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**Arya Bhuvan,
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To Our Readers

As this Number is a Special Divali one there will be no issue on November 1. The next issue will come out on November 15.

The November 15 issue will also be a Special Number justifying our slogan—"Make English the Lingua Franca of India". It will contain articles on the need of the retention of the English language, both as the vehicle of inter-State administration and as also the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges. The fanaticism of the Hindi maniacs has been challenged by eminent personalities in all walks of life—from General Cariappa to eminent educationists from Dr. C. P. Aiyar, Dr. M. R. Jayakar to K. M. Munshi and C. Rajagopalachariar, eminent Congress leaders.

It is high time that the Government decision to foist Hindi on the nation, specially on non-Hindi States like those in the South and in Bengal and other States, is immediately reversed in the interest of the progress of the Indian people as well as the interests of national solidarity. English has been the Binding Cement between States and States in the country.

It is suicidal to give up the heritage of English we have acquired through over 150 years of association with Britain.

—Editor

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EDITORIAL



T. T. K. ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

THE Finance Minister let fall a grim remark about the state of India's defences in Washington (Vide *The Times of India* 27 September 1957) that justifies the feeling that responsible critics have been expressing about the irresponsibility of official policy in regard to defence. He said that "some 300 million dollars had been designated for India's defence purposes but we found that our Army and Air Forces were outmoded completely, so that we could not defend ourselves for more than several weeks. Modernising India's defence forces would cost an additional 550 million dollars."

Now American Military Aid to Pakistan on a large scale was announced in 1953. After four years of mounting military supplies and training facilities to Pakistan by America, we have this authoritative and devastating confession (in a foreign land) by India's Finance Minister that India's preparedness for resisting Pakistani attack is of the order of weeks only and that our arms were outmoded completely! To have slept so unconcernedly these four years and to have pursued policies that resulted in such a quandary as the arming of Pakistan even after the military situation became so perilous are matters for alarm. Those who do not feel alarm in such a matter as the nation's security and especially those in power (whose duty it is to see that defence is not neglected) who have not felt alarm at such a condition of danger are to be condemned for grave lack of patriotism, a lack which is culpable and deserves swift punishment. They should be dismissed from office and citizens should wake up and demand in a language that will be understood better discharge of the primary responsibility by Government personnel for which they have been put in office.

The Crux of the Matter

The Prime Minister said before the Finance Minister left for America that American arming of Pakistan was a menace to this country. We have to ask as to what he was doing all these four years to meet the menace? Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon too has been saying bitter things about America on this matter. But what has been the actual response of the Government to this menace—any change of policy to induce the flow of foreign help by way of arms?

The question is whether Indian destiny is to be the plaything and experiment in non-violence of pacifists who are more intent on the world's limelight as champions of world peace than on the security of our vast and ignorant population.

Complacency of the Indian Public

The complacency of our people in regard to this menace of unpreparedness is a portent. It shows the

Wishing our Readers

A Happy Divali

and

Prosperous New Year

insufficient integration of the nation and betrays the deficiency of national consciousness. No nation can survive as an independent sovereign social unit able to take care of its people unless there is sufficient sense of social solidarity. This is the psychological rationale of nationalism and patriotism. To call for such a sense of fraternal solidarity among citizens and Government and politicians is not an act of chauvinism but the primary expression of a sense of responsibility to the nation.

The people's trust in the Gandhian leaders is pathetic but after the advent of independence it is no longer innocent and admirable. It is the result of laziness and hero-worship carried to extremes. The citizens of a republican State have the inescapable responsibility of watching the conduct of affairs by elected persons whose first duty is to arrange for defence and national security through suitable policies and proper development of military defences. World peace, abolition of colonialism in other parts of the world, welfare, championship of weaker nations against the strong—are all optional and secondary activities in which they might indulge only within the limits of safety and decency.

Shed This Lazy Mentality

People's trust in the present leadership is so strong that any criticism of their dangerous policies evokes not appreciation but annoyance. The honest and upright critic is himself blamed for creating trouble and stirring up feelings of disaffection towards the ruling groups. It has to be pointed out that citizens have to shed this lazy mentality and learn to take their responsibilities more seriously. It is their responsibility to see that the elected Government personnel discharge their responsibility properly. The devastating confession of our present rulers about the unpreparedness of the country for elementary defence should now at least awaken the citizen body. Com-

placency in this matter is not merely a question of amiable trust but a compound of laziness, irresponsibility and we must add, cowardice. Elected members of the legislature have a terrible responsibility in this crucial matter.

Popular esteem, prominence in public life, perquisites of office, social and financial, have all to be paid for by adequate service. Otherwise they cannot escape the charge of exploitation of a kind worse than those socialists charge capitalists with. Citizens should cease to take the cue from Congress and un-national groups (if not anti-national groups) to whom nationalism means nothing in regarding the critics of Government's defence policy as tarred by the brush of communalism, reactionariness and what not. To say that the country should be adequately guarded against aggressors, and to point out that Pakistan is the only self-confessed enemy of India today and to warn the country of the historical fact of the nature of Islamic power being committed to conquest are not symptoms of communalism and reactionariness. To warn the country of these dangers is the first duty of patriotic citizenship.

Zhukov's Reported Statement

Perhaps the clue to the extraordinary and otherwise unintelligible complacency of the leaders of Government—at least of Nehru and Menon—in this matter of defence in face of the menace of Pakistani militarisation is furnished by a breath-taking statement, supposed to have been made by Marshal Zhukov of Russia. Whether he made it during his visit to the military establishments of this country last year, or to visiting Indian military officers like General Thimmayya is not known, and is irrelevant to the issue. The statement runs to the effect that if Pakistan should attack India, Russian war planes will cover the Indian skies and defend India. There is no reason to doubt the bona fides of this promise. Russians are less inhibited about the employment of force when it is necessary in pursuance of their policy, The question is whether we can trust to this tacit agreement? Is there a secret treaty or understanding between Nehru and Zhukov and Khrushchev? If so, at what cost?

Mr. Gorwala has charged in letters to the press that Krishna Menon speaks as though he wished to prevent American monetary aid from coming to India. One feels that our Government is behaving as though they are averse to military aid from America, but will take it from Russia when it becomes unavoidable. Our non-violence only objects to the violence of the West but is hospitable to it when it stems from Communists!

It is on record that Mr. Krishna Menon said in America that the Indian public is averse to Military Aid from America since she has armed Pakistan.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has reinforced this attitude in answer to a question at the Washington press conference referred to above. He replied that India would not approach the USA for military Aid in spite of the precarious situation, namely that Indian defence against Pakistan's attack is worth only a few weeks' purchase.

Traveller's Witness

Last time when we commented on the rumour of military manoeuvres in West Pakistan, we referred to the denial of it from the USIS of Karachi.

We have later the report of an eyewitness, one Reinhold Stephan of Dusseldorf, a West German traveller arriving in Chandigarh, the capital of East Punjab. He is on a study tour of the Middle East and of India and Pakistan. He says that he had seen large scale military activities and a large number of U.S. Military and Technical experts. He said that he had seen rows and rows of tanks and other modern weapons—the damned things—with his own eyes. He reported further that a senior Pakistani officer of the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel had told him that they were preparing for some sort of action.

So in addition to the confirmation of military preparedness in Pakistan, we have now the news that Pakistan is actively engaged in preparations for action in the immediate future.

America ignored all appeals from the desperate free world at death grapples with Germany—France conquered and England blitzed and hovering on the brink of disaster after Dunkirk. Her isolation and neutrality was so strong. She was obliged to jump into the fray only when Japan destroyed her fleet by a surprise attack on Pearl Harbour without declaration of war.

Today America is frantically preparing herself through H. weapons and radar and bomber forces to forestall such an attack from Russia.

But we in India are blissfully ignorant of such caution. We are lulled into false confidence by the Gandhian pacifist leaders who hope to ward off guns and bombs by mantras of non-violence and shouts of Gandhi ki Jai. These Gandhi cries did not prevent the tremendous holocaust of the Partition civil war or rather massacre of the innocents by these who were prepared and looked to the memory of Chengiz Khan, Taimur and Nadir Shah for inspiration.

Unless the present rulers are startled out of their daydream by the awakened citizenry, by resolute demand for adequate defence and universal participation in it by the people, there is disaster awaiting this unfortunate country. This is not melodrama but stark truth and common-sense. The first duty of a Government is to defend the country both by policy and by weapons and training. Our policy has allowed this situation of unpreparedness against our mortal enemy to develop. Our military preparedness is admittedly weak and insufficient.

Surrender To Naga Violence

The Naga tribes under their Christian leaders with Phizo at their head made war on India. They have steadfastly refused to consider themselves Indians and demanded independence. They walked out in a body from a reception to Pandit Nehru years back. From the time of the 1935 Simon constitution, they have been excluded from the jurisdiction of the Assam State administration and only Christian Missions have been permitted to work among them. Only after independence a few Ramakrishna centres have been opened in the area.

(Continued on page 12)

Some Divali Reflections

Clear The Debris Of Ten Years

By J. K. Dhairyawan

DIVALI, the national holiday of India, the "Feast of Lights," is once more amongst us. It is a time of rejoicing and merriment, a season of good cheer and happiness, a holiday celebrating the end of the years of Darkness and the Beginning of an era of Enlightenment and Civilisation. That is the spirit and meaning behind the traditional celebration of Divali. Now as we are in the midst of the Divali celebrations, it is but appropriate that we take stock of the ten years of Freedom and Liberty since 1947, and think of the problems that confront the country today. After the first flush of jubilation and joy at the granting of Freedom, we have reached a stage where the political, social and, more so, the economic problems, challenge our very existence. Today is the age of economics and of science, and a country that fails to understand the many and multifarious problems except through the touchstone of economics and science, is ultimately doomed to failure.

This leads us to the vexed and much discussed problem of the goal and objective before the Congress Government of the day—the "socialist" objective, and the frantic efforts to "save" the ambitious Five Year Plan. We are, day in and day out, warned by the Government spokesmen that if we fail to carry out the Five Year Plan successfully, the country is doomed. And the sponsors of the Plan admit that there is a yawning gap between the resources of the country and the demand of the Plan. How are these two divergent aspects of the situation to be met? The answer to this problem, according to the Government spokesmen, is to beg, cajole, bend, and bow before the Great Powers, specially before USA, for the much needed financial aid. But suppose USA fails to come to our rescue, what happens to the Plan and to the country? Frustration and economic ruin? That seems to be the only end, if by chance or accident, USA does not see her way to help us. And USA has every justification NOT to play the Santa Claus to us. Are there no other ways to get out of the present plight in which India finds herself, solely due to lack of real understanding of the economic problems of the nation, and due entirely to the doctrinaire and dogmatic attitude of the leaders at the helm, who are economically illiterate, and who are emotionally and culturally unscientific?

The Stumbling Block

There can be an effective answer to the challenge of the times if the leaders at the helm do a bit of real rethinking regarding national reconstruction and economic planning of the country. Only an intellectual renaissance can bring out a new and bold mental outlook amongst the leaders, that can safely take the ship of the State to the haven of peace, pros-

perity and economic stability. But this presupposes an attitude of receptiveness and response, in the minds of the leaders, for what may be called unorthodox and out-of-the-way ideas, free from the fashionable slogans of "socialism", "communism", "marxism", "welfarism" and other fads. And that precisely is the stumbling block, and not the lack of resources that stands in the way of the nation's progress towards prosperity and stability.

A people who cannot meet the challenge of the times, in terms of fresh ideas and fresh thoughts, are doomed to perish and are condemned to annihilation. That is the lesson of history, and Free India, awakened from her age-long sleep of servitude and servility, wants a new but bold leadership, that is not yoked to fashionable slogans and doctrinaire ideals. Today the onward march of communism in the world, and specially in the under-developed and backward countries of Asia, is due as much to the fanatic zeal of its advocates as to the laziness and inertia and feebleness of the democratic sections of the population in these countries. Will they overcome and shake of the lethargy and face the challenge, that is the question.

The Crux of the Question

The choice before India today is between private enterprise and free economy and state control and nationalisation, however euphemistically they may be called as "welfarism" or "mixed economy". For whether you call it by any name, a system that puts curbs on private enterprise and free economy ultimately leads to communism and the end and doom of ALL private enterprise and individual initiative. That is the lesson of history all over the world. And that is also the problem that India has to solve, and in the way she decides that problem lies the way either to her annihilation and doom, or to her ultimate prosperity and security. Here then is the crux of the question.

Deceptive Slogans

A great responsibility rests on the present generation to make the right choice, after full and weighty consideration of the heavy toll that ALL planning imposes on the people, and the final end of freedom and liberty—two of the cherished ideals that civilised humanity has built over ages. All the froth and foam of equality of all men and the ushering in of a classless society, have turned out to be the biggest frauds, that have been foisted on humanity by fallacious revolutionary thinkers, from the days of Robespierre to Voltaire and from Marx to Engels. To immature

minds and emotional people they have a fatal fascination, but to a country like India, hoary with age and with its roots going down to eternity, these fallacious and false slogans should not appeal, the more so when we have before us the concrete examples of the mess and chaos that these slogans and ideas have been responsible for in Soviet Russia, in Eastern European countries, that have gone under the yoke of communism, and in China. The examples of these countries should act as the red signals to India, which is on the threshold of embarking for an awakened and new life for her people. Indian maturity points to one and only one way to steer clear of ALL "socialistic" measures and 'welfare' plannings, under whatever attractive names they are dangled before her, by men however eminent and estimable they may be. All these schemes lead but to chaos and servility, with the abominable rule of an irresponsible and unresponsive bureaucracy, the creation of a political "elite" and parasites, and the death of personal liberty and initiative, the hall marks of ALL human progress and advancement.

The Vilest Specimens

How has India come to the brink of an economic crisis? For an answer to it one has to go back 10 years when the British Indian Government transferred the reins of the administration into the hands of the Congress Party. With the Gandhian background, the Congress Party was devoid of an economist worth the name. It was a party of village bumpkins with a sprinkling of district lawyers mostly briefless, ALL demagogues. It was Lord Macaulay who had said: "In every age the vilest specimens of humanity are to be found amongst the demagogues." How true it is can be seen if one has a look at the Congress, the Socialist and the Communist leaders in our country.

The High Pontiff

Towering over all these pseudo-saints is the Prime Minister, who, once he was installed in the gaddi at New Delhi, imagined that the mantle of Moses and Solomon had fallen over his shoulders. He forgot his position of being the leader and Prime Minister of India, and mistook himself to be the High Political Pontiff of the world. With that end in view, he enunciated what are known as the five Principles that should guide the nations in their relations with other nations. It may be conceded that for a newly emerged free country like India, to have non-alignment and non-involvement as the main principles of her foreign policy. It was dictated both by economic circumstances, and also by our military weakness. But then it was none of the business of India to involve herself in international quarrels from Korea to Indo-China and from Suez to Oman. But under the mistaken notions of the Prime Minister, that he was the Political High Pontiff of the world, he condemned all and sundry, advised everybody on the rights and wrongs of their action, with the result that India, which started with a great fund of goodwill in the West, both in Britain and USA, has all been frittered away, with no moral or material gains.

And was our non-involvement policy followed

honestly and truthfully? Certainly not. We were throughout leaning more and more towards the communist bloc of nations, though trying to appear as impartial. But this pose could not be kept up for long. On the question of the Russian rape of Hungary, India was shown to be dishonest and double-faced. This exhibition of our dishonesty and double-facedness paid us in negative dividends, when in the Security Council NOT a single nation of the Free World sided with us on Kashmir though we have a straight and clean case. The voting against India was 10—0. So much for our much publicized prestige in the world! Intelligent critics of this foreign policy have been dubbed by Pandit Nehru as "reactionary" and "communist" for want of cogent arguments. It is a common trick of unsuccessful lawyers to start abusing when arguments fail.

