follow the French example in toto. In the first place, all the gold is not held in India in the form of bars but in the form of jewellery and it is distributed in the various parts of the country. Secondly the other source of supply of gold is temples. It is possible for the Government to persuade the trust-

tees of these temples to buy the gold certificates in exchange for their wealth. This form of investment will be more safe from the point of protection of wealth of temples which is otherwise exposed to the risk of theft by dacoits. In addition to this, temples will also play an important role in the economic development of the country and also increase their wealth as gold loan will carry a nominal rate of interest. So our gold loan should not be on the same principle as that of France.

The second question is whether the gold loan is absolutely essential. It is well known fact that under the present conditions in the international markets our exports cannot be stimulated to meet the immediate foreign exchange requirements. We have borrowed too much and our Government without realising the serious consequence of this has actually mortgaged our country to foreign powers. So the only alternative before the Government is to adopt free economy or float gold loan. All other attempts adopted so far have failed. The first alternative is out of question as Government is not willing to give free hand to private enterprise. Its policy is based on ideology namely socialistic pattern of society. So the only course open to the Government is to mobilise the hoarding within the country. But is gold loan to attract the genuine savings or hoarded wealth also? All those who had evaded the tax may not come forward to disclose their wealth and become the subscribers. They might be afraid of being prosecuted for the tax evasion. So in the first place Government should assure the public that no question will be asked and this alone will enable to bring a large amount of gold on the surface. If the gold is floated on the French model i.e. gold cum cash basis than even the black market money which is not in the form of gold may also be available and this will reduce the inflation that is existing at present in the country. This will bring down the prices of gold and other commodities which are at present rising. If the cash will not be included in the gold loan, and then the people will convert their cash into gold the price of gold will tend to rise. This will give a golden opportunity to smugglers to increase their activities in bringing the contraband gold. This will adversely affect the foreign exchange problem. If the object of the Government is to mobilise the small savings of the people, then the purpose will not be served as small amount of gold can be mobilised. Only very rich and some middle class people may come forward to take the advantage of the scheme but the amount of gold will not be very great to mitigate the foreign exchange difficulty. In such a national emergency the black marketeers should be given some concessions in taxation so that they may take up the challenge and pave the way for the rapid economic development of the country. Government should take the private enterprise into confidence and its ideology should not come in its way which has brought the country to economic bankruptcy.

(Continued on page IV)

THE LAW OF INEQUALITY

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

I

NO two human beings are equal in all respects.

The enormous contrasts and endless variations in natural talents stagger the imagination.

But almost every person is potentially good at *something*, and one of the key problems of any human society is to make it possible for *everybody* to make their maximum contribution to the governmental, cultural and material welfare of the people.

In a way this looks easy, because all we have to do is to give everybody equality of opportunity to develop and exercise their natural talents.

(This is the equality our Founding Fathers had in mind.)

But this is not as easy as it looks.

In fact it was not until the advent of the United States that any nation really tried it.

Up to that time most people were "born to their station in life" (including slavery) and were expected to stay there.

Under these conditions, governmental power and productive wealth remained concentrated in the hands of a few who had nothing to gain personally by better government or by relieving the poverty of the masses.

II

No nation can make genuine lasting progress without recognizing and utilizing The Law of Inequality.

The unfailing sign that a nation has recognized this law (and is permitting it to work *for* the people, instead of *against* them) is the rise of a strong prosperous middle class.

Such a social change means that the individual citizens are being encouraged to take their *natural places* in the society.

Such a society can be called "fluid," because people are free to rise to the top or sink to the bottom according to their value to their fellow men.

In the United States, for example, the capable son of a poor man rises and the incapable son of a rich man sinks.

III

The key to recognition of unequal talents is recognition of the need for unequal rewards.

Unless this recognition exists, most men will not make the extra effort needed to bring out their full capabilities.

Just as there are natural inescapable differences in individual talents, there should be corresponding differences in wages determined by the supply of and demand for various types of services.

Communist Russia partially recognizes this law and pay fabulous premiums to specially talented people, a policy which has paid rich dividends, including Sputniks.

It is discouraging, therefore, to note that, in the "free world," the recognition of the need for unequal rewards has been decreasing.

The 20th Century cult of artificial equality between unequal men, crazy as it is, has gained enormous popular acceptance.

The tragedy of this cult is that the thing it believes tends to come true, because with *equal rewards* peo-

ple tend to become *equal in performance*, and this equalization of effort takes place at the bottom of the productive scale.

IV

The type of economy under which The Law of Inequality works best is the free-market economy in which each man receives what other people consider him to be worth.

That is what we did when the 13 Colonies became the United States.

Ordinary men who had come from Europe to live under this new freedom became *extraordinary* men.

They and their children transformed a wilderness into a productive and prosperous nation.

But, as we now know, it is possible to cancel out much of the free-market incentive without altering the free-market economy.

This we have done through the progressive personal income tax which lets people *receive* higher rewards but not *keep* them.

That is the big change that the world-wide cult of artificial equality has brought to the United States.

(Continued from page III)

According to the estimate made by Reserve Bank of India there are about 106 million ounces of gold in private holding. But Government must have an idea of actual amount of gold held by the people (every rich) as they have to declare their wealth under Wealth Tax Rules. This information will enable the Government to decide whether to issue the loan or not. Before issuing gold loan Government should take two steps, namely gold hoarding should be made less lucrative and the smuggling of gold should be avoided by most effective measures. The smugglers should be severely dealt with. It is also suggested in some quarters that the World Bank may play a decisive role. If the subscribers are assured by the World Bank that they will be paid back in gold, this will give more confidence to the people to come forward with their gold. One of the objects of the World Bank is to help the undeveloped countries and this is a good chance to help our country where prestige or sovereignty will not be compromised. This will also stop the mouths of the critics who always say that the Government has not succeeded in mobilising the internal gold.

The country will lose more and the purpose of gold loan will not be achieved. If the smuggling of gold is checked, the price of gold may go up to the level of commodity prices and this will make the hoarding of gold less lucrative and even those who will require gold for social and religious purposes will be inclined to buy not more than minimum requirements. The people will postpone buying gold and the evil of buying gold will be on a smaller scale than what it is at present.

