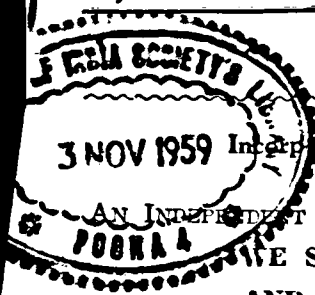


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EDITORIAL

INDO-PAKISTAN DETENTE

IT looks as though there is a real degree of relaxation of tension between India and Pakistan with the advent of General Ayub Khan to power.

Two Indo-Pakistan high level committees are at work, one at Delhi and the other at Karachi on the border disputes and financial settlements between the two States pending from independence in 1947.

The border committee is to visit Dacca before returning to Delhi to finalise their agreements. It has on it no less a person than the General Officer Commanding of East Pakistan.

Both committees are expected to register some significant improvement in the relations between the two States.

This is all the more welcome in view of the Chinese menace to our frontiers in the North from Ladakh to Assam and the Burma Border.

Though Mr. Krishna Menon has publicly expressed the fear that Pakistan might take advantage of our entanglement with China to invade or harass our home territories, the signs are that Pakistan under Ayub Khan does not seem to be thinking along those lines. For one thing, the Chinese menace is common to both countries. China has included some parts of Pakistan territory in Gilgit area in her maps and cartographic aggression.

If large scale military operations develop between India and China in the NEFA area, East Pakistan cannot remain out of danger.

There is also the possibility that some day Russia might use the gateway of Afghanistan to invade Pakistan from the West. The new Ladakh road that the Chinese have built is part of their Peking-Sinkiang-Moscow Road.

Further, China seems to be thinking of including West Asia as well within her sphere of influence in place of Russia!

India therefore has to respond to the projected idea of common defence with Pakistan, (though caution should never be abandoned) and make the best of the offer.

As the Panchtantra story has it, the rat took shelter in the bosom of its deadly class enemy the Cat when it saw the eagle hovering very near its tree and there was no time to reach its hole in it. Immediately the sky was clear, the rat bolted to its safety in its hole and resisted the entreaties of the Cat to come out in friendship and gratitude!

In this atmosphere, it is disturbing to read the message sent by President Ayub Khan to the Azad Kashmir chiefs that he is fully with them and is resolved to obtain the right of self-determination through a free plebiscite to the Kashmiris. Pakistan has also protested to the UNO against the recent incorporation of Kashmir further into the Indian polity betokened by the bringing of the Kashmir High Court under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India and the State electoral machinery under the jurisdiction of the Electoral Commissioner of India.

But these moves on both sides do not prejudice any settlement of the question through agreement at any time.

One favourable factor is that Nehru seems to have given an inkling of his readiness to accept the present cease fire line as the permanent border between the two countries. This gives one-third of Kashmir to the aggressor but if a permanent reconciliation can result out of the surrender, it is eminently worthwhile. After all, India has ample territories for development—in fact more than she can militarily defend, as is proved by the Chinese defence. In the jungle of international relations, there is no pity or sympathy for any nation that cannot arrange for the defence of its homelands through military alliances if her own forces are inadequate. Today military expense and the needs of man-power are so great that even the United States cannot stand alone in defence of her own territories. She needs the global alliance of free countries to match the resources and man-power of Soviet Russia and her extensive empire. It is unintelligent (and unaccountable) that India should persist in her self-created isolation, hugging the illusion that non-involvement in a unilateral manner will secure her defence in case of global war. India will suffer for continuing to entrust her destinies to Pandit Nehru who has proved notoriously incapable of realistic thinking on all matters. He is motivated more by megalomaniac ambition for himself than by the counsels of prudence and practicality.

As an apath dharma, or ethics of emergency, India should with due caution enter into a common defence agreement with Pakistan which will no doubt be gladly supported by the United States. The suspicion that many parties and groups in India entertain of the motives of the U.S.A. classing it on

the same aggressive and imperialistic level as the Soviets and China is totally groundless.

CONGRESS MUSLIM LEAGUE ENTENTE IN KERALA

In spite of the fact that the Prime Minister expressed himself strongly against any encouragement to the Muslim League and disclaimed all knowledge of the Kerala concordat with it on the provincial plane, he has allowed the Congress League entente in Kerala to take concrete shape. He is not averse to deriving temporary benefit from the alliance though it may end up in giving an immense fillip to the League throughout India. He has always shown this tendency to truckle to expediency if it subserved his personal and party power prospects.

The excuse given by Congress apologists, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri and Mr. Sankar of the Kerala Congress is typical of the shallow, time-serving, debonair attitude of Congress leadership from the beginning of its Gandhian dispensation. It is said that the local League is different from the All-India League which is the continuation of the League of Jinnah and Co. that brought Partition and all its woes. It is said that the Kerala League is not anxious for further separation of Mopla Land! But who is it that have to give the nation these assurances—the Kerala Muslims or the Congress leaders? Having decided to ignore the larger danger of giving comfort and encouragement to Muslim separatism for the temporary utility of success at the mid-term elections as against the Reds, Congressmen adduce all sorts of untenable and irresponsible arguments in defence of their opportunistic policy.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri indulged in the sophistry that it was not the Muslim League with which they had allied themselves in the Kerala Election campaign but with the millions of the Muslim masses! He thus ignores the nationalist Muslims altogether and accepts the League as the more authentic representative of the Muslims than nationalist Muslims. Several nationalist Muslims, individuals and organisations like the Momin Association, have protested against this Congress League electoral pact in Kerala. Once again Congress shows its inveterate communalist character in preferring the separatist Moghul revivalist League to the nationalist Muslims! Congress might have asked Muslims either to form a separate organisation of nationalists or taken them individually for patronage and electoral alliance and cold shouldered the League as an organisation.

In the light of this glaring communalism in favour of Muslims of the wrong variety, Mr. Sastri's threat to dissolve Hindu communalist parties comes with ill grace and has no virtue in it to favour national consolidation.

IRAQ IN TROUBLE

Mr. Kassim of Iraq brought trouble on himself by consenting to the death sentence imposed by the People's Court against 14 high ranking officers of

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the Mosul revolt. He was attacked openly while driving in his car through the streets of Baghdad with machine guns and escaped narrowly with serious wounds. Cairo and Syrian cities staged passionate protests with yelling crowds forming vast processions shouting against Kassim. It was clear that the Mosul revolt had the support of Nasser! It is not clear whether Kassim will succeed in mobilising a distinct Iraqi nationalism in his support independent alike of Egyptian Nasser and the Communists deriving inspiration from Moscow (and now perhaps from Peking as well). As military commanders, too many of the new leaders in the army do not consider themselves inferior to Mr. Kassim to accept his leadership and his assumption of sovereign power. The future is still uncertain and the stability that appeared consolidated in recent months is in jeopardy again.

India's prompt and enthusiastic acceptance of the Iraqi revolution in spite of its violence is confronted with a dilemma. If India hob-nobs with Iraq, President Nasser cannot be expected to be pleased. This accounts for recent criticisms of India in the Cairo press.

The Chinese encouragement to the Syrian communist leader, Mr. Bagdash, has angered Nasser who immediately withdrew his official representatives from Peking in the midst of its October celebrations. India's envoy has been refused interview with Chou En-lai several times but India under Nehru has not had the guts to recall her ambassador as a protest.

SETBACK TO NASSER IN REGARD TO ALGERIA

The Algerian Exile Government under the patronage of Nasser have at last agreed to negotiate with President De Gaulle regarding the future of their country. The President has made a new offer of an option for independence four years after complete pacification. The Algerians will be free to opt for complete independence, for integration with France on equal terms with the local French or commonwealth status with a separate Government independent of Paris.

The offer is backed by Morocco and Tunis, brother Arab States of the Mediterranean. Nasser wanted at first to persuade the Algerians to refuse negotiation but later he had to acquiesce as the Algerians fell in line with the French offer on the advice of the Moroccans and Tunisian Bourvuiba. For the moment, President Nasser has found rivals in his Pan-Arab hegemony who are content with the immediate fruits of independent nationalism eschewing the more romantic Arab imperialism of Nasser's conception. This is a variant of the feeling that animates Iraq's Nasseism. Like the Turks, Arab States seem to reject the allure of Pan-Islam under imperialist auspices. It is this motive that inspires the young Jordanian King who is carrying on such a gallant anti-communist campaign to safeguarding himself from subversion. He seems to have responded to Nasser's offers of friendship cautiously. The Egyptian leader has a long way to go before he can see his Pan Arabism take shape—if at all it does.

INDIA'S SHAME AT THE UNO

The Dalai Lama at last found two small nations—Ireland and Malaya to sponsor his cause at the UNO Assembly. They moved that the Assembly discuss the recent loss of civil liberties and national independence by Tibet at the hands of a foreign power. They did not mention China as a matter of precaution lest members of the Africa-Asian bloc should sabotage the move under the lead of India and the fear of offending the Chinese dragon. The free world is even afraid of noticing the national tragedies of smaller peoples if wrought by the Big Dragons of international communism.

To what a level of helplessness have the Powers let the UNO sink! It is clear that the leaders of the free world are not prepared to defend the freedom of small nations if it earns for them the hostility of international communism!

India took the cowardly step of even opposing the inscription of the Tibetan question on the agenda—once by abstention and again by absenting herself at the time of voting. But luckily, the inscription was passed and the world will have at least the satisfaction of hearing of the atrocities committed by the aggressive Dragon and the genocide suffered by the unfortunate Tibetans.

That the Tibetans were unprogressive and needed a shake-up is no excuse for a foreign power to take charge of its life from the inside and impose a dictatorship on its people in all the spheres of life and labour and culture.

This action by India cannot be defended on any grounds—neither prudence nor principle. India's refraining even from public discussion of the ethics of the Chinese action is in flagrant contrast to her strident condemnation of England and France when they attacked the Egyptian Canal. India then did not calculate the cost in terms of the antagonism of Britain.

India fears China and Russia more than she fears the West. Why? because obviously the West is more civilised and does not retaliate for moral condemnation! So we exploit the conscience of the West and yield to the ruthless imperialism of Communism! This is supposed to be high morality. The most powerful influence of the UNO lies in the moral plane in creating a world conscience and world public opinion. It is this that brought India her freedom in large part.

Both Russia and America are frantically appealing to the public opinion of the world for support.

India could have risen to the occasion—setting aside her own fears—if she had championed the cause of the Tibetan people in the UNO without suggesting military action. She lost this opportunity in pursuit of a futile expediency that will not cut any ice with the Chinese who have their own long-standing programme of recovering all the territories that might have at one time in the past belonged to their old empires!

THE SOPHISTRY OF NEHRU AND MENON

The White Paper on the Chinese Border Aggression issued by the Government together with the speech of the Prime Minister give the facts of the case and proved beyond doubt the aggression committed by China and the unjustifiability of her claims for large chunks of territory in NEFA and Upper Assam and Ladakh.

But the public is naturally dismayed by the cool assertion of the Prime Minister that no military action will be taken to push the Chinese intruders back. So the betrayal of the past five years of national interest in regard to the loss of territory to the aggressor is to continue! Even in Longju, our forces are asked to stop within two miles of the foreign troops! Perhaps the same orders have been issued to our military officers—not to shoot even when they see Chinese on Indian soil who may refuse to withdraw!

It appears that the Chinese are showing a new patience after the Khrushchev—Mao Tsetung parleys in Peking. For the Chinese troops issued repeated warnings to the Indian outposts at Kinzema near Longju to withdraw under pain of being pushed back by force. The Assam Rifles have stood their ground and the Chinese have not yet decided to use force.

But the proclamation in Nehru's speech that India will not get "excited" even on seeing foreign troops within her soil and will not use force to push them back, is a clear invitation to the Chinese to enter Indian territories anywhere they like at any time they choose.

Even the PSP party leaders have been obliged to censure this attitude of India and to condemn Chinese aggression in clear terms, in spite of their traditional support to the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru.

The Jan Sangh in Parliament and outside has taken a prominent part in mobilising public opinion against the present policies in regard to Tibet and Chinese aggression. But it has not yet called for a change from the neutralist position as between the two blocs, as if it were possible and desirable and safe.

THE CPI JOINS CHINESE 1 OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS

Unashamed, the CPI has sent a delegation to Peking even in the absence of an invitation to India. Of course insults to India are nothing to them. They have sided with the Chinese in denying aggression by them. They want India to give up the 'MacMahon Line' and trust to negotiations for redress!

The Samiti communists in Bombay have been obliged to recognise the MacMahon Line on pain of losing the support of the other Maharashtrian members of the Samiti which loss would react on their prospects in the new unilingual Maharashtra State with Bombay.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON CHINA

The Prime Minister's statements to the Press at Calcutta on the 21st October, once again bring into relief the pro-Communist bias in his thinking. Giving his reactions to the unprovoked Chinese aggression on the Himalayan border of India, the Prime Minister said that there was "no major idea" behind Chinese incursions into India, meaning thereby, as he is always prone to say that "expansionism" cannot be connected with Communist countries. At an earlier occasion he "depreciated" the attempt of some people in India to judge such world issues in terms of "Pro or Anti-Communism". It is amazing how he could be wilfully blind to history and draw conclusions contrary to facts. Country after country in East Europe has been subjugated by Russia in the name of "liberation" and satellites have been added to the Soviet Empire under the guise of "socialist revolution." Now it is the turn of China to commit aggressions on helpless and beguiled countries like Tibet in the same name of "liberation," and her conquests will continue until effectively checked. International Communism makes capital out of nationalist sentiments as in the Middle East and brutally suppresses these sentiments as in Hungary. But the ultimate purpose of such seemingly contradictory acts is one and the same... to win a Communist empire. Communism is no communism unless it is also international and expansive. Its sole aim is world conquest by "peaceful means" if possible, and by violence if necessary. As far back as in 1931, Dimitry Z. Manuilsk of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow has said: "War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today of course we are not strong enough to attack. To win, we shall need the element of surprise. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist." Or more recently, Khrushchev warned the Americans during the course of his tour to U.S.A. "we will bury you." As against this background, our Prime Minister makes himself ridiculous by declaring that Russia has peaceful intentions and that the Chinese bellicosity has nothing to do with her communist philosophy.