Crores Down the Drain

Coming to domestic matters, economic, social and political progress or otherwise of the country, the same sorry tale has to be unfolded. The Congress leaders economically illiterate, politically bankrupt, except for a vague conception of "Sarvodaya" based on Gandhism, and socially a mixed crowd of reactionary elements, they looked to foreign countries for inspiration. And the country, solely under the inspiration of Mr. Nehru, wrongly chosen for an ideal was Soviet Russia and her Five Year Plans. In place of Stalin the Congressmen deified Pandit Nehru as the LEADER, and his first Five Year Plan and now the Second Five Year Plan are raised to the pedestal of secular gods.

Having decided to follow the Russian example, India started on a spending spree. The Congress Government, had the huge amount of Rs. 2363 crores, collected by way of taxes and loans, to waste in no time. Glowing accounts of the country, soon being turned into a land flowing with milk and honey, started appearing in the kept press of the country and Pandit Nehru in one of his picturesque speeches referred to the half-complete and leaking dams and irrigation schemes as the "new temples of worship." While the country was being lulled to sleep by the high-sounding speeches of the Prime Minister, starvation and famine stalked the land, taking a toll of millions of people while another million of people had to live on barks and roots. That was the end of the first Five Year Plan. Unemployment has increased 10-fold and the country had to go abegging for food all over the world. All the amount of Rs. 2363 crores have gone down the drain of Congress contractors, and corruption, leaving a stench in the country.

Officially we are told that the first Five Year Plan has raised the per capita income to Rs. 281/- i.e. Rs. 23.41 per month, not sufficient in these days of rising spiral of the cost of living and the inflationary tendencies, to get ONE square meal a day per man! While the Government spokesmen are hoarse singing the praises of the first Plan, the cost of living has gone up by 400%, a fact admitted by the Government BUT very conveniently forgotten. And these are the Congress leaders an ignorant, illiterate public have again voted into seats of power.

(Continued on page 18)

The Sanction For A New Party

By Chanakya

IN our sketch of the principles needed for a new political party in India today, we stressed the necessity for a platform radically different from the current fashionable doctrines of Leftism shared in different degrees by the Congress, Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party as well as by dozens of splinter groups like the Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Worker's and Peasant's Party and so on. All these proclaim class war and are class parties, though they pride themselves on being classless in their goal. At present the only Rightist Party that is in the field in any strength is the Jan Sangha Party. It denies class war, insists on the unity of society and State and aims at realising social justice in economic matters through conciliation and peaceful settlement. But it is clear we need a theory of society, of economy and of the State that releases the productive energy of the people in all their ranks without State control. We need a doctrine of free economy and free society and limited Government as an alternative to current forms of centralising Socialism and Communism. A brief outline of such a doctrine was sketched in the article published in October 1 issue of *The Indian Libertarian*.

Wanted a New Sanction

But having clear and cogent ideas is only half the battle. An arduous campaign mobilising the devoted work of tens of thousands of workers in all parts of the country is absolutely necessary if our new ideas, (ideas running counter to accepted or fashionable or influential trends associated with authoritative groups in Government and Congress,) are to acquire power and come to influence people sufficiently to generate a new opposing Party in due course. The difficulty is how is such a body of workers to be won? Unless new ideas are seen to be backed by large number of people in all parts of the country, mere truth value will not be of any avail in practical politics. Today, many thinking people, (some from among the top ranks of Congress, after quitting power or being pushed out of power) are coming out with public expressions of criticism of the ruling Party. They are echoing the sentiments of tens of thousands of ordinary persons, and giving encouragement to critics, who are hoping for a new party in time. But mere hopes and expectations aroused by the utterances of ex-Congress leaders are of no avail in developing counter-vailing power by a new group, anxious to replace the present ruling party. We need a new sanction for the new ideas, a source of power and dynamics able to sway masses of people in new directions and overcome their timidity and frustration.

The urge for a new social or political dispensation can arise in thought or feeling or participation in action in the case of different individuals but it will acquire depth and range, and lead to new level of

experience and value, only if they pass into related functions.

The Emotional Basis

Thus though there is no definite preordained focus or line of departure for new orientation, it may be said that emotional drive or value is essential at some stage to yield enduring conviction and stable action. In the present case, we may say that the values of national patriotism, democracy and rational faith are the emotional bases or framework absolutely essential for motivation in launching a new party.

People who can be mobilised for new political action will thus be those with a keener-than-usual pitch of national consciousness. They must feel for the country and its sad plight. They may be reinforced in this feeling with some regard for India's past greatness. Or in the alternative, they should have sufficient feeling for reconstruction in the present and future, so that life for the average citizen may be better than before, and so that every man may rise to the height his nature is capable of. He may have a sense of progress, material or intellectual or moral. This will strengthen his social idealism. He may be Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Jew but his political allegiance must be for the nation **FIRST** and for every other value afterwards. This is a *sine qua non*.

We require, therefore, a unity of sentiment pervading all attitudes to life and society. This is **nationalism**. Without this, we will find citizens acquiescing in domination by outsiders and so national independence is soon lost at the first clash of interest with outsiders. Indian office-holders, civil and military may betray the country to foreigners. National patriotism is necessary to create an unbreakable bond of national unity in sentiment and action without which national sovereignty will perish without defence.

The Place of Democracy

Democracy, too, is equally necessary for nationalism may be satisfied even under monarchical or military class leadership in which the majority have only the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the ruling few. Democracy assures the sentiment of equality for all citizens. The rule of the people, for the people and by the people has been proclaimed by Abraham Lincoln to be the essence of democracy. The ethical principle of this democratic essence can be indicated with truth by means of the maxim of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant to the effect: "Treat every man as an end in himself and never merely as a means." A self-sacrificing patriot may give his life to his country in the battle field but he is not in this using himself as merely a means to an outside end. He is treating himself as an end in himself in thus offering his life truly at the altar of the country. Means and Ends are here identical and

fused in the inspiration for freedom. But for others to force an individual to sacrifice himself to the nation or class is to treat him as a mere means, for he does not freely identify himself with the behaviour expected of him. The sacrifice of unwilling individuals by Nazi or Soviet rulers runs contrary to the democratic ethics of Immanuel Kant and sins against the rule of universality and intrinsic value inherent in the individual.

Must Know Our Enemies

But even democracy that enjoins universal value to be ascribed to all individuals is not sufficiently itself as the basis of citizenship. For mere democracy has no precept by which to put the good of the fellow national above that of foreigners. Such preference of national good to foreign good is essential for the survival of humanity today. Under a world government such preference may become bad, but today under the system of national morality and politics, national preference is necessary for survival. India cannot trust pro-Pakistani military or high civil officials for instance. To demand that the Government should, at the present juncture of Pakistani hostility and probable military action against us, should look into the credentials and past record of every high-placed unitary and civil official, likely to be concerned in the coming war in favour of Pakistan is but natural and the plainest dictate of common-sense and reason. If the authorities should be ill-advised enough to condemn such demand as communal and the rest of their vocabulary in such a context, they will be liable to arouse the just criticism of the honest and patriotic citizen.

A new party then demands as a pre-requisite a certain degree of national patriotism and democratic consciousness on the part of its sponsors and following. This will constitute the emotional sanction to back the new party.

But mere emotion is evanescent and feeble. It needs to be organised into a stable system and disposition letting down roots into the subconscious and unconscious levels of the mind before it can form the basis of continuous action and permanent source of inspiration. Emotions have to be attached to universal or large ideas and typical personalities as ideals if they are to function as permanent sources of drive and action over long periods of time.

Amorphous Congress

It is here that ideas come to play their great role. Today the Congress Party has lost its original nationalist and genuine cultural flavour, drawn from the historic sources of national feeling and ritual and concrete myths and types. Under Nehru it has adopted socialist and communist ideas, which are vivid only in Nehru's hazy mind. The second rank of leaders are mostly new upstarts and social climbers and careerists. They have had no vivid nationalist experience of the days of struggle. They are content today to follow the Nehru direction for personal reasons. The protagonists of the new party have to develop a sphere of alternative ideas, covering every field of current problems—economic, social, political

and constitutional. They have to attach national feeling and democratic sentiment to a new set of ideas making for free economy and free society, and the flowering of man in a free and stimulating but co-operative environment.

For this purpose study and discussion on a large scale in all parts of the country are essential. Fortunately nature throws up in each generation a certain percentage of individuals with more than ordinary flair for thinking. The leaders of the new party have to discover such persons, and to encourage them to think along new lines calculated to fill the objectives of national democracy with the content of free economy and free society. The leaders, that is those who have arrived at the new ideas somehow today have a double task before them. They have to subject current fallacies and policies to constructive criticism and show their fatal inadequacy for leading to social good. In industry, in trade, in administration, in banking and currency, in agriculture, in the matter of the national language, of the Five Year Plan etc. the new leaders have to show the shortcomings of current policies. They will then develop the underlying ideas into constructive alternative schemes of law and policy-making for a better society. In this task the literature of free economy and free society put forth by libertarians and liberal philosophers in Europe and America as well as by Indian pioneers like Mr. R. B. Lotvala will be of yeoman service. Without such stimulus of ideas, more fully developed than our incipient probings, an outright creation of a new earth and a new heaven will be arduous and well-nigh impossible.

Need to Spread Libertarian Ideology

Libertarian societies, Adam Smith Clubs, Liberal Clubs, Current Affairs Clubs etc. will be the form in which the new groups can be drawn and moulded into study and discussion clubs. Reading rooms, study circle meetings and occasional public lectures and symposia will form the nucleus of new thought. Bentham and Mills in the first part of the nineteenth century did gather such clubs around them and formulated much of their thought in these discussion meetings. Quiet, solitary study and reflection need to be challenged and burnished and sharpened by social contact and clash of mind with mind in pursuit of ideas. This is the only nursery of new ideas and the school of their correction and shaping that man is aware of. Libertarian clubs will develop groups of such keen intellectuals animated not merely by the zest for ideas but also in the motive of national service at a time of grave crisis in the affairs of the nation as at present—what with Pakistan threatening attack and international communism using all its wiles to inveigle our leaders and the mass mind. Ideals will light up pathways of action and national democratic emotion or sentiment will furnish deep and stable drives or motives for long-term action.

Policies can then be formulated and subjected to the X-Ray action of the scrutiny of similar groups all over the country. For this purpose journals like the *Indian Libertarian* and *Mysindia*, *Thought and Organiser*, *Swarajya* and *Current* will be helpful. Our

(Continued on page 9)

THIS HINDI MANIA

By M. N. Tholal

THE language problem in the country is a creation of our "patriots", the foremost among whom was Gandhiji. But for these misguided people there would have been no problem at all. As it is, it threatens to rip the country into many parts, and we refuse to believe it. Just as we refused to believe that Pakistan would ever come into being, maintaining all the time that it was a bargaining counter of the Muslim League.

When Gandhiji came back to India after conducting his struggle in South Africa on behalf of Indians there, a gathering, which included Mohammad Ali Jinnah, presented him with a welcome address in English. He chided the organisers of the function for presenting the address in English, saying it should have been presented in Gujerati. Demagogy was on the march, expecting everything smelling anti-British to be cheered.

Mysticism

When in the twenties Gandhiji began leading an all-India movement, he discovered in Hindi the foundation for his Swaraj. Says S. Ramanathan in his League of Youth:

"Just before leaving Madras he called me to his presence and talked to me in a hushed voice which made me feel I was being favoured with a confidential message. He asked me whether I had any knowledge of Hindi and whether I had seen handspinning of cotton yarn on the charkha. To

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study circle comrades will use these journals for exchange of thought and mutual enlightenment. In this way in a reasonable period of time, we will find groups of informed, steady and earnest citizens, detaching themselves from the mass and discovering their self-identity. They can then link up in an all-India association for political action. This will take time. But if leading thinkers in all provincial capitals link up and pursue a common programme, the time required will be abridged.

They will then come out on the national scene as an all-India association with an alternative set of ideas on all crucial questions. Then they might make an impact on the mass. Then men of money will come forward, more liberally with confidence, and the movement will grow more rapidly. This backing of the masses and moneyed classes will form the sanction behind the new party, which will take the shape of action if the leaders are prepared for bold action without fear or favour. When the times are ripe and there is electricity in the air, the time required for this will be telescoped into a short period—a matter of a year or two. If such a party is not formed within four or five years with chances of success, the time will have passed by for saving the country from chaos or (and) communism.

both the questions I returned a negative answer. Then he told me I should set about learning Hindi and handspinning, because these two were the foundations of the Swaraj he was building up. He enjoined upon me to convey this message to my friends and then left Madras for the North."

Hindi held no mysteries for Northerners, among whom it led to the estrangement of Muslims from the Congress and was seized by Muslim communalists as a weapon to prove Gandhi's communalism. (In the matter of providing handy weapons to enemies of nationalism Gandhiji was always generous.) He was, however, soon obliged to substitute the word Hindustani for Hindi, leaving the choice of the script between Urdu and Hindi to individuals. But the mischief had been done by his shortsightedness and his Hindu followers generally kept using the word Hindi for the national language-to-be and communal Muslims continued exploiting the blunder.

When the constitution was on the anvil Purushottamdas Tandon was all for Hindi as well as Hindi numerals, while a section of Congressmen led by Nehru were for English numerals. Tandon said he would rather have both or nothing and wait for the day when he could have both. Ghanshyamdas Gupta, now leader of the "Save Hindi" agitation in Punjab, urged the pro-Hindi-wallahs to have Hindi then and there without Hindi numerals, for, after a few years, they might not even be able to have Hindi as the national language of the whole country.

An Unguarded Moment

So Hindi became a part of the Constitution in an unguarded moment so far as the Southerners and Bengalees were concerned. The issues were not fully thrashed out as the Gandhites, as in duty bound, were all for it. But as the first flush of elation at having obtained Swaraj cooled down, people began to realize that the proposition was unfair to a majority of Indians and placed Northerners in a position of vantage. Only a dishonest mind can fail to realize that the Southerner and the Bengalee will be placed at a great disadvantage when Hindi becomes the national language, and only an unpatriotic mind can fail to realize that they will not for long tolerate the discrimination against them.

A man who has a sense of justice and fairplay should be able to place himself easily in another man's position. It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that the average Southerner and Bengalee will never be able to attain the same proficiency in Hindi as the average Northerner, just as, with all our devotion to the English language, we are unable to attain the same proficiency in it as the average Englishman. This alone should rule out the proposition that Hindi should be the national language of the country. For, an unjust imposition is sure to breed revolt.

Deciding Factor

We cannot deny the fact that Hindi today, even after the establishment of Pakistan, is a disintegrating force, while English is a cementing force. Lokamanya Tilak, a greater patriot than any we have yet produced, once said that our craving for freedom itself was a result of English education. There is no sense at all in retaining the anti-British bias after the British have gifted Swaraj to us, and retaining it to such an extent as to make us feel prejudiced against not only what created the urge for freedom and democracy in us, but also against what makes the whole land kin. I may here say in passing that I have never heard a greater lie than the oft-repeated statement that we won swaraj as a result of our non-violent movements.

A journalist who has pronounced pro-Hindi views admitted to me the other day that English was a cementing force, but asked me impatiently: "How long can we retain English as our national language?" And my answer to him was: "For as long as it remains a cementing force. And if it is in the national interest to retain it as the national language for ever, then we should have it as our national language for ever."

It is indeed very strange that we all claim to be patriots and none of us practically is inclined to think in terms of the country. I would, without the slightest hesitation, vote for the language of Timbuctoo if it alone could keep this country united. That should be the deciding factor for any patriotic soul.