If the floatation of gold is not feasible then the only course open to the Government is to adopt libertarian policy. This will alone deliver the goods rapidly. If the import licences are issued freely to the importers on condition that they should export 5 times of their imports, this will immediately put an end to the bribery, corruption that are at present existing in our country to get import licences. A proper fiscal policy is imperative. Government should not stick to its wrong ideology and ruin the country.



SOON after returning from his Himalayan hike, Pandit Nehru hastened to explain how on account of his absence from Delhi, he could not comment on such events as the formation of the Free Government of Algeria on Egyptian soil and the Far-Eastern crisis. It was very inconsiderate of these events to have occurred without obtaining the prior approval of our great leader. It cannot still be said that they have obtained at least retrospectively his present approbation.

A 'Free' government of Algeria is particularly amusing since the bulk of the people of Algeria have already voted for the new constitution proposed by de Gaulle. It looks therefore as if this Free Algeria government will have to keep company with the mythical Wandering Jew until it finds a resting place on or under ground.

Our Prime Minister's remarks on Tibet furnish a painful example of his genius for surrendering in panic and then repining at leisure. For he is reported to have said that conditions in Tibet are not fully normal. His own share of responsibility for them cannot be ignored. Even supposing that it was politic to allow Tibet to be brought within the orbit of China more overtly than in the past, there was no compelling reason for preventing the representatives of Tibet from proceeding to the UNO headquarters with a view to submit their case for their right of self-determination, and for a seat in that world body. They came to Calcutta, but were turned back by the Nehru Government. This high-handed act of superfluous diplomacy was not even given proper publicity at that time. Many of the satellite limbs of the Soviet sun have secured such recognition; for example Byelo-Russia, The Ukraine, Outer Mongolia etc. But thanks to our leader's pusillanimity, poor Tibet has been reduced to the status of a municipal enclave of the sprawling Chinese empire. The communists are now seeing to it that Tibet is saved from itself in the interests of the Cause; no wonder conditions there are far from normal.

A news item from Cairo says that President Nasser presented Mr. Karanjia, editor of the Blitz and author of the Arab Dawn, with a sub-machine gun wholly manufactured by Egyptian technicians in Egypt.

This is obviously in exchange for the butter presented to Nasser by Karanjia in the shape of his book on the rise of Arab nationalism.

From UNO comes the news that Mr. Krishna Menon will be the last to speak on the world affairs debate now going on in the UNO. It is understood that Mr.

Menon had expressed a desire to have the last word. We thought it was the prerogative of nagging women!

Mr. Chavan, Bombay's Chief minister has issued a stern warning against communalists and has threatened severe action against them. This comes after the firing which occurred recently in which the issue was the perennial annual of 'music before mosques.' From the context, it is clear that in Mr. Chavan's view, the communalists are the Hindus, and not the Muslims. In this of course he emulates his great exemplar and the country's unique and indispensable leader. He forgot the elementary truth that music is of older origin, that it flourished before mosques were ever heard of and that it would most certainly survive them. For we can imagine a future in which mosques may be abolished; but can human nature exist without music?

Speaking in praise of Nehru, Acharya Bhawe is reported to have said that he is a philosopher-statesman who believes that India and the world are indivisible.

But if he is allowed to give away little bits of India to Pakistan without let or hindrance, India would soon become wholly invisible!

Russia has announced that it has resumed nuclear tests. None but imbeciles or innocents believed her when she declared that she was giving them up. It was a mere stunt to confuse the free world; but thanks to good sense in some parts of it, it was not taken in by such propaganda. The peace-mongers have been overtaken by a fit of silence. It would be interesting to watch how they recover from it to resume their fellow-travelling.

There was a satyagrahi in Madras in the old era who announced his intention to fast unto death. He kept up wonderfully for weeks without any apparent adverse physical effect; and then one day it was discovered that food had been supplied to him surreptitiously. And then, there was the wag who declared that he had taken a vow to starve—between meals. Russia's self-denial has been of this variety.

It is officially announced that the Banaras University has been closed and that it won't be opened until conditions improve.

How can they improve while all the other Universities are still being kept open?

Mr. Bevan the left-wing labour leader says that every time Mr. Dulles speaks, he sends a shiver down my spine.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan
It is bulky British Ivan
Who says it's terrible to think
Of Dulles standing on the brink!
No one has ever
Caused such a shiver
To go down our spine
As this animated danger-sign!

Libra

The Expected Happens In Pakistan

(From Our Correspondent)

THE "revolution" in Pakistan, which was almost predicted by Prime Minister Nehru a year or so ago, raises the question whether democracy and Islam can go together. That question has been occupying the mind of almost everyone here concerned with developments in a neighbouring land where, on all accounts, war with India will be most popular. It is obvious from the Prime Minister's prediction and the forecasts of Pakistani leaders themselves that the preparations for the coup were of much longer duration than the month or so given out by the engineers of the coup. It is being pointed out here that the statements of the two Generals are often conflicting, not as a consequence of differences of opinion between the two but as a pre-planned manoeuvre to outwit the people and leaders of Pakistan, who had been saying that General Mirza would see to it that "the general elections are never held". The Army Chief obviously undertook to shoulder the responsibility for the coup to save the face of the somewhat discredited President, who had often been accused of palace intrigues which prevented democracy from functioning undisturbed in Pakistan.

Among the obvious contradictions noted here between the (assumed) attitudes of the two generals are, for example, the anxiety given expression to by President Mirza that martial law in Pakistan should not continue beyond a period of two months, while General Ayub has definitely stated that there is no question of martial law being lifted so long as the social, political, economic and administrative fabric of Pakistan has not been fully repaired. That obviously is going to take many years and the President has already indicated that it is for Gen. Ayub to take final decisions. The Army Chief is obviously prepared to bear the brunt of the wrath of the politicians and the Mullahs of Pakistan, the latter of whom had been lying low since their imprisonment for the loot and massacre of Qadianis five years ago.