Referring to the Tibetan issue, the Prime Minister has reiterated his pious belief that nothing will come out of the discussion of Chinese aggression in Tibet. Has India the monopoly of the choicest wisdom in the world that once she decides to condone or condemn an aggressor, other countries also in the U.N. Assembly should discontinue such issue forthwith? Nothing could be more "fantastic" (to use the Prime Minister's favourite phrase) than Mr. Nehru declaring that since we follow the British tradition, the suzerainty of China over Tibet should be an established fact. It would seem to follow from the Prime Minister's unique logic that "the Portuguese suzerainty over Goa and her other possessions in India, and the French suzerainty over Pondichery also should be taken as unquestionably

(Contd. on page 5)

Communism and Trade Unions

By M. A. Venkata Rao

WHEN asked by Trade Union Leaders in America, Khrushchev replied falsely that in Russia workers had the right to strike but that they had not done so in recent years.

1. In the free world, workers have the right of organising themselves in trade unions to protect their interests vis a vis their employers. This right is protected by Law and includes the provision to strike as a last resort to enforce their claims. Workers are full citizens and are free to change their employers and determine the terms of their contract with them through free negotiations.

But in a communist state, trade unions lose this primary function of being protectors of the workers' economic interests and become their masters and oppressors. The communists' claim that, in their type of state, workers will come to their own and become "top dogs" is a cruel mockery of truth.

This is borne out by communist authorities themselves in their doctrinal statements, official regulations and their press.

"The role of the trade unions after the victory of the socialist revolution is fully expressed in Lenin's formula. 'A school of administration, a school of management, a school of communism'. This definition of the 1920's was formulated when the party outlined the main objects of trade union activity under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Kommunist No. 13, 12th September 1956, Soviet Union.)

Thus trade unions become transformed from being the fighting representatives of labour into a "transmission belt" for the orders of the Communist High Command. They become a unit of the State, a helpless cog in its machinery. It becomes an instrument of labour discipline, a good to stimulate

(Continued from page 4)

established facts and no more fuss about them is warranted. For, are not the suzerainty of the Portuguese and French over their possessions in India, as much part of the British tradition as Chinese suzerainty over Tibet?

No linguistic jugglery can save the Prime Minister's Foreign Policy from the debacle it has suffered. It is high time that we face the fact that Panch Sheela is a useless weapon to fight aggressors with. At best it can postpone the day when India will fall a victim to Communist designs of world conquest; at worst it will weaken the resistance of the Western powers to Communist threats.

greater work on the part of workers and a relentless trap out of which there is no escape.

"By the charter ratified by the XI Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR (15, June, 1954) the oblast, krai and republican councils of trade unions are responsible for raising the productivity of labour, for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the state plans by undertakings, state farms and MTS etc....."

(Council of "Trade Unions" Large Soviet Encyclopaedia 2nd Edition, Vol. 39).

A Russian writer in "The Soviet Trade Unions" No. 5 of 1956 complains:

"We still have malicious transgressors against labour discipline. They have no scruples about being late or not turning up at all, wander about idly in working hours, shirk the completion of a job etc. Such people disorganise and cause harm to the interests of the State" and adds--

"To train the workers and employees in a spirit of strict discipline is one of the most important tasks of the Trade Unions."

2. That strikes are forbidden is part of communist law.

"A strike represents a convenient feeding ground for the enemy, it opposes the working class to the People's State and undermines the masses in the State....."

"Trade Unions," under conditions of the system of people's democracy, do not consider a strike to be the proper method of struggle for the satisfaction of the claims and demands of the working people but on the contrary, consider it to be noxious from the point of view of the interests of the working class.

(Speech of the Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, Poland) Published in Trybuna Ludu 21 Aug. 1956.

The Trade Unions must never oppose the works management and state authorities in the role of the class enemy, because in a country where the people rule and are the owners of all means of production, the trade unions co-operate with the factory managements and form a single unit united by a common interest."

(Obana Lidu, 30th Sept., 1956, Czechoslovakia, 1956).

In theory the class war is abolished but in actual fact the antagonism between the interests of the workers and those of the employers (in this case, the State) remains as acute as ever and is ever

aggravated by the sovereignty of the state as employer.

"The most important task of the trade unions is to strive for high labour productivity and to induce all workers to take part in nation-wide socialist competition."

(Leading article in *Trud*, Soviet Union, 17 March 1956).

3. The grim reality that labour is considered the property of the state and no longer the free output of energy by a citizen worker for satisfying his own wants and contributing his skill and energy to national wealth comes out sharply in the following statement culled from *Trud* of March, 1956.

"Our social laws severely punish the plunderers of socialist property. And this is correct. Then why do we regard tolerantly those who are to blame for squandering publicly-owned labour?....."

Thus communism re-introduces a new feudalism in industrial relations in place of the medieval feudalism that shaped the relations between landlord and cultivating serf. The essence of feudalism is unfair distribution of ownership and the power that flows from it. The landlord owned the land and the cultivator had to work on the owner's land for a bare living.

He was bound to the land and could not go elsewhere in search of better terms or better occupations. This was serfdom. But today in communist states, the worker is considered Publicly-

THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

By RALPH BORSODI

Is the world being gradually lost to Communism? What is the West doing to defend the young and independent nations of Asia against the onslaught of Communism? Are the leaders of Asia prepared to accept the leadership which is passing from the West to the East? These are some of the questions posed by the author who has visited Thailand, India, Burma and other Asian countries and has summed up his impressions in "The Challenge of Asia" which is a frank analysis of the political trends in Asia.

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Owned Labourer and is tied down to the State factory in which he is to work by state directive and cannot change it or seek other jobs. He is punished, further, for lateness or other slackness, out of all proportion to the fault.

According to a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 26th June, 1940. "For absence from work without valid reason, a worker or employee is committed for trial."

"For absence from work shall be taken to include lateness at the beginning of the work, or after the dinner break, and departure from work before the end of the working day and before the dinner break, if this breach of working discipline has caused the loss of more than 20 minutes' working time."

Once sentenced, the worker loses his right to social security benefits for temporary disablement."

For such absenteeism or lateness, the punishment is corrective labour for six months with deduction of up to 25 per cent of salary! For repetition of the offence during the period of corrective labour, the offender may be sent to concentration camp, euphemistically called—"the general bases for corrective labour."

The Penal Code expresses the new proprietary rights. The title deeds have claimed the worker, body and mind alike (See *Saturn*, Vo. II No. 3, June-July 1956).

This is the condition of the worker after the establishment of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, (as it is called by an unconscious irony.) And it is the duty of the trade union to enforce the new penal code of serfdom in spirit and letter without any regard for the freedom of the "new sovereign"! His freedom consists in his obedience!

4. And during the struggle with the holders of power in bourgeois states, trade unions, are to be used, according to Lenin, not primarily for the amelioration of workers' economic conditions but for creating a militant class consciousness among them. Trade Unions are to be regarded as "shock brigades" in the warfare with the capitalist class and the bourgeois governments. An unrelenting hatred of other classes is deliberately preached until the consciousness of antagonism between them and the working class becomes irreconcilable. Hence the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, medical relief, housing and social security benefits etc. is only secondary and instrumental to the advancement of the class war!

5. This use of trade unions as part of the tactics of class war is far removed from the Indian tradition of the peaceful reconciliation of the interests of capital and labour and of the state and labour. It is also anti-democratic since it denies the possibility of the peaceful co-operation of different classes promoting the common good of society and state.

Communism Much Worse than Communalism

By M. N. Tholal

ASKED to comment at his monthly Press Conference in New Delhi, on the views reported to have been expressed by some Congress leaders at the informal session of the AICC at Chandigarh, to the effect that international communism was more dangerous than communalism, Mr. Nehru said:

"This is the first time I hear about it. Communalism is basically bad and disruptive and it weakens the whole fabric of India's structure and society."

Every one says that communalism is bad and disruptive, but no one tries to explain that it is bad because it is disruptive and it is disruptive because it involves favouritism to one's own community and therefore injustice to other communities. And disruption is born of injustice. I know that among the most highly placed Congressmen there is a sort of competition going on in regard to recruitment to jobs under their control from members of their own community, regardless of merit or efficiency. Even the *National Herald*, over whose destinies Mr. Nehru presided since its inception in 1937, was a hot bed of communalism. The Managing Director preferred men of his own community, and when Acharya Narendra Deo, who was also a director, complained about it to Mr. Nehru, who was then in London, the latter wrote back to the Acharya saying that he did not care to what community the recruits belonged so long as they were competent. It was later found that nearly a lakh of rupees had been practically embezzled by the manager and his friends but the scandal was suppressed by Mr. Nehru as the Managing Director was "loyal" to him. This communalism became such a scandal that the major section of Congressmen virtually boycotted the *Herald* and used to call it the *Saxena Herald*. The Acting Editor, who was a South Indian, retorted by filling up the editorial staff with (mostly incompetent) South Indians. And then someone had to be appointed to find out who was responsible for the numerous mistakes in the paper! The two together, however, got rid of that man before he could get any result out of his findings and the paper went on merrily on its course.

SINNER CONDEMNING SIN

Is Mr. Nehru quite sure that he would not lead his fellow Congressmen in office if an impartial inquiry were made in the matter of communal appointments? I have heard lawyers in U.P. saying that if Mr. Nehru continues as Prime Minister and lives long enough every Kashmiri Pandit advocate

would find himself on the High Court bench. The Law Commission has had to condemn such appointments.

This artifice of the sinner condemning sin, particularly the sin he himself indulges in, was started by Gandhi with, for example, his emphasis on purity of the means, when people began condemning his opportunism in exploiting the Khilafat issue and leading the Khilafat agitation. It served as a red herring across the scent all right. Mr. Nehru is a very apt disciple of his master in this respect. After a fairly close study of these two personalities, I arrived at a short cut to their characteristics some years ago. Find out what they condemn most and take it for granted that they are indirectly confessing their weaknesses; and at the same time trying to prove to the world that they do not suffer therefrom. *Vice versa* find out what they claim to be and conclude they are lacking in those qualities. Their acts will bear you out. A truthful man and a man of character does not go about saying "I don't tell lies," or emphasising its converse in respect of his own self. It is always an unprincipled man who talks of his principles, directly or indirectly. For blowing his own trumpet the world has not seen Gandhi's peer. His writing and speeches are full of the first person singular. Almost every sentence contains an I.

MR. NEHRU'S LOGIC

Quite apart from the merits and demerits of communism and communalism, the reader is invited here to note that Mr. Nehru indirectly disagreed with the proposition that international communism is more dangerous than communalism. In this, as in other matters, Mr. Nehru's practice is quite contrary to his profession—again like his master Gandhi—as I shall proceed to show.

Mr. Nehru said at the Press Conference that he "disliked" attempts to revive the old Muslim League in several states and would like to discourage them. He did not, he said, wish to have any truck with communalism. This was said on an invitation to comment on the Congress electoral understanding with the League in Kerala and the reported move of the League President to revive that organisation in Bombay, Andhra, Uttar Pradesh and other states. In view of the opinions he gave expression to, he was asked: "How is it that, in spite of the bitter opposition of Nationalist Muslims, you have entered into an electoral understanding with the Kerala Muslim League?" The Prime Minister said there

had been no alliance, and that there had been some kind of understanding about the seats to be opposed or not to be opposed. "There is a difference between that", he said, "and any kind of alliance." Is that really so? Surely Mr. Nehru knows enough English to realise that he was hedging. "Ally" means "to combine or unite for some special object"—to quote the Oxford Dictionary. If, therefore, there is an understanding between two parties regarding the seats to be opposed or not to be opposed, the object being to defeat a third party, the understanding is an alliance, even if it does not go farther than that. Nobody can deny this simple fact.

There were certain areas in Kerala, according to Mr. Nehru, where the League normally had representation. There is no generosity in politics; and that is why the Congress has entered into an alliance with the League. The League's influence is a justification for the alliance, not for its denial. Mr. Nehru did "not wish to make much of it," but the Congress obviously is out to make the most of it, and that is why Mr. Nehru went out of his way almost to compliment the Kerala League by saying it had been somewhat different and cut off from the All-India League politics.

It would be interesting to know how the Kerala League had been different. Did it not owe allegiance to the parent body? Did it at any time oppose the communal politics of the Muslim League? If so, when and how? Obviously, these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered, and that is why Mr. Nehru was content with vague generalities. Indeed, if the Kerala League had opposed the parent body, it would have been disowned by the All-India League. (Jinnah was not the man to stand any nonsense from any body. He did not stand Gandhi's nonsense and Gandhi was unable to understand why Jinnah could not stand his nonsense when almost everyone else in the country was prepared to do so, and that is why Pakistan was born). Perhaps Mr. Nehru means that the Kerala Muslim League was not so active and so fanatical as the League of some provinces in the North. If that was so, it was because Kerala was part of Indian states then and both the Congress and the League in Indian states were a good deal different from their prototypes in British Indian provinces. The Ruling Chiefs were not prepared to stand any nonsense, like the Britishers with their democratic traditions.

There seems to Mr. Nehru no particular reason why a Leaguer should be appointed Minister if the Congress wins the elections in Kerala. But in case the Leaguers hold the balance of power between the Congress and the Communists, there can obviously be more than one League Minister. There was a gentlemen's agreement in U.P. during the 1936 elections between the Congress and the League against the reactionary landholders and businessmen in power, but unfortunately the Congress by itself got a thumping majority and therefore showed the thumb to the League. It was this

double-crossing that gave birth to the demand for Pakistan and not the communalism of the Muslim League. The U.P. League in 1936, like the Kerala League in 1939, had accepted the Congress programme and policies. If this alliance is good—it must have been considered good, otherwise it would not have been entered into—it should be strengthened by sharing the loaves and fishes of office. The seats the Congress gains it will gain as a result of lack of opposition from the League and the PSP. It stands to reason therefore that the latter should be among the beneficiaries, even if the Congress wins the election. That would be only just and fair. Not only that. When a much greater peril confronts us, minor squabbles should be forgotten. Communalism is naturally ingrained in a people riddled with castes and communities and is almost equally rampant in all parties—much as the pot may like to call the kettle black. Does not the Congress exploit communalism by putting for election a candidate of the community predominant in a locality? The alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala, forced by necessity, should be extended to an alliance with Pakistan. We shall have to enter into one some day, a thousand Nehrus notwithstanding. The sooner we do it, the better it will be for the country.