Claims of English

But there is another consideration also which weighs heavily in favour of English. With every language is associated the culture of the people using that language. We have opted for democracy and the parliamentary system of Government. No one can honestly say that ours is a democratic culture. If it were, we would not have been worshipping Gandhi despite his declaration: "I do not work for freedom of the country: I work for non-violence". If it were, we would not have been crying ourselves hoarse with shouts of "Jawaharlal Nehru-ki-Jai". Why have we been doing that? Because through our languages we imbibe bhakti, the spirit of devotion. That is our tradition.

Every country has its peculiar tradition. Take Russia. Does not the tradition of tyranny continue there despite the fact that Czardom was liquidated there forty years ago? And the tradition is continued there by those very people who liquidated Czardom!

I asked the journalist friend who was all for Hindi: "Are there any patriotic songs in Hindi?" He replied: "There must be"! I have yet to hear one. If we are really keen on the democracy enshrined in our Constitution, we should insist on the English language remaining our *lingua franca* at least for as long as an Indian language is not ready to take its place with the consent of all the States in the country.

As matters stand, no one wants the English language to go except the "Hindi maniacs", and they are an interested party, like every one who speaks Hindi. Every one loves his language, and the Tamilian is entitled to love his language as much as the Northern Hindu loves his. Imagine then the former's reaction

on being asked to receive his education in Hindi. For, that is exactly what the Official Language Commission proposes.

What a Proposal!

I was to write an article on the Commission's report as soon as it came out. As it was a bulky document and the time at my disposal was short, I confined myself to a perusal of the summary supplied by the Information Department of the Government of India. In the summary was a paragraph which said in effect: The Commission recommends that the medium of instruction in all universities should be Hindi. I rang up the Department to confirm this bewildering recommendation and, not being able to contact the man-in-charge, I left the proposal uncriticised, so sure I felt that it could not be. Yet a few days later a Minister made a speech which incidentally confirmed the correctness of the official summary!

We reject English as the medium of instruction, saying it is a foreign tongue and therefore unsuitable as a medium of instruction, and in the same breath impose another foreign tongue as the medium of instruction for the majority of the people of the country. (There can be no denying the fact that what is not mother tongue is foreign tongue.) And yet those who signed the report are passing for sane patriots, and it has been frequently asserted by the President as well as the Prime Minister that there is no intention of developing Hindi at the cost of other regional languages.

C. Rajagopalachari has in a letter to the dailies protested against the exaggerated figures being published to show the progress Hindi is making in the South. There seems no limit to the wishful thinking we can indulge in.

An Assurance

Side by side there is the oft-repeated assurance that Hindi will not be imposed. "One cannot exactly understand what this exactly means in the face of all that is being done to make Hindi the sole official language of the Central Government and the sole inter-State medium," says Rajaji and he proceeds to observe: "However, there is this assurance. Let us ask that this assurance be given effect to. The best way to do it is to make it clear by a statutory provision that no change will be made in the matter without the consent of the legislatures of all the States. A step that affects all the states should have the consent of every one of them. Till then the present medium of official communications and documents, which has been suffered without any inconvenience these two centuries and during the ten years after independence, should continue. This would be the fair meaning of non-imposition, if it is really intended to be followed as a doctrine." It will be fair no doubt, but it will result in English continuing as our *lingua franca* till the Greek calends.

A Supreme Court Judge once said that he could not visualise the time when Supreme Court Judges would be able to deliver in Hindi their judgments with the precision they demanded.

Mr. K. M. Munshi has been saying that English

should not be neglected and discarded so long as an alternate language has not been developed to its level of accuracy and precision. This ex-President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has gone to the extent of saying that Hindi would take a considerable time to develop to the level of English. In his opinion English and Sanskrit are the two great national unity forces in the country and it was the removal of English that was leading to linguism.

Nearly thirty years ago I heard a Bengali Muslim exclaim at hearing Motilal Nehru speak: "Panditji aap to Nabi ki jaban bolta hai!" (Panditji, you speak the language of the Prophet!) The reference was to Urdu which sounded like Arabic to him. We know how the Muslims of East Pakistan could not be made to swallow the "language of the Prophet." Can we succeed where the fanatical Muslims failed?

The English Language

Almost every word in the English language can be traced back to its beginning or origin, to the source whence it came. The origin or source of a word is called its root. The root is the fundamental or pri-

mary element from which the word springs, as the stem from the root of a tree.

The root is of course the most important part of the word, for not only is it the source but in it is also implied the meaning. A large percentage of English words come from Latin or Greek. All roots may be traced back to an Aryan origin. This is now a universally accepted fact. The English language is a member of the Indo-European family of languages and as such is of Aryan origin. - It sprang from an Aryan source. Consequently almost every word in English, irrespective of the source from which it is derived, comes from an Aryan root.

The original roots are not numerous. Hindu grammarians have traced the whole of Sanskrit vocabulary to about two thousand roots, of which only about eight hundred can be found in literature now. According to Max Muller, "their stock-in-trade is no more than about eight hundred roots." On these eight hundred primary elements rests the structure of the Indic languages, of which English is one.

Should we then be needlessly hostile to a grandchild of Sanskrit while fondling her daughters?

Kashmir Issue And Safety Of India

By Prof. Om Prakasha Kahol.

THE way Indian leaders have handled the Kashmir issue, has led to the grim possibility of a clash between this country and the major world Powers. And the greatest service, a well-wisher of the nation can render at the present juncture is to help avert, at all costs, the outbreak of hostilities on this ticklish issue. How are we going to acquit ourselves, for example, if the United Nations go ahead to implement their Security Council's decision to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir under international supervision? Our leaders are not serving the ends of peace by their appeals to the masses for getting ready to shed the last drop of blood on the battle-field. If maintenance of calm over an adverse decision could ever be a virtue, it is on this present occasion, when a respectable section of the world opinion has come to question the wisdom of a man, in whom Indian masses have been reposing absolute faith for nearly 10 long years. The cause of India would be better served if, instead of falling out against one and all, we dispassionately review Nehru's own failings in this matter and try to win the goodwill of foreign Powers by frankly disowning some of his policies.

Why is it that the majority of nations is against India? We cannot dispose of this question by saying that they are all sordid or selfish in their approach. If Nehru's presentation of India's case has failed to enlist the support of world Powers for India, the fault can as well be with him. If his arguments for not holding a plebiscite are really cogent, why do they fail to convince others? Instead of preparing our youth to lay down their lives on the Kashmir front, we should rather critically examine Nehru's own poli-

cies, which have brought the country so close to a head-on collision with the United Nations. This disastrous eventuality must be averted.

BLUNDERS AFTER BLUNDERS

From India's point of view, the recent history of Kashmir has been a tale of blunders, committed by Nehru with the connivance of Opposition leaders. Whatever might be the weak points of Maharaja Hari Singh, it was a mistake to question his authority to speak for Kashmir, after he had applied for accession to India. The instrument of accession signed by him is one of the most important documents in support of India's case, and it cannot be called a service to India to reduce the legal force of it by nullifying the Maharaja's authority. But Nehru thought it feasible to do so and offered, in a fit of idealism, to abide by the people's verdict on the question of accession. That was the time, when the consequences of an unfavourable verdict should have been thoroughly assessed. But Nehru persisted in offering to hold a plebiscite so seriously that this solution became the focus of the attention of the whole world.

Then the reins of the Government were handed over to Mohammad Abdullah whose life has been a series of betrayals, and no heed was paid to warnings from friendly quarters. Meanwhile our armed forces had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pakistan-raiders. But when they were about to get the fruit of their sacrifices, Nehru again intervened. He took the case to the United Nations. The sentiments of the Kashmiris were allowed to develop around a separate flag,

a separate constitution and a separate 'Head of the State'. Under these circumstances, if the Kashmiris began to dream of an independent Kashmir, the fault was not theirs. History has proved that Nehru's approach to the Kashmir issue was wrong and has not produced the desired effects. He is now retracing his steps.

Too Late To Retrace

But times have changed. World opinion has taken a definite shape during the long period of about 10 years, and the world Powers have agreed to the idealistic course suggested by Nehru to settle the dispute. To go back on any of his commitments even by a comma, at this stage is sure to create misgivings, suspicion and distrust. Nehru is caught in the cob-web of his own making. What is the justice in keeping Mohammad Abdullah in detention without a trial? Why should the plebiscite not be held now? If Pakistan has entered into some kind of an unholy alliance with the other Powers, why should the people of Kashmir be denied their right of self-determination? Nehru's replies to these plain questions cannot satisfy rational thinkers even in India, and if outsiders fail to side with him, the fault is not theirs.

RIGHT THINGS DONE AT WRONG MOMENT

The Security Council is not composed of angels, but of human beings, who have their own interests similar to ours. Their support to our cause will depend not upon what we think to be the intrinsic righteousness of our cause, but upon considerations of mutual give-and-take, and Nehru should have understood this basic fact, when he carried India's case to the United Nations. To flout the authority of the Security Council now, when its verdict is not likely to be favourable to us, to play hide-and-seek about the plebiscite issue, to keep Abdullah in detention without trial, and to introduce the 'New Constitution' under the present conditions, cannot be approved by any impartial referee. Speaking subjectively—judging things from India's point of view—these steps taken by Nehru can be described as right things done at the wrong

moment. They have gone a long way to weaken India's stand morally, and the opinion of many nations, otherwise friendly with us, has gravitated in the direction of Pakistan. It has to be admitted that the strategy of our Islamic neighbour has regained much of the ground lost during the past few years.

Every Indian has a right to know what the people of Kashmir want. If they are in favour of accession to India, why should Nehru not vindicate his stand by an impartial plebiscite? And if they are against India, what is the reason? What are Nehru's achievements there, if after dumping millions upon millions of rupees, he has not been able to win their goodwill? Upon the correct interpretation of the results of his policies in Kashmir depends the security and stability of the whole state of India. By assuring Nehru of their support through thick and thin, the leaders of Opposition are not serving the cause of India. Perhaps some of the basic principles he is hugging tenaciously may need modifications. And no better course can suggest itself to us, unless we frankly dissociate ourselves from Nehru's policies, which appear to us to be erroneous. We must not pin our faith in the medieval dictum that the King can do no wrong. In tackling the Kashmir issue, Nehru has brought India face to face with a clash with major Powers. Instead of calling the nation to prepare for a war, which we can hardly afford, we must subject Nehru's foreign, home and defence policies to a critical examination. We believe the very basic principles of his administration are fundamentally wrong. There is nothing wrong with the Security Council.

THE PRICE INDIA WILL HAVE TO PAY

The worst of it, that the fear of the loss of Kashmir is being exploited to engender anti-American and anti-British feelings among the Indians, so that a stage is bound to come when the nation would be psychologically prepared to surrender even her sovereignty to get economic and military aid from Russia, to meet its war-time exigencies, in case hostilities break out. The

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The Army was not permitted to deal with the situation firmly and put down the resistance. Nagas carried on a shooting war but our "Buddhist" rulers have enjoined on the army the practice of ahimsa! This is a flagrant misuse of the army.

The result is plain for all to see. The Government of India have declared an amnesty for killers and have conceded the modified claim of a separate Naga Hill State combining the Naga Hill areas and the Teunsang North-East Frontier Agency. This is appeasement in the border country that is fraught with risk to national security.

This is a blow to the integrity of Assam. The concession to the Nagas will inspire similar demands from other hill areas for independence, which cannot be denied. The Assamese State without the hill areas will shrink to a district!

Much of this area is virgin forest and the inhabited districts are scattered far apart with no communications between them. Manipur, Tripura, Cachar and other areas are unconnected by communications. The

Teunsang Frontier Agency is inhabited by tribes other than the Nagas right up to the Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese borders. There is no reason why this area is to be included in the Naga region unless to secure a viable unit. If these tribes can be included in the Naga region there is no reason why both the Nagas and the north-east tribes should not be asked to keep house with the Assamese State. To create a separate administrative unit for the Nagas is thus to create a host of totally unnecessary problems. It sets the dangerous precedent for any dissident group to secure similar autonomy by similar militant recalcitrance.

Further, the new Naga region is to be under the External Affairs Ministry as though the Nagas are foreigners! This is to accord administrative recognition to separateness and is a backward move. It should be under the Home Ministry. The Prime Minister refused to hand Kashmir over to Sardar Patel's Home Ministry. The present decision in regard to the Nagas is similar and is likely to have a similar outcome viz. the indefinite prolongation of the problem.

INDIA AND RUSSIA—A PARALLEL

By Nautamlal C. Tejpal

THE idea of "socialist pattern of society" is a twin brother of Gandhiji's Sarvodaya. Christianity which is supposed to be based on the principle of Love, Service and Sharing, greatly appealed to Gandhi. During the first days of early Christianity a type of primitive communal life was actually lived by the Christians. The people were attracted to this type of faith, mainly because of a belief amongst the Hebrew people that 'The World was coming to its end soon.' Naturally this forboding made the people no more desirous to acquire and hoard wealth. Many families pooled their worldly belongings and established real community life. But then a woman asked her husband to withhold a part of their wealth from being thrown into the common lot. Saint Peter came to know about it, he cursed them and both of them died. Centuries ago a similar movement had come into existence among the Zorostrians.

During the beginning of 19th century a community of this kind was started in Russia and its members were called Doukobors. Before Bolshevism came to Russia, the Russians were considered to be a deeply religious people. This made the existence of this type of spiritual communism possible there. In 1874 a group of Russian Anabaptists migrated to U.S.A. and even today they are living the life of spiritual communism. They are self-sufficient with their farms, selling their excess produce, wearing the simplest of peasant costumes, educating their own children to follow in their foot-steps, providing their own religious leaders, teachers, builders, plumbers and doctors. When a new member joins a colony, he gives to it all that he can. Each settlement holds everything in common. Each individual has a specific role to play in this community and every man is elected to his trade or duty. The Ten Commandments are strictly adhered to as the basis for living. Their extreme pacifism require their disassociation from participating in war.

Why Communism Succeeded In Russia

Paradoxically enough, this communism could be found in primitive form in what is called "capitalist" U.S.A. and Canada, of which the world has very little knowledge. Against this, the communism of Russia and China is based on gross materialism, its prophet is Karl Marx and its bible is *Das Kapital*. Karl Marx and his followers expected that the communism will start from the highly industrialized countries of the West. But the world was astonished to hear that Russia was the first to embrace it. The reason is not far to seek.

In Russia there were large masses of illiterate, superstitious but highly religious minded people called 'Kulaks'—the farm labourers who were being bought and sold with the land. The back-ground of religious belief—'to love, to serve and to share'—was there. This spiritual type of communism is very well depicted in the writings of Tolstoy and to some extent

this too was helpful in preparing the ground in Russia for communism.

Lenin was a master mind and he was not slow to seize the opportunity which presented itself during the First World War. The poor Kulaks were compulsarily recruited in the Czar's army. The untrained Russian soldiers were driven like animals to certain death, they had no shoes, no proper clothing nor enough ammunition. This gave Lenin the chance to start the great revolution.

Thus the Russian revolution started with the help of the Czarist army and it is still being maintained with the help of the same army, now termed the Soviet Red Army. Instead of the organised industrial labour, the organised Army took the initiative. The result is that the communism which is based on gross materialism is enforced on the masses by the military might of Soviet Russia.

Their Beliefs and their Disillusions

The poor and ignorant Russian peasantry believed that communism means sharing equally and that every one would have a chance to lead a life of ease like the landlords. The collectivist farms were hastily organised, the ignorant people imagining that they will own the land, share equal ease, but none wanted to render equal service. So during the 20's and early 30's there was wide-spread famine and starvation deaths. The Kulaks were used to being driven to work by their masters. Now they wanted to live like princes. But this was not to be. The Arabic proverb says, "If you are a prince and I am a prince who will drive the ass?"

Stalin came down with a heavy hand, and made the masses work,—there were purges, concentration camps, and heavy punishments,—all this became the order of the day. Higher targets of production were fixed every year and woe to him who failed in his allotted task. It was established beyond doubt that communism without ruthless totalitarianism is impossible.