REVOLUTION AGAINST ISLAM

An even more obvious self-contradiction is the confession by Gen. Ayub Khan that he had told President Mirza that if he did not assume personal control of Pakistan, he (Gen. Ayub Khan) would have to do so himself. Assuming that it is true, it was an ultimatum and nothing less, but it did not prevent the General from emphasizing that there was no question of his having given the President an ultimatum. All this does not mean that there are any differences of opinion between the two generals. It only means that the story of the President's hand having been forced has been cooked up for public consumption to show that the President had no choice but to abrogate the constitution and that, in yielding to the Army Chief, he has tried to save Pakistan—to some extent

at least—from the rigours of Martial Law by retaining at least the function of advising (and being consulted by) the Army Chief, instead of being abrogated with the Constitution!

It may be a revolution without revolutionaries, but it is being pointed out here that it cannot be denied that it is a revolution in a sense. It may not be politic to say so in Pakistan—discretion is the better part of valour even for Army Chiefs when they have to deal with the public—but the fact remains and will force itself on the surface as time progresses that it is a revolution against Islam or the sort of Islam which the man in the street in Pakistan believes in. And the question naturally arises: how far will the Army, which after all is manned by the man in the street, support the Martial Law regime?

It must not be forgotten that the men at the helm were not of the type of the ordinary Muslim fanatic when the Qadianis began to be massacred and looted with the connivance of the Pakistan police. Ghulam Mohammad who was Governor-General at the time—and with whom I used to play cards here in Delhi at the house of his friend, the Railway Board Joint Secretary, Kaul, when Ghulam Mohammad himself was Secretary to the Railway Board—was a very broad-minded man and but for him the Qadianis would have disappeared from Pakistan altogether—murdered in cold blood. He was also a very intelligent and shrewd man and he could not but come to the conclusion that democracy well mean ruination of Pakistan. For, the massacre of Qadianis was obviously the will of the majority. Neither the district magistrate nor the Governor of the province was inclined to interfere with the holy massacres.

PERSONAL ENMITY

How, it is being asked, can there be democracy in a land inhabited by extremely intolerant people? And that holds true not only of Pakistan but also of other Muslim countries. Even in Egypt, Nasser has had to deal firmly with the Muslim Brotherhood. Democracy being out of the question, coups by factions are bound to be a matter of frequent occurrence, unless the Dictator is able to establish his hold over the imagination of the people.

There is no doubt that Ghulam Mohammad thought of Army rule and even suggested to Gen. Ayub to take up the administration. There can be no doubt that Gen. Mirza was speaking out Ghulam Mohammad's mind also when he once blurted out some years ago; Has there ever been an Islamic government with an Islamic constitution on the face of the earth? As for himself, he said when he was Governor of East Pakistan: "I drink after sunset—like a good Muslim"! Obviously, again, he would not have found himself successor to Ghulam Mohammad had he been outraging the President's sentiments by giving

expression to such outrageously un-Islamic sentiments.

A Pakistani who met me the other day said that even more annoying than the political ineptitude of the succeeding governments in Pakistan was their inability to control the goondas of Karachi who, doubtless backed by the Maulanas of Pakistan, were law unto themselves and could do whatever they liked with the wives of majors and colonels, brigadiers and generals when they went out shopping in the fashionable quarters of Karachi. Thus, with the Army officers, the hatred of the politician had become a personal matter because they realised that the goondas were getting away with whatever they chose to do because the politician counted upon their assistance during the elections!

The onslaught on orthodox Islam, as is being pointed out here, has already begun. The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Ayub Khan, declared at Karachi the other day that "birth control must be introduced to prevent over-population". This is against the popular Muslim belief that the Prophet's injunction is to multiply the number of the Faithful. This is only the thin end of the wedge. The goondas of Karachi have forced the issue and it remains to be seen whether those who back them in the name of Islam have a following which will know what to do without them when the time comes.

What next? is the question on everybody's lips. Ahmed in a thought-provoking cartoon in the *Hindustan Times* depicts the leaders of the political parties behind prison bars and Mirza and Ayub sitting on a bench in front, Mirza wondering with his hands on his knees and Ayub firing a pistol and saying: "I know there is a "next step" I ought to take—I wish I knew what it was!" And in front of them are the legs of an Army man with the words "Army Opposition" inscribed on the soles of his boot. If Gen. Ayub was the man who took the decisive step, there can be no doubt that Ghulam Mohammad and Mirza were the men who suggested to him what he should do and what he alone could do.

DANGEROUS FOR INDIA

In the final analysis there can be no doubt that Mirza has risked his Presidency and Gen. Ayub Khan his supremacy in the Army. Much will depend on the reaction of the Army which is not half as enlightened as its officers. What if, like the politicians, some hotheaded officers seek the backing of the ignorant and fanatical Pakistani soldier and take it into their heads to bring off another coup with the help of a few hundred soldiers and a few tanks? It is a dangerous course the two have embarked upon, dangerous not only for Pakistan but for India also, for the hotheadedness of the fanatically inclined Muslim officers of the Pakistan Army will not long resist the temptation of staging a blitz against India which, as Ayub has already said, will be most popular in Pakistan.

The fact of the matter is that the foundations of Pakistan contained within themselves the seeds of its own destruction. As against the Hindus in India they were one for one reason or another. With the Hindus out of the picture in Pakistan, they fell out among themselves. Slowly two parties will emerge, the reformers supporting the two generals and the fanatics working under-ground to undermine the authority of the two generals. It is futile to imagine that the fanatics

will take their defeat lying down. But who will win is a question whose answer the future alone will unfold. Therefore the urgency of the Martial Law administration showing quick results to win over the people to its side before the Mullahs are able to get at them.

So furious has been the impact of the coup in Pakistan in India that nobody has been talking about anything else. But the people in general, ever unmindful of the dictates of defence, do not view the problem with the gravity it obviously demands.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

By R. C. McCormick

(The author of this article, Mr. R. C. McCormick, who recently completed a trip around the world records in this brief article his impressions of India. According to Mr. McCormick, Pandit Nehru is a virtual dictator, our politician in high places are all woefully dishonest, and Nehru and his supporters are practising all the evils of communism under a different label. Ed.)

AS you Visit India, you soon become cognizant of the fact that Nehru is a virtual dictator. You read from Nehru's pen of his fascination for communism as the only "scientific" plan of living known to him. He does not believe in the sanctity of property though history has proven over and over that whenever a government takes from a man his well-earned property, it also takes away his freedom.