I have been telling my Jan Sangh friends that if and when Jan Sangh becomes so popular that it commands majorities in the legislatures of the land, its leader will not be Mr. Ghosh or Mr. Golwalkar but Jawaharlal Nehru. It will then be Mr. Nehru who will be expounding the principles underlying the philosophy of Jan Sangh. Demagogues have their own laws and their own principles. Slogans which demand police firing at one time can be mouthed with gusto at another—Bombay is being divided now! It is the public applause that ultimately counts. Change the public mind and Nehru is your man. He had not been crying "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai" all his life because he agreed with the Mahatma. Anybody can read his Autobiography and find out the vital differences between the two.

But even Mr. Nehru should know that there is a limit to cleverness and one cannot fool all people for all time. Here he is on October 8, 1959, among pressmen of all lands, publicly preferring international communism to communalism and then almost in the same breath at the same place justifying the Congress alliance in Kerala with a communal organisation against, be it noted, the upholders of international communism. This action shows that he prefers communalism to international communism, but he is not prepared to say so for fear of offending his Communist friends: It is true that throughout his career, Mr. Nehru has been driving the coach and four of his ambition through his own professions by acting against them—running with the hare and hunting with the hounds—but it would appear to be high time for him to realise that a stray remark, meant obviously to please the protagonists of international communism cannot blind

them to the solid fact staring them in the face that the party which he leads has entered into an alliance with an organisation which he has been condemning all his life—the basis of which he still condemns vehemently—with the sole object of preventing Communists, the better of the two, from coming into power in Kerala as a result of the general elections to be held in that state in the near future.

The childish propensity to be clever, which persists in him as a result of the success it has achieved among his own simple countrymen, cannot attain the same result in the chancelleries of the world, where speeches are analysed threadbare no less than acts. The specialists who help their governments frame their policies are not like the Indian newspaper reader uncritically glancing through his newspaper for a pastime and falling in love with Mr. Nehru over and over again for no other reason than that he occupies the stage to the exclusion of practically everyone else in the country—as did his master before him. Can he really believe that anything has been gained by his openly discounting the proposition that international communism is more dangerous than communalism at a time when he is in open alliance with the latter against the former? The reaction among those whose favour he seeks thus may well be a clenching of the teeth which may bode no good to India. A more straightforward course is obviously needed, if India is not to be made the laughing stock of the world. Emotional integration with the Mountbattens, on

the one hand, and with Khrushchev, on the other—Chou-en-Lai is for the moment out of the game—is a feat whose cleverness can astonish only the performer and those who stand to benefit by admiring him. The whole thing is as transparent as transparent can be. There is nothing profound about Mr. Nehru's foreign policy except that it is based on the assumption—correct enough—that it would not suit either of the two blocs to expose it publicly in the situation in which they find themselves today.

But why do we regard Communism to be much worse than communalism? Because Communism is much more unjust and therefore much more disruptive than communalism. A communalist only wants more of those loaves and fishes of office and seats in legislatures than are perhaps his community's due, but a Communist wants to deprive all others of all share in the loaves and fishes of office as well as in the seats in the legislatures and all other bodies of importance. Communism is bad basically because it stands for minority rule, and the other minorities can with equal justification claim an equal right to similar rule. This means internecine war, not peace, in the land, and it cannot be avoided for ever, even if care is taken to have all fighting power in one's hands. We all know how close Soviet Russia has been to internecine war after the death of Lenin, then after the death of Stalin before Khrushchev emerged as the Dictator.

Democracy in India

By. A. Ranganathan

THE obsession of some of our politicians who hanker after a 'mythical institution of the soil,' the attitude of the Communist party which is interested in making the Parliament as a stepping stone to achieve their ends and the ideology of the Congress Party with its studied intolerance of the private sector and individual rights have not strengthened the cause of democracy in India.

Just as the British Empire was won in a fit of absent mindedness, the institution of Parliamentary Democracy was also established absent-mindedly in India. One has only to go through the debate in the Constituent Assembly to come to the above conclusion. Indeed, one of the members lamented: "what is there in the Constitution to be proud of? Another chimed" we wanted the music of Veena or Sitar, but here we have the music of an English

band." And a third went so far as to assert that, "if you look into this Constitution, it would be very difficult for you to find anything Indian. The British have departed, but I regret to say that our countrymen have not forsaken the ways of their former masters. We will experience much more difficulty in bidding good-bye to the ways of the British than we experienced in bidding good-bye to the British themselves."

That brilliant political leader, Dr. Ambedkar, effectively silenced those critics who were harping on the ancient system of political framework based on the village as the unit, by remarking that there was a good deal of false sentimentality about the ancient Indian village policy and also about the village of the present day. He observed: "Village republics have been the ruination of India. What is the

village, but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit." Indeed, the bane of our politicians has been this hankering after a mythical "language of the soil," which makes us go after "Indian numerals," the "Indian Calendar" and "the National language" to the exclusion of others.

The charge that parliament is 'un-Indian' loses its force, when viewed in the perspective of recent Indian history. Ever since the twenties, we have had some experience of parliamentary procedure which is standing us in good stead: There can be no denying the fact that the parliament has been accepted as a vital forum of our political life. But the important question that we have to answer is not whether the parliament is suited to the Indian genius (the Indian genius has adapted itself to the Parliament) but the attitude of the Communists to the Parliamentary system of Democracy. In his book entitled "The Communist Party of India" published in 1954, Mr. Masani had pointed out that the basic attitude to Parliament is that they must 'use it to destroy it.' Indeed he had warned us that the party's parliamentary leaders have not hesitated to talk of "not believing in the ballot as a way of changing governments" and "desiring to wreck the Indian Constitution." And in a recent article on 'Communism in a Democracy' (published in the September 16th issue of the Current) Mr. Masani, humorously sums up the situation: "What kind of Cricket would it be if a team were sent into bat and refuse to vacate the pitch even after the whole side has had their innings? But this is exactly what the Communist Party in Kerala and every Communist Government has wanted to do. If you allow them to occupy the pitch, they will refuse to vacate it for eternity... I for one have enough faith in the intelligence of the Indian people to say that the people of India, may, for the present allow the C.P.I. to function legally as an act of 'meherbani.' If however, this course is followed it becomes doubly necessary that Communism should be defeated politically by the weight of superior intelligence and morality."

'The record of the Congress' observed Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Dr. Ambedkar and others in a statement issued in October 1939. "belies the hope that the present Congress leaders want to establish real democracy in India. The Congress governments resent any opposition and wish like autocrats that no opposition should exist... Minority opinion is ignored with callous indifference... Congress cannot bear rivals and cannot bear sharing credit." How prophetic! And the record of the Congress since Independence has been admirably analysed by Dr. Brecher in his biography of Nehru. He says: "After a decade in power, the Congress is in decline. To many, it appears to have strong similarities to the Kuomintang under Chiang-kai-Shek after the second world

war. The goal of most Congress leaders is a ministership and the trappings of power and prestige. Few are interested in organisational work... Little more than lip service is paid to Nehru's ideas for revitalisation of the party. The prevalent attitude seems to be that as long as they can enjoy the fruits of power in their life-time (which for many of the leaders cannot be long) why worry about the future."

It is fortunate that our eminent leaders like Rajaji, Munshi and others have left the Congress to form the Swatantra Party. But what we lack today is an adequate volume of "independent political thinking." This function is performed by voluntary associations of scholars (like Chatham House) Public figures and others interested in making an impartial and scientific study of the working of democracy in advanced countries like England. In India, we do not have a sufficient number of persons devoted to a study of independent, economic and social research. Certain associations which are ostensibly devoted to these ends, tend to echo the official policy of the Government instead of giving a lead to independent thinking. It is cheering, however that a few journalists and intellectuals are heroically striving to give such a lead, inspite of several odds. We need more people of this type, since the success of democracy depends on a continuous debate on the important problems of our country and century. In other words, we need to have more and more of informed and fearless criticism and not a slavish adherence to parrot thinking, if democracy is to survive in India.

CULTURAL TRADITION AND OTHER ESSAYS

By Francis Neilson

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Red Offensive In Asia

By Sharokh Sabavala*

(Communist incursions in India and Laos are signs of a 'big freeze which China is deliberately engineering' in its relations with South Asian neutralists).

AGAINST THE big thaw which may occur in East-West relations after Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and President Eisenhower exchange visits must be set the equally big freeze which Mainland China deliberately seems to be engineering in South Asia. Here are some signs of the onset of winter in Sino-neutralist relations:

1. Communist guerilla forces, based in North Vietnam and supplied in part by China, have brought to a head their campaign to wrest control of the two northern provinces of the independent kingdom of Laos. In this connection, political observers here have not lost sight of the fact that Ho Chi Minh, North Vietnam's Communist ruler, was in Moscow just a few weeks ago and conferred with Khrushchev and other Kremlin leaders shortly before the military action in Laos was stepped up.

2. Just a week ago, Chinese Communist forces invaded Indian territory, battled with Indian troops and captured border posts more than 1,000 miles apart—in the Northeast Frontier Agency and in the Ladakh region of Kashmir. On this occasion, in addition to sending a stiff protest to Peking, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru repeated his earlier warning that any Chinese attack on two other autonomous border areas, Sikkim and Bhutan, would be tantamount to aggression against India itself.

3. New Delhi has in its possession—the Indian Government has officially denied this—details of a Chinese blueprint for a Himalayan federation of all Mongolian peoples. The information was first made public by H. V. Kamath, a leader of the Praja Socialist party and a former member of Parliament who recently made

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an extensive tour of the Himalayan regions with the knowledge and permission of the Indian Government.

The federation is to include independent Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan—the latter two autonomous states bound by treaties to the Indian Union—the predominantly Buddhist Ladakh area and the North-east Frontier Agency (NEFA), where the two military incidents occurred last week. NEFA, incidentally, borders on Assam, where the Dalai Lama entered this country after fleeing Lhasa. It is also worth noting that last July the Communist party of Nepal elected Ho Chi Minh and Communist China's Mao Tse-tung to its Politburo.

4. So far in response to Indian and Burmese protests against Peking's cartographic invasions southward—official Chinese maps show many thousands of square miles of Indian and Burmese territory as belonging to the Chinese People's Republic—Peking has stated that these are old Kuomintang maps and that Communist China has had no time to prepare new ones. Last April, however, Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai dropped this pre-



Hindi-Chini Bye-Bye"

text by telling a Peoples' Congress that China's frontiers with her southern neighbours were "undetermined" and that the Government was disinclined to recognize the internationally accepted McMahon Line which demarcates relevant regions in this part of the world. At this Congress, reportedly, booklets were circulated in which author Mao Tse-tung called for an extension of China's frontiers to include all

those countries whose people are of Mongolian origin.

5. Early in August, Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament that the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954 on Tibet had again been violated when the Chinese Communists declared Indian currency to be illegal in Tibet, froze all Indian goods and subjected Indian traders to "flagrant discriminatory practices."

6. After years of pretending to be a national organization, rooted in the soil, the Communist party of India has thrown off all camouflage and emerged as an agent of a foreign power. During the Tibetan revolt, it acted both in Parliament and outside as the spokesman of the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi and carried to the whole country Chou En-lai's charge that the Tibetan upsurge was Indian-inspired. Later, when its Ministry in Kerala was under popular assault, members of the party's Central Executive and the Kerala Party secretary in particular—he takes pride in being called Kerala's Khrushchev—took to making frequent trips to this same embassy for advice and guidance.

Since 1950, although this fact has not generally been known the Communist parties of India, Burma, Indonesia and Nepal have been turning to Peking and not Moscow for their instructions. It is not the Kremlin, but the former Imperial City of the Manchus which now is firmly established as their Mecca.

7. The instructions being given are partly revealed by the recent behaviour of Sepali leader K. I. Singh, a former rebel who once sought asylum in Peking and who now has returned to Katmandu, the Nepali capital, to mount a fresh campaign against India's "imperialist intentions." Similarly, Indian Communists in those areas which lie adjacent to the Tibet border are keeping New Delhi's Home Ministry hoping with their propaganda and their not-so-secret efforts to establish direct contact with Chinese and Tibetan Communists on the other side.

By these and other activities, the Communist party of India, presumably under orders, has willingly isolated itself from the mainstream of Indian political life, very nearly destroyed its domestic alliances with other like-minded groups and now faces a new low ebb in its Indian fortunes with the greatest equanimity. The conclusion being drawn from its cheerful efforts to commit national suicide is that it is so supremely confident of China's future in this region that the present does not matter very much.

This conclusion is bothering an increasing number of Indians, including Nehru, who, however, remains reluctant to admit that his grand Asian alliance lies shattered. In the rest of the country there are no illusions left. In a recent cartoon in a prominent Indian newspaper, a little boy is shown changing a popular slogan on a wall from "Hindi

Chini bhai bhai"—bhai means brother—to "Hindi Chini bye bye." There is a growing demand that the Communist party of India be made to forfeit its right to offer itself for elections since it no longer can be called a truly Indian party.

In Kerala, the Indian President, apart from temporarily taking over the state, has been asked to institute a full-scale inquiry into the workings of the previous Communist administration, partly to reveal its source of funds, which people in Kerala suspect were not of Indian origin. Just before the Kerala agitation started on June 12, for instance, it became known that the Communist party made large withdrawals from two prominent foreign banks in Bombay.

Meanwhile, in Nehru's own words, Peking faces New Delhi with a wall of silence. On Tibet, diplomatic exchanges have been reduced to a minimum. There is not even the usual "thank you" for India's again raising the question of China's inclusion in the United Nations, perhaps because Peking no longer trusts India's motives.

—The New Leader

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U.S. Policy and Communist Vulnerability

By Bertram D. Wolfe

VULNERABILITY implies an alert and determined opponent, ready to take advantage of every weakness and every opening. Only then do weaknesses and inconsistencies become vulnerabilities. But this determination and this readiness are today lacking in the free world.

The Communists know that they are engaged in what Professor Robert Strausz-Hupe and his associates at the University of Pennsylvania Foreign Policy Research Institute have called "a protracted war." They know that they are engaged in a war to the finish, a war for the world. Every separate issue, every negotiation, every conference, every utterance, they regard as a move in that war, whereas for us in the West each is treated as a separate concrete issue to be settled once and for all in order that we may relax.

We aim to persuade our opponents that our intentions are friendly. We aim to "reassure" the Soviets as to their "security." We aim to trace concessions, which in practice means only to give away positions we possess, so that the other side, which offers nothing in exchange, can renew the battle from a more advantageous position.