After a generation of ruthless regime we hear today that Russia is on its way to higher production and its people are satisfied. But the truth is that the new generation is indoctrinated and moulded in body and mind to ask no question and follow the dictates of their new masters. They are in no way different from the former serfs of Czarist Russia or Negro slaves of old America who were satisfied in their lot and when they were freed, they found themselves completely at a loss as to how to live as free men.

Here I would like to site an instance as how the minds of a whole nation which is fully literate is moulded by its dictators. In 1935 when the Italo-Abyssinian war had started, I was in Japan. The entire Japanese nation was against Italy's unprovoked attack. Even the washer-women and boot-blacks who all read the daily papers and freely discussed politics, were crying 'Ah! Poor Abyssinians, Oh! Poor

coloured people." There was also some talk of an Abyssinian princess marrying a Japanese prince, and negotiation were going on to start a huge cotton plantation in Abyssinia with Japan's help. The entire Japanese nation was talking about this, when an Italian goodwill mission came, and the Italo-Japanese friendship was forged. An Italo-Japanese Axis was formed and within a couple of days, as if by magic the minds of the whole nation were turned to opposite views. They all began to talk about the civilizing crusade of the Italians against the barbarians and the backward Abyssinians.

A Warning to Indians

All these preliminary instances will show how dictators, whether communist or fascist, take control of the people's mind. This should be a warning to the Indian people about the slogan of "socialist pattern of society."

Today the Indian Government is trying to mould our minds to support its pet Five Year Plan, however faulty or fantastic it might be. In the totalitarian rule the people are moulded to lose their power of free thinking. To prove the fact, one has only to attend any meeting of the ruling party in which Mr. Nehru is present, and he would be struck with the fact that all the members sit there meekly like little school children, hearing their master Nehru without any voice of dissent. Woe to him who speaks anything to displease Nehru. By now they honestly believe that 'Nehru does no wrong.' The only qualification of Mr. Dhebar to be the president of the Congress is his capacity to be the best 'Yes'—man of Nehru.

Gandhi Prepared the Ground

In India, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave have prepared the ground for a totalitarian regime. What Tolstoy had done in Russia with his bias towards Socialism on spiritual lines with simple living and a life of renunciation (tyaga), Gandhi and Bhave have done for India. There is a great similarity between Czarist Russia and India today. Both had suffered from tyranny, both have illiterate, underfed and starving peasantry. And Nehru is doing what Lenin had done in Russia,—Socialism with materialistic bias, with the carrot of "higher standard of living" and "more production at any cost" dangling before the ignorant masses. Though the Nehru Government has not as yet started the full blast of totalitarianism, it has started to bribe the workers with more pay for less work with the slogan "Land to the tillers." This is the first step to kill the wealthy classes with the help of the masses. When that is achieved the turn of the enslavement of the masses will come. The workers will be forced to work as in the totalitarian states, since the vicious circle of higher taxes, higher cost of living has started since long.

People are asked to make sacrifices for the good of the future generation. But it should be noted that we are burdening the future generation with the huge national debt to purchase capital goods worth billions of rupees which, within a decade or two, will be obsolete with the coming of automation and Atomic power. Why should we think that our future generation will be too weak and worthless to fend for itself? Both the last wars were fought for the good

of the future generation, people were called to sacrifice their sweat, blood and tears for future peace, and still the world is where it was, and the future generation will have to worry and take care of itself. When we shall reach the present level of Western industrialization, the West would have outstripped us with the adoption of automation and latest technocracy.

Due to long foreign rule the present generation is demoralized mentally and physically and weakened due to malnutrition. It is a crime to ask the present generation to make sacrifices any more. As a result of the higher cost of living and poor housing the process of demoralising and dehumanising still continues, and the Plan will demoralize the nation still further. This is most dangerous for the healthy growth of a virile generation for the future. Our immediate need is more food, people will not die of exposure if we have less clothing or less steel and cement. At present the agriculture is the most neglected subject. While power for industry could be had at the subsidized rate of 10 nP. per unit, the farmer is made to pay 16 nP. per unit. Further more, due to heavy import duties and excise the price of the mineral oils is prohibitive for the farmer to utilize. In order that our farmers could produce as much as in America, we must have the rates of mineral oils for the agriculture purpose, as cheap as in America.

The Climatic Factors

The humid and hot climate of India requires less work and more leisure; if a man earns his daily food by working only for 4 hours, he would not care to work more for extra income. Heavy work, factory type of work is hell to the workers in India. People living and working in the air-conditioned houses need not lecture to them "Aram Haram Hai". What the people require is sufficient food and sufficient clothing. When we can't provide that and want to squeeze more work from these half-starved people and ruthless totalitarian methods would have to be adopted. In spite of ruthless regimentation our grandiose Plans are doomed to failure. That is the sure prospect in store for India.

The choice before India to those who are not blind to lessons of history is to take the practical and sensible method of stabilizing our agricultural base before taking a leap into rapid State industrialisation. While Tolstoy prepared the ground for the advent of materialistic communism of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev, Gandhi prepared the ground in India by his mystic Sarvidaya while Nehru is attempting to build the super-structure of State capitalism. The parallel between Russia and India is so similar that unless a bold practical and national lead is given there is every chance of India going totalitarian.

U.S. SUPPORT TO PAK OVER KASHMIR ISSUE

LAHORE: The Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. James Langley, said that his country would adopt the same attitude as it had been taking in the Security Council, if the Kashmir issue came up before the General Assembly.

"The U.S. will support Pakistan in the General Assembly as it has been doing in the Security Council."

Political Fads And Individual Freedom

By Libra

"EVERY State", wrote the late Professor Laski in his charmingly written book 'Liberty in the Modern State', "contains fussy and pedantic moralists who seek to use its machinery to insist that their habits shall become the official standard of conduct in the population. They are interested in prohibition and uniformity for their own sake." And Professor Laski complains "that the moralists invade every sphere of life and activity, the sale of alcohol, the use of leisure, women's dress, etc." How very true of India! In India, one can come across two sets of moralists — the moralists, who represent the ruling party, and a few individuals, who are not actually connected with the Government as such.

The first political fad that I remember to my cost was Prakasam's order (Prakasam was one time Chief Minister of Madras) fixing five yards of mill cloth per person as an annual quota, the grand idea being to encourage Khaddar. The public of Madras protested, not because of any antipathy to Khaddar. Just before this rule was enforced, Gandhiji had come to Madras, and created a deep impression on the Madras public and Khaddar became extremely popular. And what the Mahatma achieved by persuasion was lost by the order of Prakasam, which was administered by his tin gods. The irony of it was that the Mahatma himself was not pleased with this coercive way of encouraging Khaddar. This post-mortem is not to destroy the cult of Prakasam's personality! But it is just to point out

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visit of Marshal Zhukov to India, and his close inspection of our military installations, are things pregnant of dangerous consequences. What will be the price of Russia's help? One can better understand than express in so many words. What concerns us most at this juncture is the question: What factors have made the retention of Kashmir within the Indian Union doubtful? Are Anglo-American machinations alone responsible for that? Are the communal activities of the Hindus the main cause of deterioration of the Kashmir issue? Or, is Nehru's approach basically wrong? It does not matter much whether Kashmir remains with India or not, but if we do not clearly analyse and understand the causes of its loss, and do not mercilessly root out the parasitic forces, the safety of the whole State of India will remain doubtful. The lessons of Kashmir are by far the more important than the territory of Kashmir. For, if we lose Kashmir, we lose but a small territory of India, and if we fail to learn the lessons Kashmir has to teach us, we may some day lose India itself. Kashmir has become a problem, neither because of the Hindu communalism, nor because of the machinations of British imperialism, but because of certain other forces, about which people prefer to remain mum. People will have to pay a heavy price some day for this conspiracy of silence.

the fad of a political fanatic which had unfortunate repercussions.

"Prohibition" is another fad. In a recent lecture on "Democracy in Communist China", Dr. Radhakrishnan stated that "when the American Government imposed prohibition they could not maintain it for the will of the people was against them, with the willingness to die born of the courage of sheer despotism". What about the Indian scene? Surely our Vice-President cannot deny its absolute failure in India. I would have appreciated Dr. Radhakrishnan's sincerity of purpose, had he taken a bold stand like Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur on the failure of Prohibition in India. The Rajkumari, who was provoked by the unnecessary spate of taxation proposal, stressed that if Gandhi were alive today he would have abolished Prohibition.

Indeed the expensive and coercive police machinery of this Government would be an anathema to the Thoreau-inspired soul of Gandhi if he were alive today. Miss Amrit Kaur also said that we must revive Salt Tax. As she says, it would be far better to grasp the spirit of Gandhism and not take it too literally. After all Gandhiji was against centralization and the present Government is becoming more and more centralized. In an article published in the *Current*, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has however made it clear that she is "very averse to drunkenness" but, makes an illuminating point that "to make every one who drinks a glass of wine or takes a whisky and soda feel that he is a sinner is not only unjustifiable, but wholly inconsistent with the concept that man is a creature endowed with a mind". What is the result? Homes which manufacture alcohol (christened as cottage industry by a wit) have sprung up like mushrooms. Sometimes wood alcohol is drunk in spite of its poisonous effects. The Exchequer suffers from a double loss—the actual loss of revenue and also waste of public expenditure to maintain a corrupt police department. And the psychological loss is greater still resulting in utter demoralization.

What A Wonderful Gandhi Raj

Last year the Government had banned Aubrey Menen's *Rama Retold*. The reasons which impelled the Government to do so must be obvious to any one who has read the book. It certainly outrages Hindu sentiments, and I was upset by the book. But the answer is not to ban the book, since a banned book always achieves the position of a classic. A similar incident took place when a *Bhavan* publication on *Religious Leaders* was banned. Of course, in this case the agitation was widely organised, and as usual, the Prime Minister delivered his Marx-like perorations for reasons which are well known. How is the *Bhavan* responsible for what an American wrote? The finest part of the story is that it was a reprint. Each one is at liberty to write what he feels, and differences of opinion are bound to occur. Such a mentality as re-

vealed by the Bhavan agitation shows that we have not progressed since the days of Bruno and Galileo.

Sometime ago Dr. B. V. Keskar protested against the beaming of light music by Radio Ceylon since they "tended to lower the moral and cultural values of the Indian people and also ran counter to the broadcasting policy of the Indian Government". It is an example of colossal impudence. Lanka may be a cultural projection of India, but Radio Ceylon has no place on the map of Keskar's "Akashvani". Hasn't an Indian a right to listen to any type of music that he likes? All of us are not highbrows and most of us cannot be listening to serious classical music all the time. One can study Shakespeare and yet enjoy Gardiner, ponder over Milton and yet take a dip into the pages of Wodehouse. There is a place for classical music, but some allowance must be made for those who like Film Music. Not satisfied with introducing a so-called new tone in the A.I.R., our Government protests to Radio Ceylon.

Keskar as Modern Rama Avatar

What surprises me is not so much the exhibition of what may be reasonably termed extra-territorial cultural rights (it is at variance with cultural co-existence or Pancha Sheela), but the assumed a priori rightness on the part of the Government to proceed with its decision. It would be a good idea to do some jamming then, in the manner of the Nazis. At any rate the conflict between Radio Ceylon and A.I.R. can be developed into an excellent radio play, the modern version of the Ancient Ramayana which also dealt with the Indo-Ceylonese tangle, idealizing Keskar as the modern Rama Avatar. What a chance for a master-mind!

Sir Jadhunath Sarkar told us that no civilized people should destroy mementoes of their history. This eminent historian was referring to this new tamasha in India. His statement need not be considered as

any reflection on the people of Egypt who gave us a taste of 'Nationalism' by destroying the magnificent statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Lessep's "crime" was that he was the architect of the Suez Canal, and what better fate could he have expected at the hands of the 'Nationalists'? But our politicians encourage similar attempts in India. There is no other way of being friendly with Egypt. India and Egypt are "Pancha Sheela" countries. A bond of friendship can be established only by breaking statues! The new slogan is "Man is born as a Nationalist. Nationalists of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but Statues." (I tender my apologies to Rousseau and Marx).

These "Kill-joys"

Coming to the kill-joy variety, Mr. Dhebar sets an example by eating food cooked in Gram-Udyog Til Oil, but I feel that he exceeds his limits when he says that the heavens won't fall if woman do not use lip-stick! I am not an astronomer, but I am equally certain the heavens won't fall if women used lips-stick. Tandonji exhorts us not to use salt, lest we may be grateful to him for his unsolicited advice! Another Congress dignitary suggests that we desist from using soap. Then there won't be any necessity to wash the dirty linen of the political parties of India. Vinobha Bhave does not want us to drink milk, even goat's milk. The landlords constitute Vinobha's milch cow; but what about us? We can all drink lemon-juice or liquid curds, sweetened with 'gur' and please the prophet of Bhoodan. Another thing that Vinobha Bhave wants is that women should discard jewels. This is not only crude but an intrusion in the privacy of an individual. The ultimate result would be to produce a new race of demoralized morons in India that was Bharat. But to avoid it, I wish to plead for a new Freedom—Freedom from fads, which is as important to me as President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.

WELFARE IMPLIES FREEDOM

By K. M. Munshi

OUR concept of the Welfare State is being emptied of democratic, moral and spiritual values. The Indian pattern implies an ideology and programme which secure for everyone economic and social justice through respect for human dignity, through democratic institutions and methods leavened by truth and non-violence. This pattern alone will lead to the Sarvodaya State.

The socialism of the communist pattern implies State ownership of the means of production and distribution; totalitarianism in which human dignity is sacrificed to the State; complete dictatorship of the party bosses; the negation of all moral and spiritual values, and the acceptance of violence as an inalienable principle in human relations.

The question is whether in implementing our pat-

tern of a social welfare State during the last ten years, we have preserved its basic values.

No Longer the Man of God

Our Constitution is secular, in the sense that there is complete freedom of religion, tolerance of and respect for all religions. But do we not find that insidiously an atmosphere is being created in which secularism is treated as synonymous with godlessness?

The spiritual outlook on life or politics is often ridiculed. The children are denied the inspiration of prayers in schools. Young men and women in the colleges are not provided the formative influence of the humanities and our ancient heritage. Even Gandhiji is no longer the Mahatma, the man of God,

the prince of peace, but the "Father of the Nation". In so reducing his status we have forsworn prayers; denied the trust that he had in God; repudiated our faith in truth and non-violence, by depriving his memory of the moral and spiritual attributes which made him what he was.

We draw up a plan, so essential for an underdeveloped nation. But suddenly physical targets, which cannot be fulfilled except through totalitarian methods, grip our imagination. The end becomes more important than the means. By reminding him, in season and out of season, that no sacrifice is too great for fulfilling the Plan, we induce the ordinary man—and some extraordinary men too—to come to the conclusion that if we are to fulfil the targets, we must reconcile ourselves to the loss of freedom, to a weakening of the rule of law, to an ubiquitous taxation which not only deprives us of money, but destroys social life. The plan, the plan is all-important, we proclaim, to the Welfare State. But are freedom and human dignity to be brushed aside, ignored and thrown into the shade? Why not emphasize them as well?

The same attitude is disclosed when dealing with the private and the public sector in industry. High authorities on socialism of the non-communist brand emphasize that the socialistic economy requires a private sector because the socialists place a value on individual freedom.

Cooperative Farming

The Welfare State of the Indian pattern cannot possibly have anything to do with collective farming, which is an instrument of totalitarianism worked by terrific coercion. In China, what is called cooperative farming is only a variety of collective farming. Yet some of our people have fallen in love with it. They want it, but, they say, by democratic means.