If you are fortunate, as I was, your traveling companion might be a former ruler of a large area in India, an intimate friend of the Queen of England and of Nehru himself. This man might tell you how he had questioned Nehru about allowing the Communist party to exist openly in India. (One state today is managed by the communists, by the precarious margin of one vote.) Nehru replied to the effect that communism is an emotion sweeping the world and that it would be poor politics to try to exclude it from India by force. He would hope to discredit communism by devising a more "scientific" plan for social living.

Nehru was highly successful as the amalgamator of India. But, as the dictator of India, his is a hand of putty. Politicians in high places have been woefully dishonest, but few are punished or even dismissed. Pay-offs are rampant. A person has no assurance that a parcel would be delivered safely through the mail. The tiger skin you wish tanned must be taken personally to the tanner in a distant town. A small gift to be sent to a friend is first machine stitched in a burlap bag, then a row of hand overcasting around the bag, after which the merchant wax-seals the corners—all to discourage theft of the contents. The only phrase to describe such a situation is dishonest government.

You wish there were some way to explain to Nehru and his supporters that it doesn't necessarily discredit communism to practice all of its evils under some "more scientific" label. You can steal the communism machine and paint it a different color. But, strip off the paint, and it is the same machine, built to direct the energies of all men by force.

—The Freeman

CURRENT TOPICS

THE GRAMDAN HOAX

AFTER the great myth of Bhoodan was exploded, Vinobha launched his GRAMDAN MOVEMENT. And now comes the news that the gramdan revolution in Koraput was a total debacle. Most of the gramdan in the district, we reliably understand, has been fictitious. But our gramdan-gospellers continue to go about the country preaching the supposed virtues of gramdan. Some of them even go abroad to preach the gospel of Vinobha who is acclaimed by them as a second Mahatma! The propagators of this new cult of Bhoodan, Gramdan and Sarvodaya want us to be the blind believers in their cult. They dislike any close scrutiny, introspective or external, into their beliefs and practices.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain says that he advised the socialist governments in Europe to practice the doctrine of Sarvodaya. It is certainly stupid that we should dare tell Nations which have solved their problems successfully that they can find the right path from our doctrine of Sarvodaya which has succeeded in our country so far only as a vote-catching propaganda.

FRICITION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA?

While the Soviet Union is outwardly supporting communist China in its present conflict with the United States over the Formosa issue, there are behind the scenes serious points of conflict between the two communist powers. There is a number of causes of disagreement capable of developing into a large scale conflict.

The question of arming the Chinese army with atomic weapons is one of the most disputed issues in the relations between Peking and Moscow. During the current year, leading Chinese Communists have made repeated statements on the immediate supply of atomic weapons to the Chinese armed forces. But Russia is afraid of arming China with atomic weapons in view of the many causes of dispute. From one day to the next, the threat is growing that China will outstrip Russia in the race to build a Communist society and so occupy the leading position in the world Communist Camp.

The question as to who is to exercise Central control is another disputed issue. The China Communist leadership is well aware of the necessity of firm control from a single centre if the struggle for world domination is to succeed. Hitherto this centre has been in Moscow. The weakening in this position caused by the death of Stalin and the subsequent race for power in Russia opened the door to competition, and the Chinese Communists are now beginning to advance claims to the exercise of this Central Control. This view is born out by numerous circumstances.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE DRAIN

Here are a few facts and figures about the way our Government wastes our foreign exchange on all sorts of delegations:

During the year 1957-58, the government sponsored 82 delegations and wasted over Rs. 20 lakhs over them.

Number of delegation sent abroad	Expenses incurred by
The External Affairs Ministry	19 Rs. 7,89,708
The Ministry for Commerce & Industry	19 Rs. 5,25,577
The Ministry for Finance	14 Rs. 2,73,465
Ministry for Defence	13 Rs. 2,36,400
Ministry for Transport & Communications	12 Rs. 2,37,542
TOTAL	82 Rs. 20,62,690

P & T DEPARTMENT YIELDS A BIG SURPLUS

The Posts and Telegraphs Department yielded a surplus of Rs. 6.32 crores in 1956-57, according to the department's annual report released recently. The department had yielded a surplus of Rs. 3.47 crores in the previous year and Rs. 2.60 crores in 1945-55.

There are several reasons why the income of the Posts and Telegraphs Department will go on increasing year by year by leaps and bounds. The introduction of the naya paisa has increased all postal rates. The frequency with which letters are now lost in post is compelling everybody to register important letters (ten and a half annas) to ensure delivery. Then again, it is widely believed that there is a confidential circular to all Government departments not to acknowledge receipt of letters of complaint, or send any reply to them, till at least four reminders are sent (gain to postal department: rupees two and annas ten per complaint.) Further the Postal rates are likely to be increased every year (have not we got a five year plan to see through?)

INDO-PAK RELATIONS.

EDITORIAL comments on Indo-Pak relations with special reference to the recent meeting of the two Prime Ministers over the boundary issues read for the most part like an incomplete fairy tale. There has been an unjustified assumption of complacency based on unsure or treacherous foundations. Will you permit me to draw public attention to some of the disquieting features of the latest pact and the atmosphere in which it was hustled through?

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain just returned from his European tour had been quoted for the unctuous proposition that the common man in Pakistan is bursting with fraternal love for his Indian (and Hindu) counterpart. Whether as fact or as testimony it is completely worthless. Mr. Narain's pretensions to plenary inspiration and authoritative pronouncement are currently much overrated. But actually he has given us many proofs of being an arrested adolescent, a sort of political Peter Pan in the Indian scene. How little he is able to think objectively or see clearly is evidenced by his claim that he saw an Arcadia flowering in Arabia with communist guns and bomber-planes landing according to plan.

There is another sporadic view that but for a few hot-heads in Pakistan in high places—the inevitable and irrepressible politicians given to fishing in troubled waters, the situation there is well in hand. One wishes it were true; but the indications are anything but promising. If the average Pakistani has come to realise that he has got nothing out of Pakistan, it

is all the more reason for us to feel concerned about it; for it is precisely such disillusion and the consequent frustration that would be exploited by ambitious careerists for their nefarious ends by simply pointing to a scape-goat across the frontier. This, it is, needless to point out, is the classic technique of the predatory states cursed with backward people who are easily roused by fanaticism.