Edward Gibbon once wrote, "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade." We are not feeble. Actually, America and the free world are at this moment stronger economically and militarily than the opponent that is determined to destroy us. But we are acting as though from feebleness, thus endangering peace by making the Communists underestimate our strength and luring them, without intending to do so, into the folly of an attack. Thus, the very moves we make to preserve peace are moves which profoundly endanger the peace.

In so far as we act as if we were weak, as if our task were to persuade the unpersuadable and to settle what cannot be settled, instead of to win the war the Kremlin is waging against us; insofar as we have permitted the Communists to divide the world into their "peace" zone, where we may not and do not intervene, and our "war" zone, where the entire world and the United Nations and they also may intervene—to that extent it is not they but we who are vulnerable. We are proving vulnerable because of our incapacity and unwillingness to use the openings which their system has provided, does provide and will continue to provide.

What we need, first of all, is an understanding of this universal, unitary, unending war to the finish.

Second, we need a revolutionary strategy, to put the revolutionary forces of our time at our disposal and deny to them their due and exploitation. Only then will their system prove more vulnerable than ours, as potentially it is. With this caveat in mind, let us examine first their theoretical foundations and, second, their strategical and tactical vulnerabilities.

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION— MARXISM

The theoretical foundation lies in something called Marxism. We must first examine the self-refuting inconsistencies in Marxism and its prophecies that have been refuted by history.

THE PROPHECIES

One hundred and ten years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued their call to arms in the Communist Manifesto, with its dogmatic pronouncements and apocalyptic expectations.

A decade later, Marx undertook to lay bare "the law of motion" of industrial society in a work called *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Those 110 years have not dealt kindly with Marx's predictions and have mocked and refuted the very "law of motion" which he claimed to have discovered.

The heart of those works was an expectation of an early apocalypse. The world was headed toward immediate and total catastrophe. In 1848, this catastrophe was only days, or at most weeks, away. It would come with the next street skirmish. Before the year was up, it was to come with the next war, within the year. When it came neither with the street skirmishes nor with the wars which Marx advocated, he decided it would come with the next down-swing in the business cycle. But the apocalypse failed to appear.

The second startling thing about the Communist Manifesto, which aimed to be the programme for the Revolution of 1848, is that it prophesied the end of nationalism. Yet 1848 witnessed the greatest explosion of nationalism in the history of Europe. And now, in the 20th century, two world wars and their revolutionary aftermaths have proved that nationalism is the one great cause for which millions are ready to fight and die. It has spread from Europe, which was its home, to Asia and Africa, which in Marx's time knew not the nation. National feeling provides great vulnerabilities in the Soviet Empire, if we have the wit to exploit them. At the same time, it provides great vulnerabilities

for the free world in Asia and Africa, because the men in the Kremlin do have the wit to exploit the nationalism which the Communist Manifesto said was on the way out or was already out.

Marx's third prophesy dealt with the increasing polarization of society. It treated industrial society, in mythical Hegelian terms, as a system, all the parts of which were so connected that no change could be made in it; the system could not be improved or reformed; it could not evolve; it could only be scrapped. The defects were treated as integral to the system and incapable of being removed defect by defect, and replaced by other structures of circumstances, but only shattered, replaced by another system. The special mission to do the shattering was assigned by Marx to the working class. When this did not come immediately, as the Communist Manifesto anticipated, Marx began his long work to give a "scientific" foundation to the expectation of the apocalypse.

MARX'S CAPITAL HAS THIS AS ITS FUNCTION

The book is strangely constructed so that most of it consists of empirical evidence, striking descriptions of the workings of industrial society, drawn from the England of Marx's day, or rather the England of the day before Marx's day, took most of the evidence from the Parliamentary Blue Books, reports of a Parliament that had already investigated the evils of early industrialism and was busy regulating, moderating, reforming and removing the evil excrescences of industrialization. His book thus gives overwhelming evidence of this evolution and reform, as he himself is compelled finally to point out. When he is discussing the achievement of the 10-hour work law, regulation of child labour, and other such achievements of the England of his day, he writes: "Capital is under compulsion from society. The factory magnates have resigned themselves to the inevitable. The power of attack of the working class has grown with the number of its allies. Hence, the comparatively rapid advance since 1860."

If one reads Marx's *Capital* as an empirical student should read it, the overwhelming evidence of the Blue Books drives one, as it drove him, to this conclusion. Yet when one comes to the last chapter, "the last for which the first was made," a chapter called "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," one finds that Capital came into the world, conceived in original sin, "A congenital bloodstain on its cheek, dripping with blood and dirt from head to foot, from every pore." And it is destined to leave it now in a fearful cataclysm, a day of wrath and doom, by the working of "the imminent laws of capitalist production itself."

"One capitalist kills many; all other classes are destined to be proletarianized; and, as if by mitosis, society is to be polarized. "Along with the constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital, grows the mass of misery, oppression, sla-

very, degradation, exploitation; but with this grows too the revolt of the working class. . . . The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production. Centralization of the means of production, and socialization of labour, at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst as under. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." Thus the conclusion of 1848 is tacked on again after the mass of empirical material to the contrary which makes up the bulk of the volume. But for this it was not necessary to study the Parliamentary Blue Books.

Such has been the perversity of history that it has not vouchsafed the revolution Marx expected in the countries of advanced industry, but has vouchsafed revolutions which invoke Marx's name only in underdeveloped countries on the eve or in the incipient stages of industrialization, in countries shaken by the impact of the West's economy and equality upon autocratic institutions which Marx regarded not as pre-socialist but as pre-bourgeois or non-bourgeois.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY NOT AT THE END BUT THE BEGINNING OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

Another thing which would startle Marx were he to be resurrected today is the successions of industrial revolutions which followed his "industrial revolution." He knew the development from cottage artisanship to machinofacture, from the use of wind and water and animal and manpower to the use of steam power. This was the industrial revolution that Marx studied. But the industrial revolution is unending. He thought that industrial society had reached "the end of its development" in 1848 when he pronounced its doom so stirringly. Actually it was but at the beginning of the development of its productive forces. Since then have come the age of electricity, of conveyor belt, combustion engine, synthetic chemistry, electronics, automation, fission, fusion; and the end is nowhere in sight, unless atomic war should bring a cataclysm indeed, but not Marx's cataclysm.

NOT POLARIZATION BUT DEPolarIZATION

The society which he thought was to polarize until it had reached the breaking point of total polarization has actually been depolarizing. Intermediate classes have not disappeared, they have multiplied. The industrial proletariat has not become the whole of society, except for the little handful of magnates at the opposite pole; it has lost in numerical weight in society while it has gained in status and in economic and political power. Classes have become more fluid and more equalized. Not merely in comparatively classless America, but in once caste-ridden England and France and Germany as well.

In America, absurdly Marx would think, one man, woman and child in every eight is today a stockholder in the great corporations which he

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

The Catholic Church And Rationalism

By S. Ramanathan

FREE thought and religious fanaticism cannot co-exist. Wherever and whenever Rationalism asserts itself in peoples' minds a conflict with religion automatically follows. But there are religious and religions. Some religions take it easy and are not greatly perturbed by the growth of free thought among the people. Buddhism is one such. Indeed Buddha was himself a rationalist although those who posed as his followers constructed a Church and installed the image Buddha as an idol to be worshipped instead of spreading the teachings of the master. Confucianism and Taoism are also tolerant religions. We cannot say anything definitely either way about the Hinduism, which is a great mix-up of various faiths and varying degrees of fanaticism. On the average this great mix-up may be said to be tolerant towards Rationalism. A Hindu may believe anything or may disbelieve anything. There is no obligation on a Hindu that he should believe in a God. That arch atheist *Charwaka* was a Hindu. The worst epithet that can be hurled at a Hindu is that he is a *Nasthika*. But the word *Nasthika* does not mean a disbeliever in God. It means only a disbeliever in the Vedas. Apparently therefore, the disbeliever in a God enjoys a higher status among the Hindus. At any rate he is not an out-caste. The religion of Islam is certainly intolerant and fanatic. But the Roman Catholics easily take the cake. All over the world they clash against the Rationalists, the freethinkers, the humanists, and all people who exercise the liberty to think for themselves. The history of Rationalism is one long fight carried on by the liberal thinkers against the Catholic church. In this connection it may be recalled that the Rationalist organisation that flourished in Bombay two decades ago, before the birth of our own Indian Rationalist Association, got into a deadly fight with the Catholic church. The then British Government of India sided the Catholics and prosecuted the editor of the Rationalist journal and put him in jail. The Congress Government in independent India are walking

in the footsteps of their British predecessors as evidenced by a case which went up recently before the High Court of Andhra Pradesh.

Mr. N. Veerabrahma, a Rationalist of Andhra, wrote in Telugu a book entitled "Bible Bandaram." The meaning of the title is the "Treasure of the Bible." The book is a close reproduction of the Bible Handbook written by G. W. Foote and W. P. Ball and published by Messrs. E. A. Watts & Co., the well known publishers of Rationalist literature in London. This kind of Bible criticism is prevalent in all Christian countries today and, indeed, the liberal Christians welcome such criticism so as to find means of overcoming the same and strengthening their own faith. But the State Government of Andhra in their G.O. 501 dated 22-3-58 proscribed this book and forfeited all copies of the same. On 14th June 1958, the author Mr. N. Veerabrahmam filed a writ Petition in the Andhra High Court claiming that the proscription by the Government was contrary to the fundamental rights assured to every citizen under the Constitution of India. The matter was considered by a full bench of three Judges, two of whom were of opinion that the Andhra State Government was right in passing the order proscribing the book. But the third member of the Bench, Justice J. Beema Sankaram, disagreed with the opinion of his two colleagues and wrote an able dissenting judgement which is interesting reading for all rationalists.

The matter is likely to be taken before the Supreme Court, and it is the bounden duty of every Rationalist in India to render financial assistance to Mr. Veerabrahman in order to enable him to fight for the cause of Rationalism and establish the right of free-thought for every citizen of India. The address to which remittances may be sent is:—*N. Veerabrahman, Kavirajah Tutorial Institute, Chilakalurpet, Guntur District.*

We reproduce below a few extracts from the dissenting judgement of Justice Bhema-sankaram:—

"I shall now refer to the passages to which a detailed reference is made in order to see whether they necessarily evince the particular intention.

The first passage referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph above referred to is to be found at page 10 of the book. Freely translated, the passage is as follows:

"Just as in the Hindu Vedas, evil practices like racial hatred, wars, sacrifices, and the taking of intoxicating drink are also freely found in the Bible. It may be that this is the result of the fact that this book was born in communities which destroyed other communities in which civilisation had progressed."

In this passage, there is criticism not only of the Bible but also of the Vedas and of the Hindus. At the bottom of the previous page, the author stated thus:

"In truth, these books (referring to the sacred books of various religions) serve only to enable us to know the social culture of the times to which they relate and cannot be treated, as the followers of the religions foolishly think, as affording authority for an all time faith, because when any idea embodied in a book becomes a faith and that idea sets a limit to man who has to progress by attaining ever-new knowledge, than it is equivalent to his death. The *Zend Avesta*, of the Zoroastrians, the Vedas of the Hindus, the Pitakas of the Buddhists, the Bible of the Christians and the Quoran of the Mohammedans e.c. are books which point to man death as the alternative way."

These passages indicate that the author is attacking the sacred books of all the leading religions of the world. He may be right or wrong. But, in my opinion, it would be incorrect to attribute to the author a malicious intention towards the adherents of a particular religion although in the book under notice he is dealing with the Sacred Book of one religious community. It would be inappropriate, in my opinion, to use the word "malice" with respect to an attitude of mind which makes no distinction between one class of people and another. It would hardly be correct, in my judgement, to speak of a man having malice towards the whole of humanity or towards followers of all religions. Malice should have a more specific and direct aim. Such a person may be styled a cynic, a misanthrope, but he cannot be characterised as malicious.

It would not be out of place in judging the intention of the applicant to compare his words with those of other authors of books in wide circulation all over the civilised world.

In Frederic Harrison's book "The Creed of a Layman" we find the following passage. Reviewing a book entitled "Essays and Reviews" to which several authors contributed and which he described as a book "which at once repudiates miracles, inspiration, Mosaic history, and the authenticity of the Bible" Harrison observes as follows with reference to one of the essays therein written by Dr. Williams who, to use Harrison's word, is "a well-known tutor at Cambridge, who is

now Vice-Principal of a training college for priesthood and thus adds to the character of vicar, that of an educator of the clergy:

"....it subjects the entire scripture to a process which combines that pursued by Niebuhr upon Livy, with that of Worlf upon Homer. In short, the truth of the narrative and the identity of the authors disappear together. It becomes a medley of legend, poetry and oral tradition, compiled, remodelled, and interpolated by a priestly order centuries after the times of its supposed authors. And this applies to the New Testament (though in a much less degree) just as to the Old."

The essay reviewed by Harrison was written and published in the year 1880 in England where there is no constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression. One can hardly dream of attributing malice to Dr. Williams in subjecting the Bible to such searching criticism or to Harrison for describing the process.

Then with regard to the aspersions of the applicant against the Jewish race, I may quote a passage from the same book:

"Now, in spite of their monotheism, which they held in common with other Oriental races, the Jewish national character abounds in repulsive features.... We ask whether morbid pride, egotism, ferocity, inhuman hate and frantic fanaticism, supersition and hypocrisy, want for nothing in the national character?... Why, all history scarcely shows a race whose character was distorted by such hateful vices.... It poisons their wild mythology and their sanguinary annals, it stiffens the Mosaic ritual into a be basing annals, is stiffens national songs, choke with the thirst for vengeance, and the warnings of their prophets are veiled in gloomy horror."

It would be preposterous to charge the great and distinguished author of these words with a malicious intention, to malign the Jewish race or outrage the feelings of Christians.

I am therefore inclined to think that the first passage relied on by the Government does not establish malice.

As regards the second passage referred to in sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 2, it seems to me to be wholly innocuous. No reference is made in the affidavit to the particular page or pages in the book from which this passage is extracted. I have not been able to find in the book any single passage to this effect. The book, however, does say these things although it may not be contained in a single passage. I consider it difficult to hold that this criticism furnishes any evidence of malice.