Is this not a contradiction in terms? Co-operation by democratic means will be something very different from the collectivism of the communist variety, by whatever name its real nature is camouflaged under communism. And if this contradiction persists in practice, which will we choose—co-operation or democracy?

One of the planks on which our concept of a Welfare State is based is the rule of law, the very foundation of freedom and democracy. It presupposes that law and order is maintained irrespective of the political ideology of the Ministry in power. Necessarily, therefore, it has to be enforced by the neutral agency of the magistracy and police, which acts fearlessly. But while we have been functioning under our Constitution, the Chief Minister in Kerala has taken to himself, as the party chief, the law and order powers of the Criminal Procedure Code. He holds in effect, that the police must not interfere to protect those whom he considers the enemies in the class war which his ideology demands.

Thus we have reached an extraordinary position. Under the cover of the slogan of a Welfare State, some men can glibly speak the language of the democrat, but cheerfully walk in the footsteps of the tyrant. They can swear by the "people" of India, but deny the protection of law to citizens who differ ideologi-

cally from them. They can pledge themselves to uphold the freedom of the citizens, but attempt to cripple it to secure their "welfare". They proclaim the rule of law, but try to circumvent it by various devices, if need be by curtailing the jurisdiction of the law courts, the first and the last bulwark of freedom.

Creeping Paralysis

This creeping paralysis of the mind and the will, induced in us by slogans, has many symptoms. They take the shape of overlooking democratic precedents; of despising remonstrances; of treating grievances with ridicule; of learning to tolerate totalitarian methods with complacency. We are so hypnotized by slogans that we acquiesce in things which we have sworn to discard, and fear to speak our mind lest we may be charged with not being hundred per cent socialists.

However much we may differ in our individual conceptions of a Welfare State, those of us who love the country cannot disagree at least on one point. The Welfare State has to be won for India; but its shape and content should not be determined by the artificial canons of orthodox doctrinaires. They should be determined by maintaining freedom; by developing adherence to truth and non-violence; by strengthening the moral and spiritual values of our ancient heritage. Therein lies the hope for the human race.

If we disagree on this vital point, there may be a State, but there will be no welfare; there will be an India, but nothing Indian about it; and our freedom will lie in ruins.

—From a speech at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

SUPPLY OF HUMAN MATERIAL

In his Convocation Address to the Arya College at Ludhiana Dr. R. K. Bhan, Deputy Educational Adviser to the Government of India, said that the success of a college should not be judged merely by the university pass percentage" but "by the extent to which it has contributed towards the development of the personality of the young and helped him bringing out his qualities of body and mind." Those in the audience who admired the humanist pronouncement of the learned speaker must have experienced a rude shock when he enlarged on the subject by saying that the yardstick of pass percentages would have to be replaced by another type of measure which would "indicate the extent to which an institution has made a contribution in the "supply of suitable human material needed for development of the country." . . . This is the very antithesis of Humanism. To assess the usefulness of educational institutions in terms of the "supply of suitable human material" is a degrading conception of the seats of learning and an educational system, based on such notions as cannot inspire either thirst for knowledge or respect for the dignity of human individual. . . . Hitler might have delivered himself of such sentiments for the guidance of Germany in her fascist days. Modern India has no need to be guided by such examples.

—Radical Humanist

Charter For Squandermania

With the same power, ostensibly derived by virtue of their being democratically elected by an ignorant and illiterate people, the Congress junta, have been emboldened to come to the people with the second Five Year Plan with estimated expenses of Rs. 6000 crores and odd. However, with inflationary tendencies and the rising cost of materials, the Plan estimates have been daily spiralling to astronomical heights. Today (September 26) our Finance Minister has gone abroad with the begging bowl to USA, and will then go to West Germany and other continental countries begging for financial aid towards the Plan. According to Mr. Krishnamachari his mission is to get 1,400,000,000 dollars in USA. How optimistic he is about the success of his mission is seen from the subsequent statement of his. "I do not think any one country could provide that amount."

Mr. Nehru's best friend and comrade, Soviet Russia, has given us credit for Rs. 40 crores roubles. But the intrinsic value of a rouble being a speculative matter, it won't come in actual rupees to more than Rs. 10 crores, a mere drop in the ocean. Add to this trickle from Russia the proposed grant of Rs. 100 crores from the World Bank during the Plan period. And yet there remains the widening gap between the resources available and the actual money required to implement the Plan. Only airy visionaries could think of such an ambitious and impossible Plan. But then these are the men who are at the helm of affairs of the country. And if the Plan fails, as it is bound to fail, then chaos and crisis are promised to the country.

Trusting People Let Down

In the circumstances, it is more than a sure bet that the second Five Year Plan is heading for the rocks, if it has not done so yet. And the cost of this dismal failure to the country is over Rs. 6,000/- crores, not to speak of the heavy and crushing burden of taxation, that has been put on the back of a long suffering people, who have voted Congress back to power and trusted the Congressmen in their capacity to govern wisely and realistically. The people have trusted the Congressmen too long but NOT wisely, which they would discover as years pass by.

What can you expect from the leaders of a people who talk in different voices? While the Finance Minister, on the eve of his departure, talked of the possible attack from Soviet Russia and Red China, in the case of a communist revolution in the country, immediately came a rejoinder from New Delhi that India was on the friendliest terms with both these countries and never dreamt of any invasion from those quarters. Not only that, but by further stressing that India did not expect financial help from USA or the West to meet the economic needs of the country to prepare against any attack from the communist source, New Delhi has, in a way, sabotaged the mission of Mr. Krishnamachari long before he set his feet on American soil. Again while Mr. Krishnamachari stated in the Lok Sabha that "the incidence of all taxes in India was the lowest in the world", our

Prime Minister, to prepare the ground for some financial help from Britain, stated in London, that "we are stretching ourselves to the utmost and our taxation is perhaps the highest in the world." While the former soap seller, now turned Finance Minister, was selling his "taxes" to a hard-suffering and patient people, the latter was toying with British financiers to see if he could hook in some fish.

Crisis of Character

When Mr. Nehru and other Congress Big Guns talk of the "crisis of character" amongst the present generation, do they forget themselves what sorry figures they cut on the international plane? What opinion enlightened world would have of our topmost leaders when the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister contradict each other, just to serve immediate ends?

The scandal and corruption connected with many of the Government sponsored schemes cry high to heavens for redress but our Congress leaders justify all these misdeeds, snug in their air-conditioned palaces and in costly limousines, while the lot of the common man of the country has not improved a whit. It is a long record of continuous bungling, nepotism and of corruption, too agonising and painful for words. Whatever the Congress rulers have touched during the last 10 years of freedom has come to naught. In March, 1946, when the British were still ruling, our Sterling Balances stood at Rs. 1733 crores. By July 1957 these balances touched the lowest figure of Rs. 442/-. The Congress rulers have dissipated nearly Rs. 1200 crores down the drain of their Gandhian and Nehruian fads and fetishes. Over the stupid and most impractical fad of Gandhi—Prohibition—the Congress rulers have deprived the Central and the State Governments of nearly Rs. 400/- crores. The people have NOT been weeded from the drink habit BUT a flourishing cottage industry of distilling the home brew has risen that has put lakhs of rupees in the hands of the lower rungs of the Congress following and the gangster elements in the country. And yet the Prohibition experiment is still continuing. Another source of revenue, both for the Central Government and the State Governments that has been thrown away, simply because of the Gandhian fad, is the Salt Excise revenue. The incidence of Salt Tax was so little that even the poorest man never felt it. These stray instances would show what a motley crowd of bunglers we have installed in seats of power.

Clear the Debris

This calamity of the ushering in of communism CAN ONLY be averted if the thoughtful and thinking men in the country put their heads together and stop the further progress down the slippery slope. This is a Herculean job but has to be done if India is to be saved. The first task before the nation is to clear the Gandhian debris of pseudo-morality and pseudo-spiritualism, his non-violence trash and rubbish, and the Nehruian junk of "socialism" and "neutral" foreign policy that leans too heavily on the communist bloc of nations. Gandhian non-violence

has resulted in the partition of the country, and has given us the gift horse of Pakistan. When partition was announced Gandhi blurted out: Sarvanash Hogya (Everything is ruined). That was a confession of the utter failure of his pet hobby horse of non-violence and appeasement of Muslims. When the Noakhali and Calcutta massacres took place he admitted that he was "groping in the dark". But the man being obstinate, he persisted in pursuing his hobby horses. Gandhi toured through Bengal, in company of Mr. Suhrawardy, the main author and stager of the Calcutta and Noakhali killings. Again having said that partition was Sarvanash, he said openly that his place was then in Pakistan and NOT in India. Again he was solely instrumental in forcing the Congress Government to grant a free gift of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan. And this gift of Rs. 55 crores helped Pakistan to carry on the Kashmir campaign against India. And this is the "Apostle of Non-violence" that has been made the mascot of the Congress Government to catch the votes of the ignorant people.

These hobby horses of Gandhi—non-violence and appeasement of the Muslims—have been run to death by Mr. Nehru in his following the so-called secular policy at home, and by his refusal and his ignoring to see that Pakistan is the only enemy of the country.

Too late in the day Mr. Nehru admits that Pakistan is our only enemy, a thing that was tried to be brought to the notice of the authorities by intelligent critics. But these critics were dubbed by Mr. Nehru as "reactionary", "communal" and what not. Quite recently publicists like Pandit Kunzru and independent journals have been pointing out that our security is in jeopardy, as a result of the American arms aid to Pakistan, and that there was the need to modernize our Armed Forces. Once more these critics were dubbed as panicky. But today at the session of the UN, our Defence Minister Menon has to openly confess that our armour is much inferior to Pakistan's and that we are without the powerful jet-planes which Pakistan has in ample numbers. To sum up, through his wrong and mistaken foreign policy the national security is today in peril. By his drawing the curtain over his eyes, our Prime Minister refused to see that Pakistan is our only enemy. And by his ambitious and unrealistic State planning, the country is facing an economic crisis. This is the dismal picture that the country presents at the time of Divali. It is only when ALL these debris of foreign and home policies are removed, that India can truly celebrate the National Festival. Let us hope that that day will not be long in coming.

Syria--First Red Satellite In Middle East

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

WITH the appointment of an out-and-out communist Col. Bizri as the Commander-in-Chief, Syria has now become the youngest Soviet satellite. Russia has kicked the door of Syria open. The drift of the Syrian regime towards the status of a Soviet satellite has caused concern to all the Middle East countries. The Soviet conspiracy, so long pooh-poohed, has now become a reality.

Both locally and internationally, the situation in Syria is becoming an increasing source of danger and is full of dangerously explosive possibilities.

The Beginning of the End

Syria is an ideal place for Soviet military and political interference in the Middle East. The frontiers of Syria now slipped into the Soviet embrace are ideally situated for the purpose of blackmail and chicanery. With Syria as a centre of her subversive activities, Russia will now swallow one country after another in the Middle East. The Soviet press and radio have already started inciting the people of Middle East countries to overthrow their governments. Russia has now launched bitter attacks on the governments of the Lebanese, Iraq's, Iran's etc., with a view to stimulate ill-feeling between nations and aggravate the situation in the Middle East which has now become the area of the greatest tension as a result of the large-scale supply of Soviet arms to certain countries in this area. Soviet Pancha Shila in action indeed!!!

The Arab-Israeli dispute is the basic cause of tension in the Middle East, the Soviet policy towards

which has always been opportunist. Soviet Russia which first sent arms to Israel has now become friends to Arabs!!!

Syria is now playing along with Egypt's Col. Nasser. Syria has already made an arms deal with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has offered economic and technical assistance to Syria which is now full of Soviet technicians and advisers pretending to help the Syrians while cooking their goose. Col. Bizri who is a rabid communist has become Syria's commander-in-chief. As the leftist elements consolidate their power in Syria, it reminds us of the processes of a decade ago by which one East European country after another was hugged by the Russian bear.

The leftists in Syria have now taken their boldest step towards absolute power. The Opposition has been terrorised into silence by means of arrests, and "treason" trials, and through the machinery of martial law and censorship. The leftists in Syria have advanced a long way to their goal of absolute power.

A Baseless Charge

The recent Syrian charge against America of "conspiracy" to oust her present regime with the anti-government elements is only an excuse to impose martial law and suppress the democratic and nationalist opposition in her country and is just the traditional communist practice of charging America with "fostering" "imperialist plots" before actually taking over governments.

Let the Syrians learn from the recent Hungarian example what happens to a Soviet satellite state when

SHEER MADNESS

REVELATIONS made by Mr. Krishnamachari at a Press Conference in Washington, together with the news that the United States has made a gift of three cruisers to Pakistan (one of which has already arrived at Karachi), appear to demand an agonising reappraisal of our foreign policy which, it should now be obvious to the meanest intelligence, has been a complete failure. Under the Second Plan India provided 300 million for defence but, said our Finance Minister, "because we have found that our Army and Air Force are now outmoded completely and could not even provide defence for a few weeks, an additional 550 million has to be provided for defence expenditure." When Indians talk of defence, they have in mind Pakistan which has been openly threatening India and which has been getting her arms free of cost from U.S.A., and it is, therefore, natural to presume that the Finance Minister also had Pakistan in mind when he made the observation quoted above.

We must confess it is a most startling revelation regarding the ineptitude of the policies pursued by the Nehru Government. Nothing could be a plainer confession of the fact that our Government has no sense of responsibility and cannot even properly gauge the reactions of the foolishly provocative statements made by the Prime Minister in India and his representatives abroad. Even at a time when our Finance Minister is doing his best to persuade Americans to take a friendly interest in our Second Plan, Mr. Krishna Menon has been allowed to proceed to New York and resume his U.N. role of treading on the corns of the British and American Governments. After assuring his countrymen that they are not living in 100 percent security, he has been allowed to leave the country for the U.S.A. to queer the pitch there for the Finance Minister.

It is now obvious that it is not the Second Plan only that is at stake. What is at stake is the defence of the country, and we earnestly hope that even at this eleventh hour Mr. Nehru will realise the urgency of the crisis enveloping the country and set about rectifying the blunders he has been committing so that the warning uttered by his Finance Minister may not soon translate itself into a disaster of the

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its leaders place their country's national interests before those of the Soviet Union. Let them know what the people of Poland and Hungary have to say about the price that Moscow extorts for backing nationalism.

Syria has now become the greatest menace to the freedom of Middle East countries and the West. The only effective way of checking the Soviet military penetration in the Middle East is by the inclusion of America as a full member of the Baghdad Pact and presenting a united front to the communist threat. It is high time America also did something positive to counteract the Soviet economic penetration in the Middle East.

greatest magnitude for the country.

Our military weakness of today should have been foreseen when Pakistan agreed to accept military aid from the U.S.A. There is no sense at all in saying, on the one hand, that we shall defy Pakistan—indeed, the whole world—over Kashmir, and then insisting on remaining militarily weaker than Pakistan, for that is exactly what our refusal of military aid from the U.S.A. amounts to now. It must be remembered that if "our Army and Air Force are completely outmoded today," as Mr. Krishnamachari says, they will be outmoded again in a year or so—so tremendous and rapid is the progress being made in armaments—after \$850 million have been spent on modernising them! There can, therefore, be no question of our being able to compete with Pakistan whose scrap will all the time be replaced by latest arms from the United States free of cost.

We have taken so many different stands regarding Kashmir that one need not feel surprised if the world is a little bewildered and is inclined to look upon us as the guilty party. The Indian Government now want the aggressor vacated, but when the aggressor was being vacated by the Indian Army it was India's Prime Minister who cried halt to it by agreeing to a cease-fire.

Thus, in the last analysis, India has been suffering because Mr. Nehru has been exploiting her for personal glorification. And today her defence is in jeopardy for that self-same reason. Mr. Nehru wanted to be free to rave and rant against Eisenhower and he refused the military aid offered by the U.S. Government—the military aid which has been accepted by Yugoslavia still in the Communist bloc and a supporter of Russian action in Hungary, and by Ibn Saud who has declared himself in favour of the present regime in Syria in defiance of the U.S. line regarding that country.