Nor is it easy to determine with precision the role of America in the shaping of Pakistan politics. If it has been intent on exerting a moderating influence, it is odd that its beneficial effects should be so dubious in making themselves felt. America gives doles both to India and Pakistan in differing ways, but with a single aim—of keeping them both within her orbit. If she really had the influence ascribed to her, she might have brought about an easing of tension between the two countries by promoting a cessation of military expenditure in both countries. Either she could not or would not do so.

Now however with the usurpation of supreme power in Pakistan by a military junta, the situation becomes more menacing to us. America's role in the latest coup cannot be assessed without further material on which to base an objective conclusion. But the new situation needs much more vigilant watching since the new rulers in Pakistan can now reach their objectives more quickly—if they have a mind to.

The moral of it is that the initiative has always rested with Pakistan as to whether and when they could mount jitters against India to achieve their limited objectives forming part of their long-range dreams and hopes. She has called the tune every time, and our leadership has been content to dance to it. This is the shameful reality underlying the surrender by Nehru of some areas to Pakistan and handing over the lives and happiness of thousands of Hindu or Indian nationals to the tender mercies of Pakistan. He added insult to injury when he declared with lordly levity that it should not matter if we should give away some land or a few people. Even inanimate property, goods and chattels are shown greater care and tenderness. Have the people of the area no rights or feelings of their own in this matter. Neither the constitutional propriety of the transfer, nor its political expediency, nor its reactions on the morale of our people in like disputed areas elsewhere seem to have been taken into prior consideration. Pandit Nehru has acted as if he were second Louis XIV on the dictum: The State, I am the State!

The spirit of appeasement sedulously propagated from above seeks nurture in the unguarded hearts of the people. Unless this is exposed and arrested betimes, we are in danger of being destroyed through the pusillanimity of our leadership. To get a reputation of being a lover of peace at the cost of honour or national interests is to achieve a pyrrhic and immoral victory. That Pandit Nehru is practising an unwise intransigence and uncalled for appeasement in different faces of Indo-Pak relations, "he who runs may read. His readiness to sacrifice Indian territory is strangely at variance with the tenacity with which he is holding on to Kashmir at ruinous cost to the Indian tax-payer. The complaint of his most devoted admirers is that he has not followed up either his victories or his compromises to their logical conclusions.

On top of it all, the entire press echoes with more piety than conviction that there might be an easing of tensions between Pakistan and India as a result of the latest pact in which the giving has all been on our side and the taking on the side of Pakistan. But this expectation is contrary to the experience of the past, both here in India and elsewhere. Appeasement grows with what it feeds on, and may be expected to plague us until we decide to make a stand somewhere or other some time or other. Instead of making this stand in a panicky, belated manner without any hope of success, it behoves us to say here and now: Thus far and no farther. Pandit Nehru would not be Nehru if he took such a strong line; but unless some one takes it for and on behalf of India, we shall let our case go by default.

DANGER IN DEFICIT FINANCING

Mr. Per Jacobson, Chairman of International Monetary Fund, has warned India that resorting to deficit financing would result in depletion of resources leading to inflation. In spite of the warnings given in the past our Government has resorted to deficit financing on a grand scale and the result is the inflation that we face at present. Unfortunately our Finance Minister is not prepared to accept that there is inflation in our country. Mr. Jacobson has rendered a great service to India by expressing against deficit financing. He says "You cannot get real resources by printing money. People soon found out that creation of credit beyond what is needed for increasing the working capital for industry and the normal increase in circulation will either add to inflation or lead to a loss of monetary reserves. That has been the experience everywhere. This applies to India as much as it applies to U.S.A or France or the industrialised countries. Persistent deficit financing, that relies on credit creation from the central bank is only another name for using up your monetary reserves and I am afraid the facts prove that. If you take the balance sheets of the Reserve Bank of India you will find that the amount extended to the Government as credit has its counterpart in the reduction of the Bank's sterling assets. Will the Government of India and especially our Finance Minister take a note of this warning and act accordingly? Or will the Finance Minister still persist in resorting to deficit financing in order to implement the "hard core" of the Plan? It is to be hoped that the wiser counsels would prevail.

POLITICIANS AND TAXATION

"The other day my small daughter said to me, 'Daddy, why do you bother to go to your office to make rupees when Mummy can go to the bank and get all she wants?' This represents as nearly as possible the sum of the knowledge of a great section of our politicians on the question of finance. Our Company would appear to be the bank from which rupees can be extracted on demand and without a thought as to where they have really come from. Unless adequate resources are left for retention in the business for its necessary replacements and improvements it cannot thrive and taxation at such a high level entirely frustrates this."

—Chairman's speech at the 28th annual general meeting of the Cochin Malabar Estates Limited.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

JAN SANGH EXECUTIVE TERMS PAK DEVELOPMENTS 'OMINOUS'

The Central Executive of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh in a resolution released here today said that the recent events in Pakistan were "ominous" for India.

"For any day", the resolution said, "to divert popular discontent, the military may be tempted to launch upon aggressive activities against India."

The resolution further said, "There is indeed reason for apprehension, because the recent pronouncements of the new military rules reveal no change whatsoever in Pakistan's hostile attitude towards India or towards the Hindu minorities."

—*Hindustan Times.*

ROMEOS ALSO HIT

The new military regime of Pakistan has begun its drive against anti-social elements in the country.

According to fresh martial law regulations announced here last night, teasing of women or molesting them will be an offence punishable with rigorous imprisonment for five years and taking of bribe, liable to a penalty of 14 years' rigorous imprisonment.

It will be an offence punishable with one year's jail to throw rubbish in front of houses or shops. Using public roads or pavements as urinals (as it used to be) will be punishable with one year's R.I.

Beggary has been prohibited and a punishment of six months or 25 whips can be awarded. These measures will certainly make Karachi and other cities too far more sanitary places than they have even been.

Meanwhile, gold sovereigns, gold watches, expensive perfumes, radio sets, binoculars, and foreign silk clothes worth more than Rs. 2 lakhs were recovered by the Army in a raid on Baba Bhit and Shamspir islands just off the main coast. Six leaders of the smuggling gang were also taken into custody during the raid.