As regards what is contained in Sub-paragraph (c) of paragraph 2 of the counter affidavit, I may say that passage similar to what is contained up to the words "spurious nature" are to be found in most books of Biblical criticism. For example, I may extract the fol-

(Continued on page IV)

Gods Of The World Unite

By S. Ramanathan

—:o:—

An American was speaking to an Indian audience at Madras the other day. He was on a mission to sell American machinery to Indian industrialists. Describing the need for Indo-American co-operation in the industrial sphere he went on to expatiate on the religious ties between the U.S. and India as a basis for industrial co-operation. He said that both the countries had to struggle against British Imperialism before establishing their national independence. In the building up of industrial prosperity after the winning of freedom both the countries were inspired by the same objectives—because, he said both the peoples were deeply religious and had put their faith in an all knowing and all powerful God who reigned over their destinies.

Now, while it is true that in her present stage of industrial development India needs American machinery and is anxious to receive American aid and American co-operation in building up her nascent industries, it is entirely wrong to imagine that talk of religious ties between India and America are a necessary precondition for the success of such industrial co-operation between the two countries.

Whatever might be the sins of the former British rule, people in this century are not inspired by any hatred of the former rulers and Indians to-day are more concerned with their present deplorable economic condition which is growing worse day by day after the attainment of political independence. In any case it is fantastic to propound the theory that both the countries believed in the same God. The Americans themselves are divided into numerous conflicting Christian and non-Christian sects who cannot agree as to the specifications of God. We, in India, still worship everything under the sun from stones, plants and animals right up to the sun itself.

This maze of varieties as between Gods has naturally led to fanatic wars between the worshippers of these Gods. This conflict can be ended only by the growing scepticism of the people in the supernatural attributes of the Gods and the gradual giving up of superstitions and the spread of scientific knowledge. But any attempt to resolve religious conflict by pretending that all Gods are the same and all religions lead to the same goal will end in disaster, as we found to our cost in India when Gandhi started the Khilafat agitation with the slogan *Hindu Muslim bhai-bhai* which led to partition of the country and the uprooting and death of millions of people. It is surprising that Americans do not realise that such talk would hardly be relished by the people of India now-a-days.

Such inventions of religious kinship is not peculiar to Americans only. It seems to be the central idea which

motivates quite a large number of people in the world who seek to fight communism. The anti-Communists are in search for a point of rally to muster their hordes. In the absence of clear thinking on the part of their leaders they give in to the exploiters of religion. Already the Pope is campaigning for leadership of the free world against "atheistic" communism. Large sections of non-catholics are victims of the Roman catholic propaganda. They forget the simple fact well known to every educated person in the world to-day that the intellectual leaders, men who have distinguished themselves in science, philosophy and art in modern times, have all lost their faith in religion, while at the same time they advocate individual liberty and oppose totalitarian communism. The fact that Bertrand Russel, the finest mind that the English speaking world has produced in modern times, is a disbeliever in religion and God although he is probably the most determined opponent of Communism ought to bring light to the confused minds in America and other democratic countries. It is all too easily assumed that because Karl Marx mouthed the slogan "religion is opium for the people" and certain prominent communists have declared themselves as atheists, the conclusion is drawn equating communism with irreligion. This logical muddle has been responsible for most of the confusion in the thinking of the political and economic leadership in the free countries. In any case the attempt of visitors from the western countries to sell religion to the people of India has to be deprecated. The masses of India are slowly but surely awakening from their age-long slumber and are trying to throw off their religious superstitions which are battling to subjugate their minds and throwing them back again into their old slumber. The youth of the country has become alive to the need for imbibing a knowledge of science and technology which are the enemies of religion. In such a context the attempt of our American friends to import more religion into India sounds ridiculous.

SING WHILE YOU DRIVE

Advice to motorists:

At 30 miles per hour, sing, "Highways are Happy Ways".

At 40 miles per hour, sing, "I'm but a Stranger Here, Heaven is my Home."

At 50 miles per hour, sing, "Nearer my God to Thee."

At 60 miles per hour, sing, "When the Roll is Called up Yonder I'll be There."

At 70 miles per hour, sing, "Lord, I'm Coming Home."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND RATIONALISM

(Continued from page II)

Following passage from Ingersoll's "Lectures and Essays," Second Series, entitled "Some Mistakes of Moses":

"The real oppressor, enslaver, and corrupter of the people is the Bible. That book is the chain that binds, the dungeon that holds the clergy. That book spreads the pall of superstition over the colleges and schools. That book puts out the eyes of science, and makes honest investigation a crime. That book unmans the politician, and degrades the people. That book fills the world with bigotry, hypocrisy, and fear. It plays the same part in our country that has been played by "Sacred Records" in all the nations of the world."

The first five books in our Bible are known as the Pentateuch. For a long time, it was supposed that Moses was the author, and among the ignorant the supposition still prevails. As a matter of fact, it seems to be well settled that Moses had nothing to do with these books, and that they were not written until he had been dust and ashes for hundreds of years."

"No one pretends that Shakespeare was inspired and yet all the writers of the books of the Old Testament put together could not have produced HAMLET."

"About the meaning of this book, called a revelation, there have been ages of war, and centuries of sword and flame....."

It is not infinitely more reasonable to say that this book is the work of man that it is filled with mingled truth and error, with mistakes and facts, and reflects, too faithfully perhaps the "very form and pressure" of its time.

If there are mistakes in the Bible, certainly they were made by man. If there is anything contrary to nature, it was written by man. If there is anything immoral, cruel, heartless, or infamous, it certainly was never written by a being worthy of the adoration of mankind."

With reference to the applicant's statement about Satan, it may be noted that Bertrand Russell's "History of Western Philosophy" quotes the following sentence from William James in the Chapter (XXIX) headed "William James" "The price of darkness may be a gentleman, as we are told he is; but whatever the God of earth and heaven is, he can surely be no gentleman." Neither William James nor Bertrand Russell could be charged with a malicious intention to outrage the religious feelings of any community."

THE ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD

In the long night of savagery, in the midst of pestilence and famine, through the long and dreary winters,

crouched in dens of darkness, the seeds of superstition were sown in the brain of man. The savage believed, and thoroughly believed, that everything happened in reference to him; that he by his actions could excite the anger, or by his worship placate the wrath, of the Unseen. He resorted to flattery and prayer. To the best of his ability, he put in stone, or rudely carved in wood, his idea of this God. For this idol he built a hut, hovel and at last a cathedral. Before these images he bowed, and at these shrines, whereon he lavished his wealth, he sought protection for himself and for the ones he loved. The few took advantage of the ignorant many. They pretended to have received messages from the Unknown. They stood between the helpless multitude and the gods. They were the carriers of flags of truce. At the court of heaven they presented the cause of man, and upon the labour of the deceived they lived.

R. G. Ingersoll in: "Why I am an Agnostic?"

A DEFINITION OF GOD

After reading The Confessions of St. Augustine, a person was asked "What idea of God do you get from this book?" He replied, "First you think of an old man with a beard. Then you take away the beard. Then you take away the old man. What's left is God." This definition reminds us of a lot of new-style religionists, intelligent enough to reject the old whiskered, anthropomorphic God of the Jews, but not courageous enough mentally or physically to openly declare their rejection.

—The Liberal

The latest religious joke going the rounds:
Southern minister to a church member just returned from the dead by a "medical miracle:"

Well, tell us. "Did you see God?"
Patient (with a moan) "Yes, I saw God."
"Tell us. What was He like?"
"Oh, I can't tell you. You couldn't stand it."
"Tell us anyway! You must!"
"Well—She's a Negro."

—Theosophical Notes

RACKETEERS IN YELLOW ROBES

Mr. Walter Thalgopaditya, Chairman of Ceylon's Special Bribery Commission, told in Colombo that one of the causes that led to the assassination of Bandaranaike was the undue and exaggerated prominence given to men in yellow robes who exploited the credulity of the simple villager to seize power and even to intimidate the government. He asked "Who are these priests who claim now the divine right?" "The intrusion of these racketeers in yellow robes into politics has caused incalculable harm and damage to the country and in the end they had to sacrifice one of their greatest men as an offering to them", he added.

thought were going to provide the little "handful" of capitalists to be destroyed. Main Street frequently exercises more power than Wall Street, and labour and farmers have more influence on legislation than corporation executives or bankers. The latter could only fume impotently and curse "that man in the White House" while we went through the tremendous revolution in our society known as the New-Deal. And even the "owing class" was divided in its attitude.

The state thus has proved refractory to Marxist prophecies. In place of becoming an executive committee of a shrinking bourgeoisie, as he described it, it has been increasingly democratized, subjected to pressure of the labor vote, the farm vote, and the intermediate class votes, even to the pressure of strategically located minorities such as the Negroes in the big cities of the North. Out of labor's influence on government, and out of the classless pressure of the whole of society, has come a state regulation of economic life, a legal limitation of the hours of work, a minimum wage, collective bargaining, the legislated right to organize, and a whole sweep of social security legislation. "The state," as the French Socialist, Marcel Deat, wrote, "has undergone a process of socialization, while socialism has undergone a process of nationalization."

THE GROWING SUPREMACY OF POLITICS OVER ECONOMICS

In Marx's day there was a general superstition of which Marx was the most prominent advocate but which was general for most of the leading thinkers of his age: the superstition that "economics determines politics." The 20th century has made it a commonplace that politics, tends to determine economics. In fact, totalitarianism is, from this angle, an attempt totally to determine the economic and social structure of society by putting one's hand on the powerful political lever, the lever of unified centralized and exclusive power.

Thus what has happened to the economy is that it has been increasingly politicalized. Moreover, the whole nation of an autonomous economy, with its own autonomic laws, on which Marx based himself, and on which Marx's opponents in the mid-19th century based themselves no less, all this has become obsolete and revealed itself as no longer a workable hypothesis. In its place has come the increasing social and political regulation of the economy. Politics determines economics through tariffs, protectionism, quotas of export and import, currency regulation and manipulation, regulation of the interest rate, deficit spending, price floors, price ceilings, parities, subsidies, state fostering of cartelization as in Germany, state persecution or prosecution of cartelization as in our antitrust acts in the United States, supranational economies like Benelux, the "inner six common market," the "outer seven free-trade area," and all the other supranational economies that are beginning to grow up. And in vast areas of the world there is total politicalization

and autarchy. Not a word of what Marx has written is helpful in approaching the problems of our era. Whether these features are to be welcomed or to be feared, they have surely produced a world which makes the projections of Marx and the projections of his 19th century opponents alike irrelevant.

THE WORKER REJECTS HIS MISSION

Unkindest cut of all, the worker himself has not consented to be increasingly proletarianized, increasingly impoverished, and to have thrust upon him the mission with which Marx endowed him. If the worker has engaged in a "class struggle," it has been one to put off from himself this increasing proletarianization and impoverishment and this mission which Marx and the Marxists would confer upon him. In this struggle, the workers have displayed stubbornness, tirelessness, courage, selfishness, solidarity, skill, incapacity to recognize when they are defeated, and the power to enlist the sympathy of the rest of society in fighting off this prophetic destiny and this prophetic assignment.

Unlike the intellectuals who offered them Socialist leadership, they have no stomach for being reduced to naught, the better to prepare themselves for becoming all. To win the suffrage on the continent of Europe, to influence and exert control over government, to legalize and contractualize improvements in the hours of their lives that are spent in labor, to win some security and dignity within the system in which they live, to become "something" in the world in which they have their being, rather than to be "everything" in the world which exists only in the fantasy of the utopians, of whom Marx was perhaps the greatest. It is to these aims that they have rallied. For this they have fought their struggle, and to these aims they have succeeded in rallying most of modern society.

Those who "being naught were to become all", having become something, the whole scheme loses its tidy outlines. Thus, the flaw in the foundation itself, the theory on which Communism claims to build, lies in the fact that a hundred years of subsequent history have reduced every theoretical tenet of Marxism to a shambles.

(To be continued)

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

THE STATE IS the greatest monopoly of all; it can brook no rival or colleague in its domain; it is necessarily sole and supreme. If the State is purely a civil organization, this monopoly character of it is beneficial; if, however, the State enters as an agent into the industrial or social relations of its own subjects, it becomes the greatest and worst of all monopolies, the one best worth having under one's control, the best prize of base struggles, and the most powerful engine by which some men may exploit others.

—William Graham Sumner

Communist Tactics in India

By John Ridley

We reproduce below an article from "The Daily Telegraph And Morning Post" by John Ridley on the Communist Party of India. The author has seen through the foul tactics of the Communist Party of India, which is not any different from the subversive and anti-national Communist parties of other countries, but only a somewhat more opportunistic. However, we do not agree with the writer when he says that there is little chance of widespread support for the C.P.I. so long as Nehru remains. On the other hand it is our opinion that it is Nehru who has made Communism more respectable in India by his Soviet-inspired Five Year Plans on the national front, and by his pseudo-neutral and pro-Russian foreign policies on the international level.

—Editor

I T was just after sunrise as we drove through the streets of Calcutta. Lying on pavements, sprawling in gutters, huddled in doorways were sleeping the living skeletons of men, women and children, thousands and thousands of them, all near-naked, in attitudes of spectacular abandon.

Most of them looked dead. Probably many were. In that shadowy dawn light the scene had the eerie desolate quality of those nightmare fantasy paintings of Hieronymus Bosch or Pieter Brueghel.

The young Communist sitting beside me looked at them coldly, without compassion. "These are the people we shall use some day," he said. "Revolution in India will start right here in Calcutta when this scum has been organised by us. And it may be sooner than you think."

These last words I had heard repeated in many parts of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

POLITICAL DARK HORSE

The Communist party is something of a dark horse still in the political scene of the Indian sub-continent. It is not a negligible force and except for Congress it alone has effective organised machinery. Its numerical strength is said to be in the region of a quarter of a million, but this figure does not include fellow-travellers and sympathisers.

Its growth into a potent national opposition has been largely made possible by the hard work and persistence of its cadres, the undeviating single-mindedness of its leaders, and by omissions, failures and apathy on the part of Congress Administrations. The facts that in the last General Election the Communist party secured the largest number of seats in the Union Parliament of all Opposition groups and that it won Kerala and in several States emerged as the second biggest party has made a very deep impression.

Since observing the recent crisis in Kerala I have toured extensively four areas where Communist in-

fluence appears to be increasing—Madras, the former French enclave of Pondicherry Andhra, and West Bengal. Although I found ample evidence to show that recent events in Tibet very seriously shook the party structure in India, the hard core remained loyal and is gradually rebuilding temporarily lost prestige. To the starvation-bright eyes of refugees from Pakistan in the slum camp hovels of West Bengal the "pie in the sky" offered by the Communists seems more real and significant than the flight of a Dalai Lama. How the party will live down or explain away the Chinese incursions into Indian territory remains to be seen.