The reason advanced by our Prime Minister for refusing military aid from the U.S.A. is absolutely hollow. It is absolutely necessary that the ground for our comparative weakness as against Pakistan be examined afresh and the very basis of our foreign policy radically altered so that the danger facing the country may soon be a thing of the past. Our alliances should be dictated by the principles enunciated in the Preamble to our Constitution rather than by the whims and fancies of a Prime Minister, howsoever eminent he may be. How can he promote the cause of democracy at home if he espouses the cause of totalitarianism abroad? It is only a decade since the country witnessed the holocaust of the partition days and now we are again being warned by our own ministers that we are not living in 100 percent security and that, if attacked, we shall not be able to defend ourselves for more than a few weeks. We are refusing to keep ourselves as strong as the other party to the dispute—which is threatening us almost every day—on grounds which will not bear scrutiny from the standpoint of national interest. Surely this is sheer madness.

—From "Organiser"

Public Administration In Social Democracy

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE word administration is steeped in associations of service. To minister to the needs and comforts of a people is the function of an administration or an hierarchy of public officials. The word carries an aura of religious or spiritual service, for he who brings the message of God to men in their trials and tribulations is also a minister. They minister to the soul, while the physician ministers to the body. The teacher is also a minister who trains and enriches the mind and moulds the character of his pupils. Public administration then is a system of services, administered continually to a people through an organised hierarchy of officials, appointed for the purpose. It is their vocation. They are not birds of passage, but persons who give their lives for public service, in their appointed station. They are specialists, who are expected to improve their knowledge and efficiency with time and opportunity.

But in our country this association of service is not yet ingrained in the minds of the public and officialdom. Officialdom has yet the aura of monarchical power, and breathes an air of prestige, whose visible emblem is power, which is more apt to run into intimidation and oppression than into service. The village policeman has more prestige than schoolmaster. The older tradition when kings honoured men of learning and worship, and influenced their officialdom to do likewise, is conspicuous by its absence today. It is but a name without local habitation in current custom and manners. The word magister rather than minister, with its aura of power and punishment, is closer to administration in the popular imagination and the practical attitude of officialdom.

A Reorientation Needed

India has given to itself a democratic, republican constitution after the advent of national independence. Such a republican democracy necessitates a radical change in the relation of people to public administration and its personnel. It needs a reorientation in the public mind, at all its levels, in this regard. Public administration comes to be regarded more scrupulously and constantly in its original purpose and *raison d'être* of "ministration" to public good. The word welfare brings out the objective and operative spirit of republicanism and democracy. The public administration is the agency through which social welfare is actually ministered to the people in all departments of public life, education, health, preventive and curative, law and order, justice, insurance, social security, food, transport, communications and so on.

The exercise of power, with its corollary of punishment, is no doubt the differentia of Government as a social institution. Though the State is an ethical institution, charged with the function of maintaining the conditions of good life, and rightly demands the respect and allegiance of its citizens, its prerogative of power imposes certain limitations on its day-to-day functioning, and puts certain lines of activity out of its bounds. All those dimensions of the interior or spiritual life of individuals, such as religious faith, learning, moral incentive, and conduct, where the intrusion of force, even with the best of intentions, is likely to vulgarise the impulses of the soul, are normally outside the domain of the State, and its power-agency. The welfare State brings to the fore the ethical function of the Government, and casts its basic power-dealing aspect into the shade in the normal day-to-day life of the people in their dealing with officialdom. This imposes a new standard of public conduct on the part of public officials—a new standard characterized by a pervading sense of service to the people, by a habitual efflorescence of courtesy and helplessness on all occasions of contact, with them. Public officials, in all their ranks from the head of department to the smallest clerk, have to behave to the public in ways revelatory of their sense of mission as public servants. They are honoured in this function. They should derive more satisfaction from the function of service than from the exercise of power (to hurt or harass) which is only incidental and subordinate part of their position in the governmental organisation.

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People, The Repository of Sovereignty

The democratic consciousness that the people are the repositories of sovereignty, and that governments are instituted to serve them in all the multitudinous affairs of life, should act as a permanent background to all their thoughts, feelings and behaviour, both in and out of office premises. The outcry in the pre-Independence era of foreign rule that the Indian civil service was neither civil nor imbued with the spirit of service, nor even Indian, should have no basis today in the conduct of the civil servants of free India. All government is government of the people, for it bears rule over them. Even monarchical and aristocratic governments claimed to rule for the good of the people, but these were found to be insufficient to fulfil the primary function of the State, namely common good. Hence the necessity of the democratic revolution, which has the differentia of rule by the people as a guarantee of its being for the good of the people. But *demos* is scattered and unorganised and cannot help himself. It is here that the characteristic and irreplaceable function of public administration, as an organised agency working from day to day on a permanent basis, to bring relief and help to the people as their agent comes into view. The administration lays the role of the body with its nervous system and operative limbs to the public mind. It is its brain and hands and feet. The relation between administration and the social whole is thus organic. Its tone and spirit and efficiency will determine the tone and spirit of

society as a whole. If it is dominated by police functions that overflow from their legitimate frontiers, we have the evil of totalitarianism where a Beria can compete for supreme power with political and military leaders.

In a social democracy, power should be strictly subordinated to public service; public servants, who misuse positions of influence and authority for private or sectional interests, will poison the public mind. A system of conventions and rules governing the exercise of power and patronage by public officials is part of every well-conducted administration and needs to be constantly examined with a view to its proper functioning and observance in letter and spirit. A knowledge of these rules should be spread among the citizen body so that they might have a clear awareness of the limits and legitimacy of the powers of public officials. Such awareness will help to keep officials in check, and restrain members of the public from offering bribes or special consideration for favour at the cost of justice to others.

Division of Functions In A Democracy

In a democracy there is a certain division of power and responsibility between elected Ministers of the Government and the permanent officials of the administration. In democratic theory, the Ministers should take responsibility for the acts and omissions of permanent officials, secretaries and under-secretaries, etc. They are answerable to Parliament for the proper functioning of their Ministries with the departments attached to them. Questions in Parliament have to be answered, after due inquiry and the administrative officials have to be defended, if they are right, or punished if they are proved wrong. But members of Parliament are precluded from attacking officials by name. Officials are to be sheltered from public attacks in Parliament. They should be given every facility to defend themselves at the public cost against unfair attacks by the press, or isolated individuals or groups outside. They may be discharged from service if public trial proves their guilt. Permanent officials should have a sense of security that they will not be disturbed and turned out of their jobs by unfair accusation. They should have departmental security against injustice in pay or promotion vis a vis their competitors. They should have incentive, both for normal promotion and extraordinary jumps for merit out of the ordinary. The exact combination of security and incentive should be discovered by actual experience and constantly revised to suit changing circumstances. The public official should, in return for such a life-time of security and reward and honour, give of his best to the State and people.

Two-fold Source of Corruption

There is a corollary to this demand on the public servant for devoted service on the side of the democratic public, for all service is reciprocal in character. Members of the public have no right to go to the other extreme and treat every public servant as their own servant in an individual or personal sense! The public servant is the servant of the people, as an organized body and a social whole but not a subordi-

nate of the individual citizen, obliged to take orders from him. In the first place, the official has the prime duty of carrying out rules in force, rules no doubt meant for his convenience but also for the service of all similar persons coming under its provision. The citizen has no right to ask the official to strain a rule in his favour to the detriment of others. He should not attempt to bring undue influence on him, whether that of friend or clan relationship to get unfair advantage for himself. The present outcry of corruption in public service has a two-fold source—one from the public and the other from officialdom and its itching palm (with honourable exceptions).

The public servant has the delicate function of serving individuals of the public within fair and due limits. He has to apply the rule to the individual case bringing out the facts of the case without *supressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. But he is also expected to go behind the rule and custom, and see the human meaning and purpose of the rule. Public officials are notorious for red tape. It is said that in the USA it takes six months for every application to an office to fetch a suitable answer. In New Delhi, it is said that no answers are forthcoming at all in most cases, unless the applicant engages persons in key positions in the ruling party, and the Secretariat to do research to unearth the paper. He has then to mobilise influence, cash or good offices of high-ups or key personnel to obtain redress or other suitable action on the part of the authorities! The permanent service has the duty of reducing red tape to the barest minimum possible in view of the personal and amount of business at each stage of public business. It has the further duty of seeing to it that the wheels of routine move without the expectation of "butter" or illicit gratification. It is said that even as between Ministries themselves, reciprocity is demanded in the matter of favour and patronage to their proteges if official records are to move with tolerable speed and without distortion!

Public Administration should proceed in the spirit of science in its routine. As papers move up the official ladder from table to table, from clerk to superintendent, from secretary to Minister, the facts of the case should be presented in a clear and full manner bringing up relevant history, precedents and rules in a concise way. The decision making official or Minister should have full data for a just decision. Officials should be masters of the rule and precedent in most cases so that rapid judgment is rendered possible with maximum probability of justice.

Democracy is likely to bring pressure on officials to strain rule and routine in favour of particular individuals or groups under the pretext of public policy. It may be the policy of the democratic government to help backward classes to advance more rapidly in education and economic position. But this does not mean that public officials are justified in favouring individuals of the backward groups at the cost of others of the same or other groups. Ostensibly this may look democratic in spirit but will undermine social cohesion if justice to individuals is overlooked. The theory today is that once entry into service is effected, the career of the official should depend on merit and zeal. If this theory is over-looked by the

overflow of the policy of encouragement to particular classes in the matter of promotions and special assignments carrying extra emoluments or privileges or opportunities, the poison of injustice will impair the efficiency and harmony of the public service.

Social democracy has to function within the framework of nationalism or social fraternity in which every voter should be enabled to feel that he counts equally with others before the law and administration. Equality of opportunity is of the essence of democracy and socialism. Exceptionally, in practice limits have to be evolved by experience to balance the policy of privilege with that of justice.

Ideal for Permanent Officials

The public administration serves as a sort of steel frame or structure of routine like the system of physiological functions in the body while the elected part of the Government serves as the seat of leadership and drive, determining the goals of public policy. Policy-making belongs to Ministers while the faithful trans-

lation of the policies, sanctioned by Parliament in day-to-day life in relation to the public, is the special responsibility of the permanent officials.

The permanent officials should be neutral in regard to policies and carry them out even if they conflict with their own sense of right and justice. For instance, some public officials may consider that the recently imposed wealth and expenditure taxes are wrong in principle but so long as they are on the statute book, they have to administer them faithfully, suppressing their private judgment. But they may record the evils of the taxes that may appear in practice so that Ministers might be induced to change the law in due time, if such change is in the public interest as proved in practice.

Today we have this ordeal of the public service put to crucial strain and test in Kerala where it has to function under a Communist Government. Though they should not be seen and heard in public life, public servants have the responsibility and privilege, bringing to bear the accumulated wisdom of society for ministering to its welfare.

WHY THIS GOLD STANDARD?

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

SOME 40 million Americans have been born since 1953, the year when the United States abandoned the gold standard.

The newspapers seldom mention the subject.

Even in political campaigns the issue of gold (which used to be a lively one) is seldom raised even by conservative candidates.

A college professor we know, when temporarily taking over a junior group of economic students from another professor, was amazed to discover that in their two year study of the subject the gold standard had never been mentioned to them.

All this leads us to believe that a few comments on this ancient and honorable institution might interest a lot of our readers.

Gold when used as money is a unique force in economic and political life.

Gold money is more than money: it is an instrument of economic and political freedom—a curb bit in the mouth of governmental power.

The reason for this is that when gold is used as money, the supply of gold controls the amount of paper money and bank credit money that the government can issue.

Under the gold standard the gold does not actually circulate among the people to any great extent because the paper money and bank credit money is redeemable in gold making it "as good as gold."

There has always been a sharp division of opinion as to whether the gold standard is the most desirable money system.

A good way to understand the reasons for these different opinions is to see what the gold standard

means to different groups of people, that is, who benefits from it and who is penalized by it.

For example, to the elected and appointed officials running the Federal Government the gold standard means that when they want to spend money they must get it from the people in taxes—a painful and sometimes impossible proposition.

The gold standard shuts off the government's "charge account," reduces its spending power, and makes the people much more critical of Federal expenditures.

To people who own bonds, insurance policies, and savings accounts, the gold standard means that the dollars they receive from their investment or savings will be worth as much, or more, as the dollars they originally saved.

(As matters now stand, in the absence of the gold standard since 1933, the dollar has lost more than 50% of its value.)

To people who owe long-time debts, particularly mortgages, the gold standard means that they will have to pay off their debt in dollars of approximately the same value as the ones they borrowed. Here then is the situation.

(1) To people in government, the absence of the gold standard permits the creation (without the people's consent) of inexhaustible supplies of new inflationary money which is worthless except for the value it sucks from the already existing money.

(2) To people who have saved money, the absence of the gold standard makes it impossible for them to predict the value of their savings at any future time.

(3) To people who owe money, the absence of the

gold standard opens the door to the possibility of being able to pay off their debts with cheap dollars.

It is easy to see, therefore, why people take sides so vigorously on the gold standard issue.

Among economists concerned with government policy there are two schools of thought.

One group looks upon the gold standard with disfavour because they believe that the manipulation of money and bank credit has been developed into such a "safe" science that the money supply should be under the control of the experts who will use it to regulate the value of the dollar in the "best interests of the nation."

One belief within this group is that there should be as much inflation each year as there is increase in the production of goods and services, thus (theoretically, at least) insuring that prices will neither rise nor fall.

The gold-standard economists are guided by the historical experience of many manipulated currency systems without gold backing and maintain that the failure and eventual blow-up of all of these in the past is an accurate prediction of what will happen to the United States if we continue an inflationary cheap money policy.

Not long ago we set out to discover (through Opinion Research Corporation) how the American people felt about the various principles involved in the gold standard and discovered that from the stand-point of conservatism the people seemed to be way ahead of the Federal Government.

Two of the questions are of particular interest.

One of these dealt with the desirability of cheap money: "If you had the chance, would you rather

get ahead by receiving more money or by being able to buy more with the money you are now receiving?"

68% said they would rather be able to buy more with the money they are now receiving.

The other dealt with the gold standard from the standpoint of controlling inflation and the rising cost of living.

After being told how the gold standard limits the issuance of new money, they were asked: "Does going on the gold standard sound to you like a good way of controlling high prices and inflation or not?"

61% said it sounded good to them.

From these answers it would appear that even though the gold standard as an institution has become dormant in the minds of most Americans, the principles underlying the gold standard are very much alive.

No economist that we know of believes that the redeemability of paper money in gold coin is a perfect institution.

Like monogamy and Christianity, they admit it to be subject to human error but maintain that, like monogamy and Christianity, it sets up a moral framework within which human error is far less hazardous to the security of our civilization.

It is true that since World War II, America has made spectacular economic progress under manipulated currency.

But it is also true that the economy has been walking the high wire with no landing net underneath.

That is why we believe it might be a good time to do some hard thinking about the gold standard.

BHARAT SEWAK SAMAJ:- A Wing Of The Congress

THE Bharat Sewak", the monthly organ of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, in its editorial of the July issue, admits the following charges against itself. It holds the mirror to its face and any one can see that the whole organisation started as an independent body of selfless workers in the cause of the nation is practically a wing of the Congress Government. How far can a Party in power use the tax-payers' money to finance an organisation, which carries on the political work of the party in power?

Some of the charges admitted in the editorial are as follows:

- 1) that depending largely on Government grants and led mainly by Ministers and Officials, retired or otherwise, and functioning obviously on an official pattern, the Bharat Sewak Samaj retains its non-official character only in name and lacks an essential appeal to the masses and their devoted servants.
- 2) that manned mostly by workers, both whole-

timers and honorary belonging to a particular political party, the Bharat Sewak Samaj, to all intents and purposes, is a single party affair.