—*Indian Express*

ABBAS' MEN TO BE FREED

The Pakistan Government has decided to release all those detained in connection with the Pakistani movement to violate the cease-fire line in Kashmir from the "Azad" Kashmir side, according to a Pakistan radio broadcast monitored here tonight.

—*Free Press Journal*

INSURGENTS CONTROL LHASA HIGHWAY

A Major part of the Lhasa-Peking highway, passing through Kham province in north-eastern Tibet, was under control of rebel Khambas, according to reliable source here.

Total discontinuation of transportation of consumer goods from India to Lhasa and severe scarcity of essential commodities in the Tibetan capital has also been reported.

Commercial sources said that it was impossible to proceed beyond Phari-Indo-Tibetan border—because of the serious trouble on Lhasa Road by armed

Khambas, who are reportedly pledged to liberate Tibet from Red Chinese possession.

Unless heavy Chinese military escort was arranged to accompany trader's caravans of trucks, it is unthinkable to reach goods through Kham without being looted and destroyed, added trade spokesmen.

Several thousand strong Kham rebels are reported in control of strategic positions on Yatung-Lhasa Road and have smashed several military and civilian trucks by rolling huge boulders from high hill tops.

According to a Katmandu English daily, not contradicted officially, only last week a Nepali business man's Lhasa-bound truck, loaded with merchandise, was smashed to pieces while the fate of its occupants was reported uncertain.

—*Indian Express*

REVOLUTION AND AFTER

Pakistan's October revolution has already shaken its 81 million people into revitalising their sagging interest in the affairs of the country.

That there certainly is a sigh of relief is beyond doubt even though the psychological fear of the Army being in control might be little overawing.

Gone is the helplessness complex of the underdog who has already learned to threaten, reporting to Martial Law authorities any injustice done to him even by the greengrocer or the milkman.

Gone too are Government servants' lethargy and even overcrowding in city's deficient public transport.

People can be seen walking to their offices early morning to be in their seats at 9 a.m. sharp. Voluntary attendance in offices on Sundays has begun to clear arrears.

To any visitor to this Federal Capital everything appears to be absolutely normal and to a certain extent even orderly if he has not seen the madding crowds in the pre-revolution buses.

No event like the clean sweep of politicians, political parties and other paraphernalia of democracy would appear to have taken place so recently as October 8.

—*Indian Express.*

COMMUNAL "GAZNAVI SENA" IN SAURASHTRA

A Muslim military, on the pattern of the notorious Razakars of Nizam's Hyderabad, is being organised in the Sorath district of Saurashtra.

It is named as "Gaznavi Sena" after the Mahmud of Gazni, who desecrated and destroyed the famous Somnath Temple after looting its fabulous treasure.

The already organised units of this military are given regular military training by officers of the old army of the Nawab of Junagdh.

To collect funds and recruit Muslim youths into the "Sena". Secret meetings are held at night under the cover of religious gatherings called "vaez sharif." Pro-Pakistan sentiments are expressed at these communal gatherings.

Trained dogs are kept at the doors of the houses where these meetings are held. At the sight of any man in khaki uniform, these dogs give a "red signal" to their masters through a long wailing bark. The

Sorath police recently carried out a series of raids on some such places.

—Blitz

35 ARRESTED IN BASIRHAT

Twenty five persons have been arrested in Basirhat area bordering East Pakistan for alleged anti-State activities during the last three weeks, it was officially learnt here yesterday.

Arrests followed considerable panic and confusion caused among the Hindu population by circulation of a bolstered up report that parts of territory around the Ichhamati river would be ceded to Pakistan in pursuance of the accord at the recent conference of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

Members of one community were alleged to have carried on propaganda on a wide scale boosting up the report misrepresenting the Nehru-Noon statement.

The arrested persons include a prominent medical practitioner and a president of local union board and a member of the Provincial Congress committee. Following searches of their houses a large number of objectionable leaflets, documents and Pakistan national flags were seized.

—Hindustan Times

COURTS ASKS DELHI TO EXPLAIN: NEHRU-NOON ACCORD CHALLENGED

Mr. Justice Datta, a vacation judge of the Calcutta High Court, today issued a rule on the Government of India and West Bengal to show cause under what authority they were acting or giving affect to the recent decision of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to transfer certain portions of the territory of India to Pakistan.

The rule, returnable on October 10, was issued on an ex parte application of Mr. Nirmal Bose, of Calcutta, a professor of political science.

His lordship, directed that notices be served on the solicitor to the Government of India in Calcutta, on the Union Government at Delhi, represented by the Commonwealth Secretary, and the Secretary, Ministry of External affairs, Government of India, and the State of West Bengal.

The Petitioner submitted that the action taken by the opposite parties was unconstitutional, without jurisdiction, illegal and highly arbitrary, and they had no right whatsoever to give away any portion of India without the verdict and decision of Parliament. Therefore, he claimed, such contemplated decision of the Prime Minister of India was in gross violation of the Constitution. PTI

—Indian Express

Book Reviews

THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

Ralph Borsodi the author of "The Challenge of Asia" is the founder-chancellor of a unique University at Melbourne, Florida, U.S.A. His courses of study are based on a penetrating vision of the central defects of Western Civilisation as it has developed in two forms of capitalism and communism. He has devised a method of study in seminar and discussion whereby students and teachers focus attention on a number of key problems of civilisation. They confront their minds with alternative solutions and with the "accumulated knowledge and wisdom of past civilisations" with an open mind. The result is the development of the power of free self-education on the part of masters and pupils whose attention is focussed on the problems of life today. The result is the discovery of the norms of normal living in the light of which all vexed problems of current civilisation—capital and labour, society and the individual, science and art, religion and morality, agriculture and machine industry, war and peace, nationalism and humanism find their solution.

These experiments in education and normal living values have led Chancellor Borsodi to unusual conclusions, remarkable for a refreshing freedom from the prejudices of Western Man stemming from race and superiority in science, industry and military power. They have led him to an appreciation of the universal and permanent values of "the way of life and of the attitudes to the mystery of existence" (as he names them) to indicate the norms of life and value prevalent in Asia.

He thinks that America is not going the right way in trying to save herself and the Asian nations from communism. He is emphatic that communism is evil and must be combated. But he is sure that the way to do it is neither to bribe the Asian peoples with dollar and military aid nor to help them to industrialise as rapidly as possible. He goes to the root of the malaise. He thinks that it consists in a material idea of progressive and excessive industrialisation, urbanism militarism and love of pleasure.