Generally throughout India the Communists use similar tactics, all of which are rigidly laid down by the high command of the party in Delhi. These tactics include inciting lower caste Hindus against higher and both against Christians and Muslims.

Where there are communal tensions, as in Bombay, Madras and parts of the Punjab, the Communists support the side likely to give them eventually the most votes, or alternatively the side that is likely to make most trouble for Congress. Where there is resentment against North by South they sponsor the cause of Tamil regionalism and separation from Delhi. In Pondicherry they even give clandestine help to the movement urging that French colonial rule should be restored.

A strike, no matter how small or unimportant, inevitably receives their attention. They are always opportunist and know how to advertise other people's and parties' omissions and failures.

SOURCES OF UNREST

Of the three main trade unions, Communists control one and hold some key positions in others. They have effective cells in universities and have infiltrated newspaper offices. They are most active among writers and artists and the professional classes, particularly teachers and scientists.

Wherever there is discontent in India there also is the Communist party, and in a country such as

this where there are so many valid reasons for unrest it is naturally extremely active.

India's population is growing so rapidly that unless food production increases by an average of 8.2 per cent, a year for the next seven years, as opposed to the present annual average rise of 2.3 per cent, since 1949, India will be 28m. tons short on her staple grain foods by the end of the Third Plan in 1966. Should the Plan fail, the Communists can be expected to gain very decisively in many areas in the famine and confusion that will inevitably follow.

In my tour I found the Indian Communist party has so far made little headway with the peasants in country areas despite the frightening destitution which exists in most of India's 650,000 villages and the appalling conditions under which rural workers live. So far it is largely an urban movement where many people have broken away from more conservative traditions.

IN GANDHI'S SHADOW

On the face of it one might feel that India is a natural subject for Communism, with her extreme poverty, fast-growing population, ignorance, low production and wages and heavy unemployment. But this is a country where infinitely adaptable region and a passive moral outlook are inclined to smother and blunt militant movements.

There is also the omnipresent shadow of Mahatma Gandhi. As Masani, the politician and historian of contemporary India, once wrote: "The influence of Gandhi and his teachings is undoubtedly the major advance in India... Gandhi represents a complete antithesis to Communism and has been recognised as such in the Moscow Press and radio for over three decades... Stalin, Malenkov and Mao preach the need to hate the class and national enemy; Gandhi the need to love all."

Nevertheless the very real asset that the Indian Communist party does possess is its link-up with Soviet Russia and Communist China. By this I refer not merely to such material aid as it receives in the way of funds, directives, and possibly even personnel, but to the tremendous prestige the party derives from having powerful Governments supporting it, whose achievements are indefatigably broadcast by Communist propaganda.

What has had a truly profound effect on the youth of this country is the fact that China is Asian and in 10 years has become one of the great world Powers. Even what has happened in Tibet and the way maps of Asia drawn in Peking embrace as being part of China, large areas of Indian territory has not greatly diminished the envy that is felt here for China. Her revolution is closely watched by local Communists as being the blueprint for Asian countries.

It cannot be said that the Communists' first attempt to rule in India has brought them much glory. But there they have been compelled to work within the framework of the Indian Consti-

tution in a State where there have always been strong social tensions.

DIVIDED KERALA

It is doubtful whether any Government would be altogether successful in Kerala. Its 15m. people are crowded into a small area of poor land. There is chronic unemployment and the State has the lowest average annual income in India—about £10 per year as opposed to the national average of about £14. It has the highest rate of literacy in India. 80 per cent., compared with the national average of 14 per cent. A variety of hostile sects, including high and low caste Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Nairs, live there—an inflammatory mixture which tends to make the ordinary democratic process of government virtually impossible.

Despite the warning note, "it may be sooner than you think," of my Communist acquaintance in Calcutta it is highly doubtful whether the Communists will ever make spectacular gains against Congress so long as Nehru dominates Indian affairs.

By their patient burrowings into every aspect of national life and their exploitation of every grievance the Communists are certain to increase their influence. This I think will be clearly shown in the elections of 1962. But until Nehru disappears from the scene their chances of widespread country-wide support are remote.

After he is gone it is difficult to forecast what would be the political future of India. It could become anarchical and acrimonious—a situation which the Communists would relish. For they believe that the vast illiterate and economically-depressed population of India, divided by religion, caste and language into an infinity of groups, provides the ideal soil in which to plant the Communist seed.

They know, however, and indeed openly admit that the seed would stand a much better chance of flourishing in India without Nehru.

JUST OUT!

ENGLISH

or

LINGUISTIC CHAOS

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

A. RANGANATHAN

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Twelve Million Quit Marxist Paradises

By Mark Piros

ONE of the most dramatic indictments of life under Communism is the neverending flow of refugees from the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Despite the thousands of miles of barbed wire and other obstacles which encircle the Communist-ruled areas, more than twelve million persons have managed to escape since the end of World War II. They have fled from the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the areas they control: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, North Viet Nam, and Tibet.

Despite many near-insurmountable obstacles, and the hardships involved in leaving one's native land, these people have abandoned their homes or farms, most of their possessions, and left jobs and sometimes even family members, for the chance to live in freedom. Yet they are only a small percentage of those who would leave if there were no border barriers. There are more refugees in intent than there are in fact.

Four of the Communist-ruled countries have lost more than a million citizens each to the free world: East Germany, Communist China, North Korea, and North Viet Nam. What has been called the greatest sustained movement of refugees in modern history is continuing for the thirteenth year, out of Communist East Germany. Since the end of World War II, more than three and a half million citizens of the Soviet-controlled Zone and East Berlin have gone to live and work in the free West.

The East German population is being whittled steadily by an exodus averaging around 3,000 weekly. The total number of refugees who have left the Soviet Zone and East Berlin since 1945 amounts to almost 20 per cent of that area's population, and makes Communist East Germany the only area in continental Europe with a declining population. In addition to the hundreds of East Germans who daily seek sanctuary in West Berlin, recently some hundreds of Czechs and Hungarians have been coming into the Western sector of the city after entering East Germany with Communist approved passports.

Although it is even more difficult to escape from Communist China than from most other countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc, three million Chinese have left the mainland since the Communists began their conquest. The estimated 1,000,000 of these Chinese refugees who have settled in Hong Kong—Macao forms the largest single bloc of anti-Communist refugees in the world. The current influx of refugees into Hong Kong is estimated at about

100,000 per year, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to leave the mainland.

There are also in Communist China about 9,000 White Russians who have not yet been able to leave the country, but who have informed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that they wish to do so. They fled from Communism once before, following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and settled for the most part in Manchuria and northeast China. Recent developments, both political and economic, within Communist China make the position of these residual refugees more precarious than ever.

When the Soviet-controlled North Korean regime was formed north of the 38th Parallel in May 1948, another great exodus from Communism began. Within two years, 1.8 million residents of the Communist zone, out of a total population of 9 million, migrated southwards to the Republic of Korea. In June of 1950, when the Communist armies of North Korea invaded the Republic of Korea, the refugee flight continued. Within seven months an additional 800,000 Koreans escaped to the South. When an armistice was signed on July 27, 1953, after three years of war, 7,731 North Korean prisoners of war refused repatriation to Communist North Korea. Thousands of North Korean and Chinese soldiers also refused to go home when the war ended.

Almost exactly a year later, in July 1954, when Viet Nam was partitioned and the Communists took full control of the northern part of that country, there began a similar but even more rapid mass movement of persons to freedom. Although the Communist Viet Minh dishonoured their own signatures to the Geneva Armistice agreement, which permits freedom of movement, and did everything possible to stop the refugee flow, within ten months, nearly one million Vietnamese had fled from the Communist-controlled North to the free South.

Perhaps the most dramatic of all mass defections from Communist rule was the exodus of nearly 200,000 Hungarians who fled after Soviet troops and tanks crushed their national freedom revolution of October 1956.—To escape from the Soviet-imposed regime of terror which followed the uprising, thousands of men, women and children sacrificed everything they possessed and risked death or imprisonment to flee to Austria or Yugoslavia. Most of the Hungarian refugees were eventually re-settled in free world countries.

Besides those Hungarians who came out in lat-

1956 and early 1957, an additional 200,000 have fled in other years since Hungary became a Soviet satellite in 1947.

The list of post-World War II refugees from the Sino-Soviet bloc also includes 290,000 from the Soviet Union; 200,000 from the one-independent Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; 400,000 Karelians who moved to Finland when the Karelian Isthmus was ceded to the USSR; 638,000 from Poland; 187,000 from Communist Bulgaria (including some 175,000 ethnic Turks who fled to Turkey after World War II when Bulgaria was undergoing its worst period of forced collectivization and religious persecution); 76,000 former citizens of Communist Czechoslovakia; 53,000 Rumanians; and 18,000 Albanians.

The most recent major refugee-producing development has been Communist China's brutal subjugation of Tibet. The flight of the Dalai Lama added drama to the movement of some 15,000 Tibetans into India. This combined with an estimated 6,000 who escaped prior to the Tibetan

revolt, brings to 21,000 the number of Tibetans who have fled Chinese Communist control of their homeland.

That the constant flow of refugees produces a continuing strain upon the security systems of the Sino-Soviet orbit countries is best illustrated by the elaborate and expensive border control obstacles and guard units established to bar the way to freedom. Other negative consequences for the Communist regimes include the loss of "face" caused by the flight of so many millions and the loss of skilled manpower (particularly important in the case of East Germany).

Although millions of refugees already have found new homes, with the assistance of governments, private organizations and individuals throughout the free world, the general exodus from the Sino-Soviet orbit countries—despite attempts by the Communist regimes to stop it—shows few signs of abating. This overall trend continues to be one of the most obvious indications of the discontent which prevails among large sections of the population in areas under Communist rule.

DELHI LETTER

We're Neutral--Between India And China !

(From Our Correspondent)

THE situation anent the Chinese incursions and aggression is crystallising and the Congress leaders may soon be able to claim that Mr. Nehru has successfully avoided war with China and thus deserves the Nation's thanks rather than the brickbats he has been receiving. No one can deny one elementary fact about Mr. Nehru, and that is that he is really neutral except where his own personal interests are concerned. Although he, more than any one else, was responsible for Muslims raising the cry of Pakistan in the late thirties, he managed to remain popular with Muslim Leaguers with his Hamlet-like pose on the issue, so much so that Mr. Feroz Khan Noon once said in the United States that Nehru would be more acceptable to Muslims than Gandhi. That quarrel was between Indians. But Mr. Nehru is an internationalist and can maintain his neutrality even in disputes between the country he leads and the country that violates his country's territory.

This kind of detachment is possible only in the mind either of a Yogi or of one who is absolutely selfish in his outlook. It has been said of Mahatma Gandhi that every time there was a tussle in his

mind between the country's interests and his own personal interests, the latter won hands down. (In 1922 in reply to a critic of the suspension of the movement after Chauri Chaura he blurted out: "Who is remembered better? Jesus or Julius?") Mr. Nehru is in that respect a true disciple of the Mahatma. Look at his wonderful detachment and forbearance. A neighbouring country occupies 5,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh and he has nothing to say about it privately or publicly. In fact he keeps the news to himself, fearing perhaps that his countrymen, lacking his forbearance and detachment, may feel inclined to use the "black-guardly language" of cold war. That of course has to be avoided at all costs, Ladakh or no Ladakh. How else will Mr. Nehru arbitrate between the two cold warriors—the USA and the USSR?

No wonder there is a conspiracy to hide the fact of our having already lost to China 5,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh. The average newspaper reader knows nothing about it. This loss was casually mentioned in the *Hindustan Times* in a leading article, but did not figure on its front page—as if it was of no consequence to the coun-

try! That patriotic party, the PSP has also in its recent resolutions avoided mentioning Ladakh—doubtless to avoid incurring the wrath of the Prime Minister whom it is always trying to please. "Forget all about it" seems to be the Congress motto. If you do not realise your loss, or know nothing about it, what have you lost? Nothing! True enough. But are we going to accept it as the basis of our foreign policy?

PSP'S PERSPICACITY

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party recently adopted a long resolution urging the Union Government to draw the "inevitable inferences from the experience of the past few years, gained at so much peril to ourselves and firmly resist China's expansionist strides." These "inevitable inferences" seem to be as beautifully vague in the minds of the PSP leaders as they doubtless are in the minds of Messrs. Nehru and Menon. "A policy of firmness alone," we are grandiloquently told, "will ward off the danger to our country and help ensure peace in Asia. On the way we meet the Chinese threat depends not only the integrity of India but also the freedom, security and peace of Asia. Despite what is at stake—and that has been succinctly put—there is no indication at all of what the way to meet the Chinese threat should be. Indeed, these precious prisoners of inferiority complex proceed to complain that "those who realise the dimensions of this new danger and take a firm stand on Chinese aggression are branded by the Communist Party of India as reactionary forces hostile to the Government's non-involvement's policy." Unless there is a neck-to-neck race between the PSP and CPI for the place of Chief Favourite of the Prime Minister, there seems no reason why the PSP should be so touchy what the Communists say, particularly as the PSP has always been exposing the Communists to show the kind of traitors they are.

The PSP does not want its faith in the non-involvement policy of Mr. Nehru to be questioned. It re-affirms its faith in that policy and recalls that "we have been pioneers in this country who have consistently worked for the acceptance of the non-involvement policy. . . . On the other hand, the CPI, which is seeking to take shelter behind Nehru's policy of non-involvement, has always tried to undermine the policy by striving to drive India into the Russian bloc." The PSP more than any other party has been exposing the Communists. It must be aware that China has been Communist almost since India gained her freedom. It must also be aware that China, a country of six hundred millions, is on India's border. What then does non-involvement, by which the PSP swears, mean? What does it mean with reference to the border dispute with China? That we should not get involved in the dispute? That it is none of our business? What else can it mean? It is not the CPI which is trying to undermine the policy by striving to drive India into the Russian bloc. It is obviously inherent in

the policy of non-involvement that, in pursuit of that policy, India would be driven into the arms of a Power whom China is likely to listen to and that power is Soviet Russia. Can anything be more idiotic for a party than to reaffirm its faith in non-involvement and at the same time declare that "a policy of firmness alone will ward off the danger to our country and help ensure peace in Asia?" Surely, the PSP leaders know what a policy of firmness can lead to, and that is the opposite of non-involvement. The Communists at least are more logical. But the question arises: why this obvious contradiction in the selfsame resolution? The answer is obvious. Not that the PSP leaders are idiots. They do not want to condemn Nehru and at the same time want to win public applause.