- 3) that the name, the resources and the workers, were utilised for political, and in some cases communal purposes, particularly during the last election.

- 4) that in spite of all our tall talk about democracy we are a nominated body from top to bottom and there is one man's rule everywhere.

No more damaging criticism of the character and work of the Samaj could have been done by its bitterest critics. But now that these facts have been admitted in the organ of the Samaj, will any of the energetic M.P.s ask a question in the Parliament and call for its winding up or Immediate Stoppage of Government Money for financing the body? The taxpayers' money Cannot be Used by the Congress Government to carry on its Party propaganda. This is a negation of democracy and is a symptom that the Congress Government is definitely heading towards totalitarianism.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

PAK COMPLICITY IN SRINAGAR EXPLOSIONS, APPROVER'S EVIDENCE

Srinagar: The approver in the "Bomb Outrage Case", Abdul Aziz Parwana, said in the court of the special judge here that the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, had promised him personally in Rawalpindi last year all help and money for inciting violence in Kashmir, starting communal clashes and creating misunderstanding among important National Conference leaders.

Parwana gave details of his meeting with Mr. Noon and other leaders and his association with Pakistan's top secret service operator, Sajawal Khan, who lives in Pakistan-held Kashmir.

Pakistan's complicity in the recent bomb explosions in Kashmir and the contacts maintained by Pakistani leaders and the Government with the Plebiscite Front and the Kashmir Political Conference, were narrated by Parwana who gave evidence before the special judge, Mr. T. N. Matoo, for five hours.

Parwana and 15 others have been indicted for "aiding and abetting the enemy and endangering life and causing incendiarism." Six of the accused are absconding.

Six persons have lost their lives and 11 have sustained injuries in bomb explosions in the past four months in Kashmir.

Parwana, aged 22, told the court how he was snared into Pakistan's intelligence service to act and convey important plans from the Pakistani authorities to agents in Kashmir.

The arrested persons have been charged under the Enemy Agents' Ordinance and Explosive Substances Act.

—Times of India

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH—MENON ON PAK AGGRESSION IN KASHMIR

United Nations: The U.N. Security Council today adjourned its Kashmir debate without fixing a new date after hearing the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, charge that Pakistan was increasing its forces in Kashmir and "a new wave of aggression has been raised against us."

Continuing, Mr. Menon said "Pakistan had 68 military battalions in the area plus a frontier force of 21,000 troops and 22,000 irregulars and air bases were being built up.

He charged that the strength of the Northern Scouts in the occupied territory had been increased. "They have been armed with heavier weapons," he said. "They are well-armed to fight against bunkers, against our armour."

One platoon in each of the 20 battalions of the Scouts had been trained in guerilla warfare, he told the Council.

Referring to Pakistan's subversive campaign, Mr. Menon said: "A day this November has been fixed for D-Day in Kashmir itself. The new offensive began in the middle of June, 1957."

He reported that there had been 23 explosions since then in India and Kashmir.

He said that "there cannot be the slightest doubt that but for the vigilance of our people... the harm would be very much greater."

He said: "The Government of India has strenuously taken care not to allow this thing to become an Indo-Pakistani affair and has played it down a great deal.

He rejected Pakistan's charges of genocide and said: "This throwing around of words, of genocide and self-determination... is not in any way likely to fulfil the purposes of the Charter.

Mr. Menon pointed out that more than four million people had migrated to India from East Pakistan since partition because of religious persecution. He quoted press reports saying that Pakistan was a theocracy—undemocratic by Western standards—and the Hindus in East Pakistan were treated as sub-humans.

On the other hand, he said, "the Muslims are self-respecting people in our country, occupying the highest positions."

—Reuter

REPUBLICANS BREAK WITH SUHRAWARDY

Karachi: The Republican Party has withdrawn its support to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, a party spokesman said.

Dr. Khan Saheb, chairman of the party, Sardar Abdur Rashid, leader of the Republican Party in the West Pakistan Provincial Legislative Assembly, and four other Provincial Ministers, who arrived here apprised President Iskandar Mirza formally of their decision.

Mr. Suhrawardy, who was touring the northern parts of West Pakistan, rushed to the capital and had a prolonged meeting with the President. Later the President met Mr. Suhrawardy and leaders of the Republican Party.

Differences between the Premier and the Republican Party arose over the division of West Pakistan Province into four or more small provinces.

The Republicans want immediate division of West Pakistan, while Mr. Suhrawardy opposes it.

—Times of India

PROPAGANDA PRESSURE BY PAK PRESIDENT

Karachi: The Pakistan President referred to the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan and declared that the stoppage of canal waters to Pakistan by India would be "the worst type of aggression" and Pakistan would not accept aggression meekly.

"If ever India takes such measures to reduce thousands of square miles of our territory into a desert, it will be an act of aggression of the worst type, and we will be entitled to have world support for whatever action we may have to take."

NEHRU THROUGH THE EYES OF HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

Raja Hattheesing, brother-in-law of Mr. Nehru, in a letter to the "Times of India" (Sept. 13) writes as follows:

Now that the Government of India hopes of saving the country and the core of the Plan rest upon U.S. aid, we must consider the future. The old colleagues of the Indian revolution like Maulana Azad and Gobind Vallabh Pant, have been cast aside from the inner Cabinet for Mr. Krishna Menon to be the sole guide with Mr. Krishnamachari on the periphery.

Politically, we are slowly but inevitably being caught in the grip of totalitarianism internally and externally. The very moral principles on which our State is alleged to be based are compelling us to justify and protect the so-called co-existence in Kerala or aggression in Hungary so that the road to our serfdom is paved with good intentions. A new and corrupt autocracy is holding our economic future to ransom because in our apathy and cowardice we submit to the suppression of individual initiative and freedom.

When Mr. Krishnamachari goes to the U.S. for appeal for support, will U.S. pause and consider what it is helping to rescue? Our Democracy died when in the name of a political party, the country became the pillaging ground for sons, relations and friends. America aid today will only be trying to save what it failed to protect in Chiang Kai Shek's China.

CRORES DOWN THE KHADI DRAIN— FAILURE OF AMBAR CHARKHAS

A PTI message dated New Delhi states that correspondence is going on between the Planning Commission and the Commerce Ministry regarding the feared shortage of nearly 60 crores yards of Khadi production. The reasons for this feared shortage of Khadi are due to the failure of the Ambar charkhas. In addition to the failure of the Ambar charkhas it is also feared that both the power-looms, and the handlooms have not come up to expectations.

This news will not come as a surprise to those who know, that on the face of it, the much-boasted scheme of Ambar charkhas and handloom production are merely a Gandhian fad, and had no roots in realistic thinking or a scientific basis. Yet the Congress Government have sanctioned Rs. 200 crores for the development of Ambar charkhas and the handloom production. In this age of scientific production no one but a fool will believe in it with the latest textile machinery development. But the Congress planners have allowed their Gandhian zeal to outrun their normal functioning of the intellect. And the poor taxpayers' money has been wasted on the colossal fraud of khadi and charkhas. The sum of Rs. 200 crores, if it had been utilized for giving relief to the textile mills in need of reorganisation, it would have paid ample dividends by way of millions of yards of cloth production. But whatever the Congress planners touch seems to turn out in failures and this Ambar charkha experiment is no exception.

SLASHING ATTACK ON CHINA'S COMMUNIST REGIME

The People's Daily of Peking published recently the following remarks of Mr. Ko Pei-Chi:

"I will say it again that the masses want to overthrow the communist party and to kill the communists. If you do not change, if you continue to degenerate, they will some day do so. This is the law of Socialist Development. It is no use shouting ten thousand years.

"Why do the masses not trust the communist party? Because during the past 8 years they have come to see its duplicity. When the party needs a particular man, it will woo him even though he be a moral enemy. It will cast off any man it does not need, though he has poured out sweat and blood for it. The party members are inhuman, they address even their mothers as "comrade." The masses do not trust the communist party."

THE RED WITCH-HUNT IN CHINA

The free speech movement started by Red China on April 27 of this year was actually a clever plot to trace the potential enemies of communism, and many innocent intellectuals unfortunately walked into this trap, ignoring the apprehensions of the chief librarian of the Futuan University of Shanghai who said: "I may speak as I will, but after a period, after a year or two, will not a written record of my words be brought up against me?"

Within two months after the launching of "Free Speech" movement by Red China, the Chinese communists started a campaign against all intellectuals who are now being publicly humiliated and prosecuted. Among them are Fung Yu-lan (who had led a communist Chinese delegation to India a few years ago), the Sociologist Foy Hsiao-tung, the demographer Ta Chon, the political scientist Chein Tuan-Sheng, the novelist Ting Ling, the editor Chu Au Ping, the democratic politicians Chang Po Chun and Lo Lung-Chi and many others who had gained reputation as the opponents of Marshal Chiang Kai Shek.

While the imprisonment of one or two Red Scientists in America provokes world-wide protests and demonstrations against the United States, the strangulation of hundreds of intellectuals from all walks of life in China goes unnoticed. The silence of the intellectual world towards the persecution of the Chinese intellectuals exposes the moral cowardice of our own intellectuals and is a sad example of the moral crisis of our times.

HIGH HOPES ENTERTAINED OF MODERN INDIA

There is another place where artistry has a social conscience, where cultural creativity, makes news the titles of the publications are enough—Aesthetics, and The Libertarian. One day the promises of Gandhi, Coomaraswami, a score of other Indians will be fulfilled. There is even a Parsi newspaper, Kaiser-e-Hind—presenting unbroken continuity by Nietzsche to symbolize modern man. One day these seemingly scattered and unrelated determinants will

join in lifting civilization—that of the nearly effete West as well as that of naive and renascent East—to greater heights. Mention should be made of East and West of Secunderabad another attempt at East-West resolution.
—21st Century, Sydney Australia

PAK TRIBAL PEOPLE READY FOR ANY "EMERGENCY"

KARACHI: The Pakistani President, Major-General Iskandar Mirza, said that the tribal areas of Pakistan in the North-West Frontier were the 'sword arm' of Pakistan, and that there were 300,000 tribal people fully armed with rifles ready to meet an emergency in the country.

Replying to an address of welcome accorded to him by the citizens of Karachi on his return of a ten-day tribal area tour, General Mirza said that he has come back back from the tribal area with the firm conviction that the Frontier people were loyal to Pakistan, and would rise to a man to meet any emergency.

KERALA REDS TO COMMEMORATE MOPLAH MURDERERS OF 1921!

KOZHIKODE: The Communist District board of Malabar in Kerala has, by a resolution, decided to erect a memorial to "those patriots who died in the great agrarian revolt of 1921." This so-called agrarian revolt is nothing but the infamous Moplah rebellion which was the sequel to the Khilafat movement. Thousands of Hindus were murdered and forcibly converted to Islam during those riots. It was started as a movement against the Britishers, but it turned out to be a first-rate war against the Hindus. And now the communists are trying to dub it as "an agrarian revolution!"

This tendency of the communist-controlled District Board of Malabar to distort facts, on the model of the Russian politics, is highly resented by the Hindu public here. The Kozhikode unit of the Bharatiya Jana Sangha held a demonstration and a public meeting to protest against this, and a resolution was passed to that effect that if a memorial was to be erected, it should be for those who died at the hands of the Muslim fanatics in order to protect their religious freedom.

It may be noted that PSP and Congress members of the District Board also meekly supported the resolution.

Organiser

INDIA IS HANGING BETWEEN TWO STOOLS

The Indian correspondent of the London "Economist" in a recent dispatch writes in an article captioned—"India's Two-pronged Policy". The dispatch starts with "Until 1956, India had no foreign policy, only a foreign attitude. Indians looked to the outside world only through Nehru's eyes. Mr. Nehru heretofore was the expert... he was India.

Continuing the correspondent adds, "Now this is no longer enough; it becomes necessary to protect India's own interests, so Mr. Nehru has to find himself a foreign policy.

Continuing further the correspondent writes two crucial Indian interests were Pakistan and poverty. Indians are left to face with these two problems. Nehru has to evolve a foreign policy to deal with both.

"India was brutally shaken by the Security Councils' disapproval of the Kashmir policy. The shock was followed first by introspection, then by indignant re-appraisal of Pakistan. Now India has frozen into an attitude of 'no concession to the enemy.'"

The article concludes with stating, "hence India's passionate objection to Baghdad Pact which provides Pakistan with Allies; hence its strong support to Col. Nasser who is also against the Pact; hence India's many suspicions of the West. Because of Pakistan there is a growing feeling in India "to be practical"—which does not mean coming to terms with Pakistan but getting enough foreign aid to win the arms race against Pakistan and the economic race with China. Mr. Nehru is no longer fancy free. He has to be "practical" This means less verbal anti-Americanism. Still, if America does not provide India with new loans and does not curtail their arms gift to Pakistan it could also mean hard-headed swing to communist Powers.

PRIVATE SECTOR NOT THE VILLAIN OF THE PIECE AS PAINTED

Taya Zinkin, the Indian Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian in a dispatch from Bombay on Mr. Krishnamachari's mission to USA for financial loan states amongst other things:—

Stating that Mr. Krishnamachari, who set forth on September 17, "like the hero, Christopher Colombus, will find his America. ——— if Mr. Krishnamachari comes back without at least a glint of possible assistance, in the spring he may have lost democracy. Or, rather, to be technically correct, America may have let democracy slip by for the trifling equivalent £500 million worth of loans."

Continuing further the correspondent states:—

"But also what has got to be told in India and abroad is that there is a golden lining to the worst of the clouds, and in the present storm, the GOLDEN LINING HAS BEEN THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MUCH-MALIGNED of the scape-goats, the PRIVATE SECTOR IN INDIA.

The correspondent observes that during the second year of the Plan, the Private sector is "well on the way to fulfilling two-thirds of its share, and has all the foreign exchange for this except £ 35 millions."

"Besides increasing industrial production by eight per cent this year the PRIVATE SECTOR HAS BEEN PROVIDING SOME OF THAT MUCH-TALKED-ABOUT EMPLOYMENT and anti-inflationary cushion, which the public sector has been aiming at with WORDS and RESOLUTIONS. PRIVATE INVESTMENTS ARE FOUR TIMES AS GREAT AS IN 1953."

U. K. TO SPONSOR KASHMIR RESOLUTION

United Nations: The British delegation at the United Nations is reliably understood to have finalised a draft resolution on Kashmir, the debate on which will be resumed in the Security Council.

On the present occasion it is not known whether the U.S. or Australia will join in the resolution. According to U.N. circles, Britain had brought pressure on the U.S. to join in sponsoring the last resolution which was passed in February, 1957.

What the Libertarians Stand For

The Libertarian Social Institute is an association for the study and dissemination of the ideas basic to free society or genuine social democracy.

It has been founded by Mr. R. B. Lotwala of Bombay, who has also instituted a Trust endowed with a large library of economic and political literature and a reading room housed in Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Socialist and humanitarian thought in Europe and America received a great filip with the forces released by the French Revolution. It took two distinct forms, one violent and revolutionary, basing itself on the idea of class-war, under the leadership of Karl Marx, and the second, stressing moral and intellectual influence more than political action. Marxism became the dominant form of socialism, owing to a variety of historical causes and is now incarnated in Soviet Russia and the countries under her hegemony. It has lost itself in totalitarianism and government by terror. The second stream of influence received inspiration from thinkers like Robert Owen, Proudhon, Fourier, and St. Simon and stressed the values of freedom, humanism and decentralisation of political and economic authority. Under the influence of Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews and others, it developed a stream of libertarian thought, backed by a series of experiments in social settlements in America.