Borsodi was here in India and the principal countries of Asia last year

(and is now on his second visit). He saw that the leaders of the newly freed nations like India had forgotten their Asianism. Nehruism had jettisoned Gandhism. Nehru's India had fallen for the glamour of the West. Modernism is common to both communism and Americanism and these India had embraced.

Borsodi thinks that the only way to the salvation of mankind is to recapture the vision of the true norms of human life as enshrined in Asian values now neglected and in the Asian "attitudes to the mystery of existence."

In a joint endeavour between the free West and truly Asian Asia, a redemption of capitalism and a reconstruction of the true bases of human existence are to be sought. If Asians succeed in discovering or re-discovering the neglected norms and values of their culture and if Western leaders agree to appraise them at their true value without the distorting influence of their blinkers of racial, industrial and scientific superiority, there is a fighting chance of saving modern humanity. Borsodi gives a brief account of what he thinks of the vision incorporated in Buddhist, Confucianist and Taoist ways of life. He denounces point blank the narrowness, fanaticism and intolerance of the Semitic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They are

inferior to Asian religions and cultures in the matter of tolerance and insight into the identical essence of humanity in all races and peoples.

This is just the vital faith of the liberal Hindu. Let us hear Borsodi who is clearer on this matter than many Indian savants themselves who are daunted by the accusations of communalism. Many of them have lost contact with living sources of Indianism and are unable to take up a clear attitude to the challenge.

"The West is not Christian in spite of its millions of Christians and in spite of the millions it spends upon Christianity. The West's ideas are not Christian; the West's ideals are not Christian; The West's ideology is not Christian.

... The attempt to persuade the Roman and the Greek, the Gaul and the Frank, the Teuton and the Slav, the Dane and the Saxon, the Scot and the Briton... and their descendants to substitute Christian humility for pagan pride is one of the greatest failures of history. Western Man as historian Toynbee puts it, is ex-Christian. Scratch beneath Modern Man's Christian veneer and you find neither Christian concern for Heaven nor Christian fear of Hell. Real and fundamental Christianity—both Catholic and Protestant—is today an intellectual anachronism. If we of the Western World have not yet come to a realisation of this fact, the people of Asia long ago discovered that Western Man's Christianity was a facade behind which the real man from the West was to be found—the man who came with muskets and ships-of-the-line, the man who came to trade

and stayed to colonise; the man who now comes with science and technology; the man whose religion is Progress; the man who is battling all over the world about Capitalism and Communism...."

"The time has come for us to face the truth; Western Man is Modern Man. He is not so much pagan as Barbarian.

He has two ideologies—that of Capitalism and that of Communism and both of them are false!...."

Are Indians (and Asians) right in submitting to organised conversion of their nationals from their catholic or universalist faiths to the narrow intolerant anachronism of Christian dogma or theology? Is it a genuine response to democracy in thus yielding to foreign-subsidised conversion? Does this advance the cause of civilisation?

Let us hear the American visionary again.... "But facts recorded by the histories of all three Semitic religions indicate beyond the peradventure of doubt, that in respect to humanism and reasonableness, Christianity, Islam and Judaism are not superior but actually inferior to the great tolerant religions of Asia. I think the evidence warrants even a stronger statement. I think that there is overwhelming evidence that if peace is to be established in the world, if some sort of modus vivendi among the conflicting cultures of the world is to be achieved, these three Semitic religions (at least in their orthodox and dogmatic forms) will have to be jettisoned.... If the worst organised threats to the solution of the crisis of our times were to be arranged in some sort of hierarchy, Christianity and Islam would have to be listed very close to the top. Organised Communism would probably deserve listing at the very top.

Nationalism and imperialism would, one or another, have to be rated as the next most threatening force preventing the achievement in our time...."

Thus our present foreign policy which is decisively leaning to the world of communism and our internal policy which is committed to the same goal of Marxist-socialism, both deriving their nature from an apotheosis of Machine-Industry at the cost of human values cannot claim any affinity with genuine Asianism. The claim of our authorities that these policies are in accordance with our cultural tradition seems plausible only through a failure to pierce through semantic confusions.

True Asianism would require a very different policy of cooperating with the Free West and of building a society wherein the machine is subordinated to magnitudes and relations which do not destroy human values.

Chancellor Borsodi is a man with a vision with clarity, sincerity and courage to match. It is such teachers that used to found gurukulas as of old in India. He invites mature students to his unique university, which appears to be a true gurukula, for a term of cooperative study of the living problems of current civilisation drawing upon the "accumulated knowledge and wisdom of all past cultures" for illumination of the right norms of human life.

Borsodi's book: *The Challenge of Asia* is a work of insight into the crisis of civilisation with a clear grasp of the kind of education needed for training world leaders.

M. A. Venkata Rao

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By
HENRY MEULEN

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Poverty And Capital Development In India

POVERTY AND CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA by Dr. D. K. Rangnekar, Oxford University Press: Price 25/-

The book under review is a doctoral thesis submitted to and approved by London University and the main object in the words of the author "is to portray the contemporary pattern of investment in relation to some of India's major problems of development." The investigation is carried against "India's economic and social framework." Everyone knows that India is a rich country inhabited by poor people. Everyone knows that India possesses vast natural and human resources but what she lacks is the capital which is essential for the economic development of the country. Many people are not aware of the poverty and the first chapter of this book gives a good description of the poverty of the Indian people. What Dr. Rangnekar says about the poverty is not new. In the past many writers had written on this "hoary" problem, but the importance of the book lies in the fact that the author has assembled all the available facts and presented them in a lucid form.