TORY VICTORY DRAGS NEHRU DOWN

One significant result of the British general election which has gone almost unnoticed in this country is that, as a result of the Tory victory, the summit for our Prime Minister has receded farther. The might-have-been Foreign Secretary of a Labour Government, Mr. Aneurau Bevan, is a great admirer of Mr. Nehru and, with the Foreign Office under his control, Mr. Nehru's chances of reaching the summit would have considerably increased. As a Leftist he commands the admiration of the Leftists of India also, but a critic has yet to read anything that flows from his pen or falls from his lips that can stand serious scrutiny. Even his opponents find it very difficult to pick holes in what Attlee says, while even Labourites find it difficult to admire whatever Bevan has to say. That makes the difference between great men and small. That also explains in part why the two Labour leaders were not able to pull on well together and Attlee had to retire in the interests of unity in the party. "Do not at this critical moment in the history of your country trust its destinies in the hands of inexperienced men." This warning of Churchill appears to have alienated the intelligentsia whose votes in 1945 tipped the scales in favour of the Labour Party. There were, besides, the differences in Labour ranks on such a vital question as the hydrogen bomb.

It almost seems now that Labour got in by a fluke in 1945. What seems certain is that we would not have got our freedom in 1947 but for that fluke. People here are not quite so sure now that our freedom has been for the good of the country. Since the revelations regarding the Chinese incursions and the manner in which they have been met, the unbiassed have begun doubting whether we deserve our freedom. An electorate which can vote for Raja Nehru can be made to vote for any one, they say. What is worse still is that there is no inclination in any party in the country to face realities. For the moment we seem to be depending on the good offices of Comrade Khrushchev hoping that, as a result of the weekly parcel of mangoes that he receives from Mr. Nehru and the services rendered indirectly by Mr. Krishna Menon to the cause of

international communism, the Russian leader will treat democratic India on a par with Communist China and forget all that he has so far learnt as a Communist! Does a country, it is being asked, whose leaders cannot think in terms of the security of the country, deserve to be free? Can it remain free for long?

DISHONEST THINKING

Our moral stature is dwindling rapidly in our own eyes; in those of others, barring a few exceptions, it was always a matter of imagination bolstered up by propaganda. Our refusal to vote on the Tibetan issue should stink in our nostrils for a long time to come, yet it cannot be denied that logic at least is on our side. It was the Indian Government which handed over Tibet to China—the cynics say we betrayed Tibet in the hope that the Chinese would gratefully accept the Sino-Indian border of our maps—although the USA was prepared to back us against China over Tibet. We must have known then the implications of handing over a country to Communists. So what are we to protest against now?

Mr. J. P. Narayan says the world "would remain beholden to the two courageous countries"—Ireland and Malaya—for sponsoring the resolution on Tibet in the United Nations. He considers it saddening that while the West stood by Tibet, an eastern country, the East forsook her. This, as he says, would cause grievous harm to the Afro-Asian countries themselves. Explaining the reason, he observes that these countries having freed themselves from imperialism were no longer interested in the problem of imperialism. It is this kind of dishonest thinking that is at the root of all evil in our politics, according to critics here. Which country freed itself from imperialism? India? Pakistan? Burma? Ceylon? Malaya? All these countries received their freedom as a gift. Our so-called liberator, Gandhi, was even against the British quitting when they did. And the Labour Party leaders said: "Make no mistake about it, we are quitting." If Labour had not gained a majority in 1945 we might still be slaves. This refusal to acknowledge the benign character of western imperialism and this false patting ourselves on the back, leads to the false equation between the two blocs and gives a semblance of justice to our policy of non-alignment and non-involvement, despite what has happened on our northern frontiers. India in the face of aggression has shown the world that she is afraid, afraid of China. What if smaller countries follow her example and consider discretion to be the part of valour?

Mr. Narayan is not himself prepared to support the western bloc but "cannot help remarking what a sad commentary it is on the working of the UN that the Eire-Malaya resolution had to be so watered down before it could receive the support of even the western bloc." "Tibet," he says, "will be debated, but there will be no mention of Chinese aggression against the independence or autonomy

of Tibet." It is high time Mr. Narayan realised that that is so because the East is full of leaders like Mr. Narayan who seek public applause but are not prepared to risk public displeasure by trying to instruct the public mind along the paths of truth and righteousness. While condemning Communists, they are nevertheless prisoners of the propaganda of Communists. The UN, as he says, has clearly failed in its duty by "sidestepping" the real issue of Chinese aggression. Cannot this failure be rightly ascribed to the third bloc of non-aligners like him, who are now revealing themselves to be the cowards that they are?

All this, of course, would only encourage evil-doers, as he says, and put the peace of the world in jeopardy, but what else has the chief exponent of non-alignment, Mr. Nehru, been doing all these years with Mr. Narayan's blessings? And the world was taken in by him and condemned apartheid in South Africa at his instance!

Meanwhile Cen. Ne Win has come and gone. Between a soldier, who can only think of defence, and a greedy politician who thinks of the summit, there was no common ground. So they met and parted without a communique following the meeting. Was silence ever so eloquent?

Book Reviews

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AND POLICY IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES by P. T. BAUER (CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON PRICE 22 sh. 6d. nett)

At present there is much discussion about the economic development of underdeveloped countries and it has become an important objective in the post war period. The book under review is a collection of three lectures delivered by Prof. Bauer at the Commonwealth Studies center of Duke University. "He has devoted many years of study to specific economic aspects of underdeveloped countries in various parts of the world especially in Africa and Asia. He is closely familiar, therefore with many aspects of particular problems with proposals for their solution, and their difficulties attendant upon efforts to carry out these proposals. He is completely at home in relevant contemporary economic theory and adept at utilizing this theory to analyse situations in underdeveloped countries, to formulate solutions and to assess and choose among alternative proposals. His approach to the economic problems of underdeveloped countries is that of the scholar and the positive economist. His chief interest is in describing and analysing phenomena; and where appropriate in showing how particular results emerge from specified changes in circumstances."

Prof. Bauer in his first lecture considers the scope and limitations of economics in dealing with questions of development. He emphasises the importance of distinguishing clearly between positive economics, normative economics and the art of political economy. "Failure to distinguish positive economics, normative economics and the art of political economy and especially between normative and positive propositions and neglect of elementary standard of technical competence, which in turn stems in part from the failure to observe these distinctions exposes economics to great danger. Within economics, it encourages intellectual sloth because lack of sustained reasoning can be rationalised plausibly but speciously as evidence of political wisdom. Such developments and attitudes are likely to affect the intellectual carriage and stature of economists, and are also likely to undermine their self-respect which in turn is likely to be followed by a loss of the respect of others".

The second lecture reviews the rapid and unbalanced economic development in many underdeveloped countries. In this connection he examines certain aspects of capital formation in agriculture and the expansion of exchange economy. The author is of the opinion that the restrictive measures affect agricultural population, especially the producers of cash crops. "The overcrowding in agriculture is aggravated by restrictions on employment opportunities outside it which result from institutionally fixed money wages and also from restrictive licencing of transport, trading and process enterprises. These restrictions also raise the cost of the services used by producers of cash crops and they retard the growth of the market for these products. . . . The restrictions are examples of the result of the greater political influence and consciousness of their own interests of substantial sections of the urban population. This is an important feature of the social and economic landscape of underdeveloped countries which comes as a surprise to those who think in terms of European and American politics. In the underdeveloped countries the politicians treat the agriculturist as a milch cow while in developed countries he is treated as a pampered favourite."

In the last lecture Prof. Bauer examines rather in great detail some of the important issues of policy that can be applied in underdeveloped countries to achieve rapid economic development. He rightly says that taxation for development falls on activities in the exchange sector which will retard the expansion of production for wider exchange. They also retard the incentive to invest in the establishment and equipment of agricultural properties and in the purchase of simple tools and equipment. Taxation also contracts the supply of funds in the private sector which in turn reduces the capacity of individuals to finance and thus to develop local entrepreneurs. He is of the opinion that investment is not the only or principal determinant of development. Other factors and influences such as institutional and political forces, the qualities and

attitudes of the population and the supply of complementary resources, are often equally important or even more important. Heavy investment expenditure may result in little or no development and conversely substantial development may occur with the assistance of little investment. "The importance of these other factors is necessarily underestimated when investment is regarded as a key independent variable or factor in the promotion of development. And the neglect of these other factors may in turn result in policies which affect development adversely, such as the negation of social and institutional factors and problems." Development is not a function of capital but capital is created in the process of development and this is a good lesson that our planners can learn in formulating their Third Five Year Plan. In spite of eight years of planning, development of our country is at a snail's speed because the institutional and social factors are completely ignored and only heavy investment is regarded as the basic element in the process of development. Prof. Bauer has rendered a great service to the planners of the underdeveloped countries. He has clearly shown the pitfalls and remedies for their solution. The language of these lectures is exact and simple. The analysis of the ideas of the vicious circle of poverty and of the international demonstration effects and the examination of the economic and political implications of compulsory saving is both penetrating and original. It is the book that must be properly digested by the planners in underdeveloped countries.

G. N. Lawande

WHITHER RURAL INDIA by Mrs. Malle Gowda.
Available at International Book House, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bangalore 1. Price Rs. 15/-

This is an unusual book on rural India by the scion of a rural family. The author's husband and relatives are civil servants in Mysore hailing from agricultural families.

The author gives a vivid picture of the miserable and precarious economic condition of the rural cultivators even of the better class. The description shows how little modern governmental attempts of amelioration have actually benefited the ryots. Those who have been helped by credit institutions and use modern implements, fertilisers and good seeds are still microscopic in number.

But the author is emphatic that what is needed is **not socialist** transformation cutting at the roots of private property in land but simply a more successful and resolute provision of modern facilities to cultivators.

Village democracy and self-help and community service can also be revived under new rural leadership which can become the agency to take up the activities suggested and started by Community Development Projects and similar agencies.

The author considers that the present proposals

to impose low ceilings at 30 acres yielding an average net income of Rs. 3,600 per annum is disastrous and will drive intelligence and initiative from the land. She thinks that this will create a poor, servile agricultural class who could exercise no influence on current political developments.

The book brings out much of the modern statistics and data available about the several aspects of agricultural progress through the employment of scientific technology and relates them to the revival and progress of village life as a whole.

The book suggests a ceiling of 175 irrigated land or 250 acres of dry land if ceilings must be imposed. Far from trying to give land to everybody, it is better to offer alternate employment in cottage industries to the poorest villagers, whether landless labourer or small farmer leaving well-to-do farmers with capital and enterprise to raise incomes from present levels and increase food production.

The book is a human document with descriptions of actual conditions in the villages etched with imagination and feeling. It offers a much-needed corrective to the present vogue of hasty destructive policies entertained out of undeserved respect for socialist slogans.

M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings From The Press

SWATANTRA PARTY PROSPECTS

The emergence of the Swatantra party is a factor of considerable political significance. For the first decade after independence the intellectual and emotional climate in the country appeared to encourage a Socialist trend. More recently, however, economic experience, Kerala and disenchantment with China have led to a reversal of that trend. Individual initiative and enterprise and personal freedom have begun to acquire an objective as apart from a purely subjective value.

The Swatantra party caters to this new thinking. A dormant urge has found expression in its political and economic creed. The establishment of a vigorous, democratic party to the right of the Congress should act as a corrective against the ascendancy of Socialist dogma within the ruling party.

The progress of the Swatantra party will however be measured not by the mere addition of a few numbers or the adherence of certain personalities but by the strength of its organisation. At the moment the party appears to be "growing" as various splinter groups and dissidents join it. This may be inevitable to some extent but should not be consciously encouraged. At present, Swa-

tantra is a good idea. It does not yet have even a remotely adequate party apparatus. It has to create an organisation that will go down to the village. This is the task to which its sponsors must address themselves.

— "Times".

LAWLESSNESS OF HIGH CASTES

Nandgaon is a small village with a few hundred people in Madhya Pradesh. On 21st January 1959, the Khargone Branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh organised a temple entry in the village. Two paid workers of the Sangh led a batch of Harijans, entered the temple and pulled water from the village well. The same day the Sangh workers returned home. At midnight the caste Hindus of the village assembled and conferred. They stoned the Harijan Basti in the dead of night. Harijans sleeping in the open rushed into their homes and closed the doors. Stoning stopped.

Next morning the caste Hindus with lathis and iron bars raided the Harijan Basti and began to beat the men, women and children. Roofs of the houses were pulled down, doors broken, and pots, charkas, sewing machines and kargha were done to pieces. In all twenty-two persons including fourteen men, seven women of whom one was pregnant and a child were severely wounded. Of these, one young man, Kushal and his 5 year old son Suresh, succumbed to the injuries after a month's suffering.

The police filed a suit against caste Hindu raiders under sections 341, 146, 148, 149, 324 452 of Criminal Procedure Code and sections 3 and 6 of Untouchability Offenders Act. Thirteen of the accused were punished with 3 months' imprisonment and a fine of rupees hundred each. But they were acquitted on appeal on 12th February 1959. The wounded were discharged from the Government Hospital within a few days while the wounds were severe. THE MLA of the constituency did not care for the victims. Other political parties did not take interest in the incident or as to what happened to the enormous fund which was compulsorily and forcibly collected by the caste Hindus on the basis of one hundred and twenty-five rupees per house plus some thousand rupees of the caste panchayats amounting to about fifteen thousands. One Kalu Ranchod Gujrati should be congratulated for his boldness to keep out of the nefarious act. As he did not pay the levy he is still an out-caste. The Harijans petitioned the Chief Minister, Dr. Katju, through the lone scheduled caste minister Mr. Vishnar. But the M.P. Chief Minister kept silent.

N. D. Bhawsar in "Mankind"

P.M. AND THE PRESS

In a scathing yet very restrained criticism of the Prime Minister's adverse assumptions about the Press in India, *The Hindu* says: "He (Mr. Nehru) has evidently been surprised by the volume and range of the criticisms made by the newspapers of

the domestic policies initiated by his government and he has brought himself to think that these have been inspired by self-interest. This is pure illusion. If there is any single strong inducement for newspapers to adopt a particular line on any matter it comes from the Government. If, in spite of this, a number of newspapers look with a critical eye on the formulation and implementation of various policies by the Government at the Centre and in the States the reason must be found in the policies themselves and not in any extraneous considerations."