NEED OF LIBERTARIAN THOUGHT

This Libertarian branch of social thought has a great function to fulfil, in off-setting the present centralising totalitarian economies and politics, that are exercising an unhealthy fascination on our leaders owing to the example of Soviet countries.

The Libertarian Social Institute of India seeks to direct the minds of Indians to this alternative form of social thought. It seeks to study and disseminate the ideas inherent in free economy and a free society. It holds that free economy is indispensable to support a free society. By free economy it means an economy as free as possible from

coercion. It means an economy in which individual initiative and free choice will have adequate scope, as little fettered as possible by the coercive apparatus of the State. Free economy is different from laissez faire, and the sovereignty of capital and the business class. It only means an economic order which allows no monopoly of economic power to any class.

THREE ESSENTIALS OF LIBERTARIANISM

Free economy, a free society and a limited government are the three correlated aspects of the social order, envisaged by libertarians. In regard land ownership and land taxation, to industrial cartels and banking monopolies and the restrictive practices of governments in the management of currency, libertarians have noted forces making for social injustice and restriction of output.

Academic economic thought and official administrative procedures have neglected this body of thought. Libertarians direct attention to these fields of thought with a view to extracting the elements of value they may contain for galvanising the notion of free economy.

A branch of this Institute is opened in Reservoir Street, Basavanagudi, Bangalore, with a reading room and library attached for the benefit of persons interested in the aims of this movement for social democracy. Mr. Philip Spratt is the President, Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao the Vice-President and Mr. R. Venkataram as the Secretary of the Bangalore Branch.

New Books Added to R. L. Foundation Library

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Aryabhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay during the last month.

Hazlitt, Henry: *Free Man's Library*.
Morecell, Ben: *Our Nation's Water Resources-Policies, and Politics*.
Hofstadter, Richard: *Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*.

MacIver, Robert M: *Academic Freedom in Old Time*.

Zola, Emile: *Abbe Moauret's Sin*.

Hiley, W. E.: *Economics of Plantations*.

Russell, Bertrand: *Portraits from Memory and other essays*.

Bonnard, Andre: *Greek Civilization, From Illad to Parthenon*.

Russell, Bertrand: *Marriage and Morals*.

Lauterbach, Albert: *Economic Security and Individual Freedom*.

Radhakrishnan Sarvepalli: *Source Book in Indian Philosophy*.

Kohn, Hans: *Making of the Modern French Mind*.

Curtiss, John Shelton: *Russian Revolution of 1955*.

Broughton, Leslie Nathan: *Some Letters of the Wordsworth Family*.

United Nations: *Every Man's United Nations 1954-1955*.

Columbia College, Columbia University: *Man in Contemporary Society Vol. I & II*.

Haines, Charles Reginald: *Islam, as a Missionary Religion*.

Wollaston Arthur N.: *Sword of Islam*.

Bolus, E.J.: *Influence of Islam*.

Lunt, Theodore R. W.: *Story of Islam*.

Fraser, John Foster: *Land of Veiled Women*.

Malcolm, John: *Sketches of Persia*.

Burton, Richard F.: *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madnah and Meccah Vol. I & II*.

Parr, P. C. Ed.: *Carlyle's Lectures on Heroes, Hero-Worship*.

Whittaker, Edmund: *Economic Analysis*.

Warnlass, Lawrence: *Gottell's History of Political Thought*.

Zinkin Maurice: *Development for Free Asia*.

Jackson Stanley: *Aga Khan*.

Tarshis Lorie: *Introduction to International Trade and Finance*.

Ellis Howard S. Ed.: *Survey of Contemporary Economics*.

Wright, Albert, Hazen: *Handbook of Snakes of the U.S.A. & Canada Vol. I & II*.

Sennholz, Hans F: *How can Europe Survive*.

Minrath, William R.: *How to Run Your Own Business and Make it Pay*.

Trumbull, Robert: *As I See India*.

Smith, Wilfred Gantwell: *Modern Islam in India; Social Analysis*.

Levy, Reuben: *Social Structure of Islam*.

Gibb, H. A. R. (Ed.): *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Brooks, Van Wyck: *Ordeal of Mark Twain*.

Zola Emile: *Doctor Pascal*.

Book Reviews

THE BATTLE FOR THE MIND

BATTLE FOR THE MIND by William Sargant. Published by William Heinemann Ltd., London. 1957. Price: 25s. Pages: 248.

THE subtitle of the book: "A Physiology of Conversion and Brain-washing" indicates the substance of the study and its point of view. The aim is scientific without any propaganda "strings", all the more effective by reason of its strict objectivity. The author is a practitioner in psychological medicine in a leading London hospital and has had exceptional opportunities of treating cases of war neuroses in Britain during and after the war. The point of view is physiological—the influence of brain mechanisms and disorders on the mind. He has been impressed with the work of the Russian psychologist Pavlov whose second series of study on dogs became available in English in 1941. Dr. Sargant found a remarkable approach and similarity in the physiological aspects of the behaviour of Pavlov's dogs under experiment and of the phenomena of mental trouble. He found a further revealing similarity between these mechanisms of the brain in dogs and neurotic patients and those exhibited in cases of religious conversion, particularly of the revivalist experiences of evangelist religions like those of John Wesley. He carries the study of analogy further into primitive religion like the African Voodoo. He adduces examples from the abnormal movements of orgiastic ecstasies common in the Middle Ages. He has added a chapter by his friend Robert Graves on similar ritual and experiences in Greek Mystery religions.

CAUSES OF WAR NEUROSES

In war neuroses we find normal persons suddenly losing their 'minds' or 'souls' or behaviour patterns under the stress of fear or excitement and collapsing into a state of nervous exhaustion. The treatment by which many of them are

brought back to normalcy in modern psychotherapy is based, in Dr. Sargant's view, on a grasp of the physiology of the brain and a fruitful use of its mechanisms.

Pavlov's dogs were subjected to different stimuli under different conditions of hunger or fear. If there was an abnormal or unwanted change in the stimuli, the dogs could not respond in the normal way. Fear and hunger and confused stimuli would throw them into excitement and their power of reaction would be confused.

IDENTITY BETWEEN HUMAN & CRIMINAL MINDS

Dr. Sargant has arrived at a generalised scheme of the physiological mechanisms of conversion in the diagnostic phases of which there is a close analogy between animal and human reactions.

In religious conversion, we have a sense of shock or paralysis induced by a consciousness of sin or guilt and of anxiety, after which there is a feeling of ecstatic release and serenity often lasting for life, a feeling of divine grace and acceptance or of "sanctification." The book gives dozens of remarkable plates of conversion meetings, Euro-American and African. The emotional expressions on the faces of white people in American sects like those who handle snakes as part of the ritual, and on those of African primitives are a grim reminder of the physiological identity of the animal and human nature.

These aids to conversion through fear and excitement are being made use of to elicit confessions by the police in many countries of the modern world. Dr. Sargant gives a vivid account of the process of third degree methods without violence used even by the British police. The method consists in the main of tiring the prisoner out by continuous interrogation, by refusing him sleep and rest and creating an exhausting state of anxiety and fear of punishment. He points out how under these conditions even

innocent men might be induced to confess to crimes that they have not committed. He adduces evidence from the recent case of one Evans who was executed for the murder of his own wife and child-crimes he had never committed. The most dangerous thing is that even the officers come to believe in the truth of their own hypothesis!

Dr. Sargant is rather sceptical of the high claims made for psychoanalysis, and quotes Dr. Freud himself when he came to doubt the truth of his analysis towards the end of his career. He had hypnotised himself into believing his theories on insufficient evidence, into universalising the influence of sex in the causation of neuroses.

MODERN MENACE

If even the police of democratic nations can be led or misled into misuse of physiological and psychological pressure though in the service of legality and justice, how much greater is the tragedy when such misuse becomes the accepted method adopted by Communist Governments of remoulding the mind of the entire people committed to their care?

The world was astonished and bewildered when in the pre-war era, Stalin's victims among the front rank Leninists of the Revolution era, like Kamenev, made abject confessions of incredible crimes and treacheries and disloyalties and collaboration with the Western enemies. But today we have adequate evidence of the process by which such confessions were elicited. Dr. Sargant gives a convincing analysis in psychophysiological terms. He shows how the process has become the normal method of indoctrination of the whole population in Russia and China. He has adduced sufficient evidence of the even more thorough way in which the Chinese Communists use these Pavlovian-cum-Freudian - cum - Evangelists-cum-Jesuit methods to remake the minds of the cadres and of the whole population.

Dr. Sargant gives many hints as to how people can resist the onslaughts of such indoctrination, if unfortunately they are subjected to it. To be forewarned is to be fore-
(Continued on page 30)

Political and Economic Structures

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES by Bela Hubbard. The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1956. Price \$4 p. 185.

The approach is semanticist and along positivist lines. It is an attempt to analyse "the different systems of government and economy from the standpoint of structure."

The first part of the book concerns political structures. "Political structure began with the choice of recognition of a ruler or chief, and the establishment of rules or laws governing individual and mass activity."

The seven political structures are autocracy, absolute monarchy, oligarchy, constitutional monarchy, constitutional democracy, republic and American republic. The first three have much in common; "government authority and power spring from the government itself, not from the people. Governments of these types concede no inherent rights to the governed. The people so ruled exist only to support the government and are, in effect, political slaves. The philosophy of each of these three forms of absolute government may be paraphrased as that of government of the people, by the state, for the state." The U.S.S.R. is included in this group under oligarchy.

The remaining mark the advent of constitutional government. A constitutional monarchy is "one in which the sovereign is limited to the exercise of particular powers or functions by laws or constitution of the realm." Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iran and Thailand are instances of constitutional monarchy. Constitutional democracy is "gov-

(Continued from page 29)

armed. If reason is made conscious of the methods and engines that will be used against it, it can develop powers of adequate resistance. This is the lesson left on the mind of the attentive reader by this remarkable study.

—Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao

ernment by the people, a system of government in which the sovereign power of the state is vested in the people as a whole, and is exercised directly by them or their elected agents." According to the author, a constitution is not an essential ingredient of democracy. This is right since democracy is an ideal and a method of government. But here constitutional democracy must be distinguished from democracy. Democracy is only an ideal and a method of government.

DEMOCRACY AND REPUBLIC

In a democracy, the people exercise, directly or indirectly, all governmental powers: legislative, executive, and judicial. "In a republic, only the legislative powers are exercised, directly or indirectly, by the people. The executive and judicial powers are administered by delegated authority. With the introduction and strengthening of the parliamentary system and a constitutional framework, the democracy approaches the republic in structural form until it may become a matter of opinion in which category a specific government should be placed."

The distinction is forced and mainly serves to emphasize the degree of democracy. The better way to express it would be to say that the difference between a republic and a constitutional democracy is that in the former there is separation of powers while in the latter there is no such clear separation. The American government is defined as a constitutional representative federal republic, the philosophy of which is embedded in the declaration of independence. The American republic is distinguished from the republic on account of some of its unique characteristics. One of its basic unique characteristics is its limitations on the doctrine of majority rule. "Majority rule is a fundamental element of all democracies, and this is one reason why democracies have not been stable.

The United States Constitution was the first formulation of a system of government in which definite political checks were placed against the unrestrained rule of the majority."

FOUR ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

The four economic structures are the communist economy, the socialist economy, monopoly capitalism, and competitive capitalism. Communism is a primitive structure. Whereas the rudiments of individual ownership of property are observed in the early descriptions of aboriginal tribes. Communism is evident in very primitive cultures. The modern Russian experiment has been led by doctrinaire intellectuals. The Russian weapon of conquest is intellectual subversion, which "introduces a new psychological technique which may be best described as the art of destroying men's power of rational thought and understanding. This mass dissemination of mental chaos is accomplished chiefly by spreading confusion as to the true meaning of words." This is amply illustrated. The socialist economy is quite similar to the communist economy, but with one very important difference. "In the communist economy, all property (wealth) is owned by the community; in the socialist economy, the community owns only the means (tools) of production... Under the socialist economy, private ownership is limited to consumer goods, land and dwellings not used commercially, personal means of transportation, and money saved from personal wages... In actual practice, details of socialist structures vary widely, and range from an economy hardly distinguishable from communism to one approaching state capitalism, in which the government controls but does not own the means of production."

The author claims for socialism a primitive origin. Modern socialism tendered first by Plato is communal ownership which, in effect, is a change in the form of government, not in economic system. "The means of production, where

owned by the state, constituted socialism, whether the state happened to be an autocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, or democracy." With this follows an analysis of the Fabian society, the New Deal, and British socialism.

Monopoly capitalism may be based on either state capitalism or private monopolies which the government recognizes and encourages. The capital is supplied by a few who assume all the risks, enjoy part of the profits, and suffer the losses. The people, through their government, exercise control over the enterprise (in state capitalist economies), share in the profits through taxation, but escape the direct burdens of the losses if the enterprise should fail.

It is in the competitive capitalist economy that the market finds its true consummation. "The competitive capitalist system, for successful operation, must conform to such regulatory laws as experience has shown to be equitable and necessary. Such regulation, however, is entirely distinct from control. The competitive capitalist economy is regulated, but not controlled. The other types of economy are controlled, but not necessarily regulated by equitable laws." This economy is new and hence forward-looking.

The third section concerns structural relationships where the author mainly discusses governments, economics, the concept of private property, and the evolution of wealth. It is in the closing section that the author outlines the semanticist approach to the problem. Words like democracy, socialism, etc. have diverse meanings and this causes the radical differences in diverse criteria. This is the positivist approach to the problem and the author has done almost pioneering work in having applied semantics to political and economic structures. Also worth reading is the book for the immense simplification that the subject has undergone in the author's hands, a simplification that is remarkably well balanced.

—Kishore Valicha

Letters

To The Editor

RED REGIME IN KERALA FACTS AND FICTION.

Dear Madam: Mr. Namboodiripad, the Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, is said to have drawn Rs. 3,301.34 nP. by way of salary and allowances between April 5 and June 10, 1957, which is more than what his Congress predecessor had drawn with a salary of Rs. 700/- and a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 250/- per month.

Dr. Menon and Mr. Krishna Iyer, the other two ministers of Mr. Namboodiripad's Cabinet, are said to be still drawing Rs. 700/- as salary. While the Communist Ministers draw by way of salary and allowance more than what their Congress or P.S.P. predecessors used to receive, propaganda still continues that the Kerala ministers have cut down their salaries to Rs. 350/- per month and are receiving favourable publicity in Press!!!

Sumant S. Bankeshwar
Bombay

GOLD STANDARD, A FAULTY ECONOMIC DEVICE

Dear Madam: Regarding the gold standard, we have long learned that people who place faith in politicians to manipulate the money supply honestly and efficiently, are immune to arguments in favour of redeemable money.

The gold standard is an imperfect economic device but it is the least worst way ever invented to permit the people to control the public purse and the value of their savings.

Regarding wage increases without production increases, you state: "Even though wages may be the principal cost of everything, fluctuations in prices of commodities and tools depends upon their wage content. As to land value, this follows the prevailing cost of living index".

We do not agree with Godwin's thesis that natural relationship has no claim on man, that gratitude to parents and benefactors has no place in justice or virtue, that accumulated property is a monstrous injustice.

Richard S. Rimanoczy
295 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

A Competition For Our Readers

How and Why U.S.A. Became the Richest Country in the World

The 'Indian Libertarian' invites articles from the readers describing how U.S.A. attained the present state of prosperity and pre-eminence, specially mentioning the names of some of the architects who were responsible for it.

The article should not exceed two pages of the 'Indian Libertarian' and should be preferably typewritten and on one side of the paper.

This Competition is open till the 31st of October, 1957. Articles meant for this Competition should be accompanied with the cutting of this announcement.

The article adjudged as the best will be awarded a prize of Rs. 25/-. The decision of the Editor will be final.

All articles meant for this Competition should be addressed to:—

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