Dr. Rangnekar describes in detail the investment pattern of the First Five Year Plan and it appears that he is in agreement with that pattern of investment. He has offered a sharp criticism against the investment pattern of the Second

Five Year Plan. He maintains that the Second Five Year Plan is over-ambitious in size and its basic approach and priorities do not satisfy the basic, immediate quantity of food supply and unless agriculture is improved, this problem cannot be solved. So according to the author Planning Commission should have laid greater emphasis upon agriculture instead of heavy and basic industries. If the Planning Commission had taken the realistic view, then it would have consolidated the gain of the First Plan but according to the author, Planning Commission had failed to launch an all-out attack on the problem of Indian agriculture and lost the opportunity offered at the end of the First Plan. No one will disagree with him when he says "the problem of Indian development is linked up with the performance of agriculture." In spite of this assertion he recognises the fact that "agriculture improvement cannot go much further without industry as the technological base of advance; as a source of essential equipment and services, such as power, implements and fertilizers, transport services etc. So his objection to the heavy industries lies in the ill conceived pattern of investment, but he fails to understand that this accounts for only less than ten percent of the investment in the period of Second Plan. Dr. Rangnekar maintains that heavy population pressure on land should be reduced and that agriculture should be modernised not by labour saving inventions but by labour using inventions, but it must be remembered that realistic planning should consider not only immediate gains in the short period but should pay equal attention to the long term gain in the economic development. Unfortunately Dr. Rangnekar has approached the whole problem with a bias and if one takes a long term view his criticism against the investment pattern loses much of its force. He wants that India should "try to arrive at a stage where the momentum of the economy and the growth in its capacity to save will make a high level of capital formation a normal feature". But this cannot be achieved unless heavy industries are also developed side by side with the agriculture. He has

made a detailed calculation of the rate of capital formation over the years 1948-49 to 1951-52. His figures are lower than the official figures made available recently. One cannot accept the figures given by Dr. Rangnekar as more accurate than the official figures because both are based upon approximation. His figures are related to the period before the Plan and hence it is very difficult to rely upon them with closed eyes. He criticises the official figures on the ground that the estimates made by government had not given proper attention to the depreciation and replacement especially in agriculture, but this criticism does not hold much water.

In spite of these shortcomings, it must be said in fairness to Dr. Rangnekar that his thesis is one of the good thesis that has come out of the London University. Its importance lies in the fact that it is at the appropriate time. It is well written and it should be read and digested by all those who have the welfare of the teeming millions of our country to their hearts. It is not only useful to the students of Economics but also to Planning Commission, so that this alleged expert body on Planning may not commit the same mistake while drafting the Third Five Year Plan. When India is asking the outside world for help to implement the Second Plan, it is essential that the foreign countries should know the actual facts and herein lies the importance of the book.

G. N. Lawande

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On The Decline In The Value Of Money by R. G. Allen

ON THE DECLINE IN THE VALUE OF MONEY by R. G. Allen. Longmans Green & Co., Price 2sh. 6d.

The book under review is a reprint of the Stamp Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. Allen before the University of London on 12th November 1957. Prof. Allen had chosen an apt subject as many countries in the post war periods experienced inflation, even though the dose of inflation varies from country to country according to the amount of money pumped in the market by the respective governments.

The subject of the lecture is of great importance in both the developed and undeveloped countries and during recent years much theoretical investigation has been carried on in many countries. The author bases his analysis of price trends in the United Kingdom, especially on the index, of the market prices calculated annually by Central Statistical Office and the in-

dex of retail prices compiled by the Ministry of Labour and published in the Ministry of Labour Gazette. In his lecture he has mainly concentrated his attention on the rise in prices since 1938 and he has discussed two phases of the rise in prices i.e. one occurring after Second World War and the other just on the eve of Korean War. According to him the inflation on both these occasions was of "demand pull" type i.e. "too much money chasing too few goods,"—the classical type of inflation. There is "cost-push" inflation, a more sophisticated version of wage inflation, in which increases in all cost items are passed on; this is the inflation, it is said, of an overloaded economic system. In the inflation that proceeded Korean War, the pressure exerted by import prices and by external factors was greater.

In the latter part of the lecture, Prof. Allen emphasises the dynamic aspect of inflation and points out

the necessity for a macro dynamic model of the economy if a proper analysis is to be made of different stages of inflation i.e. "The use of macro dynamic model serves to distinguish between a number of things:— the disturbance which starts up inflationary price movements, the mechanism which keeps it going and the establishing factors inherent in the mechanism or capable of introduction into it." "The mechanism of the model can be, and usually is of the 'vicious circle'. Prof. Allen in his brief lecture has presented some important ideas which help to understand the real nature of inflation. This lecture is not any important to the students of economics but it is equally important to the government officials especially Finance Ministers of the underdeveloped countries who in their zeal of economic development at a rapid rate pump in more and more money in the market with a result that the prices tend to rise.

G. N. Lawande

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By Scio



A sun-powered hearing aid recently has been developed by U.S. firm. Incorporated in the frames of eye-glasses, the instrument uses for power silicon cells of the same type used in the Vanguard earth Satellite. The cells are so efficient they will operate on the beam of a weak flashlight. Tiny batteries furnish power when light is insufficient.



Experts believe Hungarian revolt hero Imre Nagy and the three other Hungarians who were hanged or shot with him by the Soviets were not executed for punishment of crimes. They believe Khrushchev ordered the executions to re-align the Communist world to the Kremlin's symbolical blow against Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito who has been resisting Soviet political pressure.



Corn (or maize) is now more widely cultivated across the face of the earth than any other crop grown by man. Native to the Western Hemisphere, huge crops flourish in the U.S. Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, China, India, Italy, and South Africa. Oddly, corn will not grow wild in its present form. It is utterly dependent on man for survival.

Letters

To The Editor

Dear Madam,

It was a pleasure for me to receive a copy of your very excellent magazine "The Indian Libertarian". Vol. VI. No 8.....July 1, 1958. issue.

The greatest conspiracy and fraud in the economics against each individual in the world is the private banking powers given by every government to loan 'credit' without having one 'Naye Paise' or any other money to advance for values received from any government. The banking system thru the 'Central Bank of each country have followed the pattern of the Rotchilds, brothers of the Bank of England, since 1694 when it was established as a partner of the British East Indies, at the period when Great Britain 'took over' your country by force and violence and continued to tax you until the great Mahatma Gandhi conquered the British and you received your liberty and are now on your own power.....except for the continued conspiracy of banking and the fraudulent 'credit' extended your people in the form of 'credit' loans by advancing this 'credit' and taking in lieu therefore real substance in form of land mortgages, without having any assets or money in the first place to grant said 'credit'.

Lester O. Willer, Editor, Economic Liberty, California.

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