—The Hindu.

NON-ALIGNMENT

The country has borne patiently enough with the involvements and tortuosities of the policy of non-alignment. But if Mr. Krishna Menon's immoral and degrading performance at the United Nations on the Tibet question is non-alignment, then let us drown it here and now, deeper than did ever plummet sound. This is not the non-alignment Mr. Nehru had once defined in noble words—"where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral". This is appeasement, craven, humiliating, wicked appeasement.

—Hindustan Times.

THEY WILL BURY US—A reminder

Representative Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has sent a letter to the President respectfully calling his attention to the words of Dimitry Z. Manuilsky in the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow in 1931:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 to 30 years. To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruc-

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tion. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

—Human Events, N. York

NEWS DIGEST

"THIS IS NO SLAP AT ALL!"

Washington: The Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Manzur Qadir, expressed regret that there had been no follow-up on the Pakistani President's offer to evolve a common defence arrangement for the Indian sub-continent.

He spoke repeatedly not only about the potential Chinese menace to both countries, but also in terms of the historical truism that disunity in the sub-continent invited invasion from the north.

Mr. Qadir did not claim to understand India's policy. He compared it to a man who said: "If you give me another slap, I will hit back". But every time he was slapped, he said: "This is no slap at all."

GOVERNOR'S VIEW OF STATE'S ROLE

Ahmedabad: "The Government appears to be interfering too much in the day-to-day affairs of the citizens these days," the Bombay Governor, Mr. Sri Prakasa, said here.

He was speaking at a banquet held in his honour by the Lions Club international.

The Governor said that he could not speak with authority about Ahmedabad and the surrounding areas, but from his personal knowledge of Banaras he could say that the middle class people were being 'queered' and the State was assuming the status of the omnipotent leviathan, not generally different from the Communist concept of State.

WEALTH TAX

Mr. Sri Prakasa said that under the Wealth Tax Act, women, who were usually shy of letting even their own menfolk know of their assets like jewellery, could be called upon to produce them for inspection and assessment.

He said that unless the middle class people provided the leadership and asserted themselves, "they were bound to go under."

He said that the middle class people must give up their patronising attitude towards the backward or handicapped people and struggle with them hand in hand for upholding democratic values.

Mr. Sri Prakasa also warned the country against Communist concepts which sought to destroy personal liberty and democratic freedom.

SWATANTRA NEWS

NEW DELHI, Oct. 6:—A 30-member Ad Hoc Committee, with Mr. Lal Singh as chairman, has been formed to organise the work of the Swatantra Party in Delhi.

The Ad Hoc Committee represents a cross section of people and has two retired High Court Judges, members of Parliament, doctors, lawyers, industrialists, middle class businessmen and well-known social and political workers as its members.

The chairman, Mr. Lal Singh, is a well-known authority on agriculture. A former Director of Agriculture in the Punjab, he was also adviser to the Government of India and Director of All-India Food Technology Institute. He was a member of Parliament from 1952 to 1957.

The two retired High Court Judges are Mr. C. B. Agrawala and Mr. Harnam Singh. Among the industrialists is Mr. Charat Ram, Members of Parliament are Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri and Mirza Ahmad Ali, Mrs. Manmohini Sehgal, Mr. Vasant Rao Oke, Mr. Sobha Singh and Mr. Basakha Singh.

Mr. Charat Ram and Dr. H. R. Pasricha have been appointed treasurers of the Ad Hoc Committee. Its general secretaries are Mrs. Manmohini Sehgal and Mr. Vasant Rao Oke.

The committee has also two secretaries—Mr. Mirza Ahmad Ali, M.P. and Mr. P. N. Joshi, Mr. Iswar Das Bhera, a journalist, will act as the Public Relations Officer.

ANOTHER "LAST WARNING" BY CHINESE SHILLONG.

CHINESE troops came to the Indian outpost of Khinzemane during the Dasara holidays, which ended on Sunday, and warned "for the last time" men of the Assam rifles posted there that if they did not vacate the post within a few days they would be pushed back.

After delivering the warning, the Chinese went back.

Khinzemane is one of the few Indian outposts right on the border of the Kameng Frontier Division of NEFA.

The Chinese said it was for the seventeenth time that they had come to Khinzemane to deliver the warning and it was definitely the last warning before they stormed the outpost and took it over.

The Chinese, however, did not say how far down they wanted the Indian outpost to withdraw.

According to information reaching here, Indian patrols have come across Chinese patrols on the frontier of Siang Division.

PSP EXECUTIVE CALLS FOR SUPPORT TO RESOLUTION

THE National Executive of the Praja-Socialist Party, deplored India's non-participation in the United Nations on the question of including

the Tibetan issue on the agenda of the World Body.

The Executive held that no civilised nation would abstain on an issue which was essentially one of violation of human rights in Tibet. India's "negative" policy in this regard ran counter to its own policy on the issue of violation of human rights in South Africa and elsewhere, it said.

It expressed "surprise" at the argument of the leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N. that discussion on Tibet would mean involvement in the cold war. The absence of China from United Nations' membership could not be pleaded as an "excuse for dropping the Tibetan issue," the Executive held and pointed out that the Tibetan people were the "victims of a shooting war, and our own country faces aggression from China."

CAUSE WEAKENED

"The deplorable attitude" of the Government of India had brought about a "wavering" in the ranks of Asian nations and had weakened Tibet's cause which had received "massive support from the people's of Asia." It demanded that India support the Tibetan resolution sponsored by Ireland and Malaya when it came up before the U.N. General Assembly.

HONG KONG BANKS REFUSE EXCHANGE

HONG KONG, October 13:—It was a bad day for the Indian rupee in the market here. It slumped to more than 30 points below the official exchange rate.

While the official rate is 122 H.K. dollars for 100 rupees, licensed money-changers offered only 91 H.K. dollars for 100 rupees. Scheduled banks refused to exchange Indian currency.

The slump which does not reflect any depreciation in its intrinsic value, is attributed by local exchange operators to large-scale smuggling. With the arrival of every passenger steamer from India, there is a sudden rise in the volume of Indian currency available here.

The supply of Indian currency notes in Hong Kong was at present so great that hardly anyone except Indian nationals returning to India wanted them, money-changers said.

U. K. COMMUNISTS LOSE DEPOSITS

London, October 9: Britain's small, but militant, Communist Party, slipped deeper into political obscurity in the national parliamentary election yesterday.

The Party, which claims a membership of about 40,000, lost ground in 12 constituencies. Held to a standstill in three divisions, it did not contest the last election and gained slightly in three constituencies.

The total Communist vote in the 10 constituencies contested was 30,897 out of the 728,832 cast in those divisions.

The Party's share of the national poll fell to about 0.1 per cent. from 0.2 per cent. in the 1955 elections.

All but one of the candidates forfeited the £150 deposit each candidate must put up before the election by failing to poll at least one-eighth of the constituency vote.—Reuter.

"U. N. MAY BE WEAKENED" IRELAND'S WARNING ON TIBET ISSUE

United Nations (N.Y.), October 9: Ireland warned the United Nations that refusal to take a stand on Tibet would weaken the world organisation and "render future violations of human rights a little easier and a little more likely."

The Irish Foreign Minister, Mr. Frank Aiken, spoke out to members of the General Assembly's Steering Committee, meeting to decide whether the Assembly should hold a full-scale debate on charges of Chinese Communist aggression in the Himalayan kingdom. Ireland and Malaya are pressing for the debate.

Mr. Aiken charged that a time when responsible world leaders are working to relax international tension, Peking is trying to "embitter relations between peoples."

SOUTH AFRICA MENTIONED

Noting that the Assembly has insisted on debating charges of human rights violations elsewhere—he specifically mentioned South Africa—Mr. Aiken said: "We would regard it as both unjust and inconsistent on our part to ignore violations of civil and religious rights in Tibet."

Mr. Aiken conceded that the Peking Government certainly would ignore any U.N. resolution on Tibet, but he said that should not stop the Assembly from "discussing the matter and recording its judgement."

"The majority of States here have always, I believe, taken the view that no State in the modern world can afford to remain permanently and totally obdurate in the face of a firm expression of opinion recorded by the Assembly."

Mr. Aiken also noted that some countries are arguing that U.N. action on Tibet would make relations between China and her neighbours even more difficult.

He replied by saying that the difficulties of no member State would be increased "in the long run by this Assembly's reaffirmation of the basic principles of human rights in Tibet or elsewhere. Such a reaffirmation would be in the common interest of us all," he said.

CHECK GROWTH OF POPULATION MINISTER'S APPEAL

A Union Minister and an advocate of family planning concurred in Bombay on Monday that efforts on a national scale were essential to control the "enormous problem" of population in India.

Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, and Mrs. Dhanvanti Rama Rau, President of the Family Planning Association of India, pleaded at a meeting for "sustained and vigorous efforts" to arrest the growth of population.

Mr. Patil, who was presiding over the annual general meeting of the Bombay Sanitary Association, stated "no work in India was more important today than the control of population." "The problem of feeding five million more mouths every year is becoming serious," the Food Minister observed.

Mrs. Rau said that unless the "basic problem of population" was solved, all our national plans would fail.

PLEA FOR CEILING ON 'POWER HOLDING'

Bangalore, October 15: Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya said here that a "ceiling on power holding is more desirable than a ceiling on landholding."

Talking to reporters, he said that no Congressman should hold office as Prime Minister, Chief Minister or Minister for more than two terms (ten years).

After two terms the senior people should dedicate the rest of their lives to social service, like Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

This would not only help end internal jealousies, quarrels and malpractices, but bring glory to the Congress organisation, he added.

A LETTER FROM CHINA

A little boy in Red China wrote to her brother in Hong Kong as follows:

"Dear Sister—If you send me a little money I may be able to buy some bread. Right now we get only a handful of potatoe peelings such as we once fed to the pigs. If we ask for more, they call us Rightists".

And this specter of famine, inspite of Chinese boasts of "the big leap forward".

WEAK-KNEED POLICY

"The Executive drew the attention of the Government and the people to the dangers of a "weak-kneed policy towards an aggressor who has shown greater regard for and reliance on force than for friendship and trust."

In its view, the danger of military aggression was enhanced manifold by the "subversive tactics adopted by the Chinese and their agents on the frontier, particularly the deceptive 'liberation' promises and their propaganda to the effect that the border people are members of the Chinese family."

CHECKING CHINESE EXPANSION P.-S. P. CALL FOR FIRMNESS

The National Executive of the Praja-Socialist Party demanded that the Government of India "firmly resist China's expansionist strides."

"A policy of firmness alone will ward off the danger to our country and also help to ensure peace in Asia," said a resolution adopted by the Executive, in Bombay.

The Government should insist upon the immediate vacation of all areas "wrongfully and forcibly" occupied by China and demand unequivocal acceptance of the McMahon Line before the start of any negotiations, it said. "In seeking to jump over the McMahon Line, China is trying to make India vulnerable by depriving us of the natural Himalayan ramparts," it added.

SWATANTRA PARTY STRENGTH RAISED ANDHRA ASSEMBLY

Hyderabad, October 9: The Swatantra Party will have a strength of 35 in the 302-member Andhra Pradesh Assembly as a result of the decision of the democratic wing of the Socialist Democratic Party in the State Legislature to join it.

Dr. M. Chenna Reddi, leader of the Socialist Democratic Party, who yesterday announced the decision of 27 out of the 28 members of the democratic wing to join the Swatantra Party, claimed that two Congress members of the State Assembly had also decided to join the Swatantra Party. Six Congress members crossed the floor during the last Party in the State Legislature.

The Swatantra Party will be the second largest opposition party in the State Assembly, the Communist Party being the main opposition party with 30 members—35 Communists and four independents returned to the Assembly with Communist support.

The party position in the State Assembly consequent on the decision of the members of the Democratic wing of the Socialist Democratic Party to join the Swatantra Party is: Congress 211; Communist 39; Swatantra Party 35; Socialist 11; Praja-Socialists two; Independents four.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

Report of the Study Circle meeting held on 26th September, 1959, at the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore:

Mr. M. S. Sirdar, B.A. (Oxon) Bar-At-Law spoke on 'Chinese claims and aggressions on India's Himalayan Boarders' on Saturday 26-9-1959 at Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore. Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided. Welcoming the speaker Mr. Rao said that Mr. Sirdar is a great scholar and he had the opportunity to preside over a lecture at

Oxford which was addressed by Late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry. Mr. Sirdar in his lecture criticised the 'least resistance' which is prevalent among the people in India. Studying the problem and speaking out their minds is essential in the interest of the country. It was folly on the part of India to recognise China's suzerainty over Tibet. And the foreign policy of India towards China should be reorientated in the light of the recent happenings. In the interest of the security of our country, Tibet must be continued as a buffer State. India making a gift to China for the sake of its friendship is neither diplomacy nor statesmanship. Mr. Sirdar further, criticised the effort of our Defence Minister to plead for the recognition of China in U.N. and said that the much boosted Panch Shila has not only failed but miserably failed because of the expansionist activities of Red China.

The Secretary, A. Venkataram proposed a vote of thanks.

Important persons among those who attended the meeting were Dr. P. S. V. Shetty, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor, University of Mysore, Shri Madgal Ramachandra, famous Exponent of Srimad Bhagawdd Gita and B. S. N. Mallya, editor of 'Vikrama,' a prominent Kanada weekly magazine of Mysore State.

(A. Venkataram)
Secretary.

Letter to the Editor

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Dear Editor,

Mr. Nehru while addressing a public meeting in VIJAYAWADA recently, remarked that the Congress Party had made the Constitution which laid all kinds of protection to individual freedom and that they believed in individual freedom and they were going to uphold it.

To what extent "individual freedom" is guarded and protected in our land is evident from a recent address of no less a person than the Governor of Bombay who in his dinner address to the Lions Club of Ahmedabad has sounded a note of warning against the increasing control of the State over the life of the people and in this connection, he is reported to have cited the "wealth tax" as one such measure. It is gratifying and exhilarating to note that the "Swatantra" Party has taken the cause of the Individual as the *sine qua non* of its principles.

The concept of an "all powerful state" encroaching "in all aspects of life of the people" is totally tantamount to protecting individual freedom and let us not drift towards that evil path.

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