

The Indian Libertarian



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Editorial

BORDER AGREEMENT OR SURRENDER

THE recent Nehru-Noon Agreement has turned out, as was feared, a surrender by our side. Prime Minister Nehru seems to imagine that he is living in the golden age and that he, as the Prime Minister, has authority to give away chunks of land with live citizens of them to the enemy country.

The Pakistanis have for months, to count only the latest series, been trespassing on our land with fire and sword, looting and terrorising our people on the border on the plea of border disputes. Only a cease-fire, with foreign troops and personnel still on our soil, was stipulated for the commencement of talks between the two Prime Ministers. Any rightly constituted representatives of national interests and guardian of national sovereignty would have demanded the *withdrawal* of the aggressor from beyond the border line before consenting to open talks. Not so our *super* Prime Minister. As he claims, he regards himself as more than a Prime Minister i.e. a person above the law! Our enlightened citizens and elected parliamentarians do not seem to see anything extraordinary or out of the way in such claims on the part of their beloved idol. The idol of the days of national liberation struggle has been allowed to grow into an extra-constitutional disposer of national destiny.

According to the "surrender agreement" (as we are bound to call it in deference to truth and national patriotism), half of Berupari Union in Jalpaiguri district which has been indisputably ours and has been in our possession since 1947 has been surrendered to Pakistan!

Pakistan then gets the use and fishing rights in the Ichhamati, Piyaain and Surma rivers for which her troops and people had committed so many atrocities during the last six months and more. So Pakistanis are confirmed in their view that their strategy of unjust attack and torture of innocent civilians, unarmed men, woman and children, is sound and paying. Their Islamic faith (that justifies them in violent attack and in the teaching that might is right) is strengthened as the inspirer of the only true and rewarding policy and method of diplomacy. This policy of appeasement on our side far from bringing the intransigence of the enemy to an end, adds fuel to its fire. Even as fire cannot be quenched by feeding it with supplies of ghee, wrongful greed on the part of aggressive offenders cannot be satisfied by feeding it with what it wants.

Throughout the recorded history of man on the planet, this truth stands out unmistakably. It is only our unique Gandhian leaders that have flouted the lessons of history and have pinned their faith to out-moded psychology. The seeming success of Gandhian non-violent satyagraha in winning national independence from the British seems to have given them a character for playing ducks and drakes with national security.

The extravagance of this psychology on the part of our Prime Minister is expressed characteristically in the cavalier way in which he has gifted away a part of the strategic area in Tripura because, forsooth, it is traversed by the Pakistan railway and would be convenient for them!

Our princely negotiator forgot the similar circumstance on the Assam border where *our* railway had

to be diverted by a detour to avoid a jutting chunk of Pakistani territory. We might have demanded this chunk in exchange! But such an idea of reciprocity does not exist in the philosophy of our 'spiritual' statesman. *The Amrit Bazar Patrika* asks this legitimate question:—

"Another point raised relates to the strip of land in Tripura which has been made a gift of to Pakistan on the ground that the East Bengal Railway crosses through it. There was no dispute at all about this bit of territory. If this was surrendered on the sole ground of facilitating Pakistan's rail communication, why did not India claim on the same ground *that small patch* of Bhurugamara in Rangpur through which the Assam Railway could straight pass from Gitaldaha Junction to Assam? Because this was Pakistani territory, India had to build a costly alignment from Alipur Duar to Assam."

The question has its answer in the psychology of India's Prime Minister who has *no* keen national patriotism but is wrapped up in his own greatness that could be expressed with a glow of self-righteousness in gifts to enemies at the cost of the permanent interests of the nation.

Any realistic statesman would have insisted on keeping a jutting headland carrying the enemy's railway as a hostage in time of war! It should be remembered that Pakistan has proclaimed a *religious, all-out war* against India (jihad) from the moment of her birth: indeed even from her inception in the mother-heart of the Muslim movement three generations before 1947.

The most indefensible transaction in these sorry pour-parlers between Nehru and Noon, (if degrees are permissible in such black acts of anti-national sell-out), is the surrender of Cooch-Bihar enclaves of about 27 miles.

The problem has always figured in Secretaries' conferences. West Bengal was precluded from pressing her own claims on the assurance from the Centre that the matter will be settled at the All-India level

And this is how it was settled at the national level! The simple explanation is that for the Centre (which means Nehru, pure and simple), the nation as an entity with its own individuality and integrity in which pieces of territory are not the detachable patrimony of a single individual does not exist.

When the Prime Minister himself has such an attitude towards the sanctity and inviolability of the national territory and home, it is no wonder that we hear stories of Indian officers at the border signing away villages on their own to the enemy! Far from such conduct bringing down upon them the wrath of the Central Authority, they seem to escape all punishment for such grave misbehaviour amounting to treachery! If the fence itself eats up the crops, who is to protect them?— is a Kanada proverb that comes to mind in this connection!

Thoughtful and informed citizens are recalling now a number of utterances of the Prime Minister betraying this cavalier attitude of indifference to national claims in land and wealth and human rights.

The Cooch Behar enclave to be given away has a number of towns in which thousands of East Bengal refugees have settled down after their enforced flight from their ancestral homes. Now on account of the *generosity* of our great *dharmic* Prime Minister, they will have to shift again deeper into Bharatvarsh or to accept again the perilous and hateful rule of Pakistanis that knows no sentiments of honour and humanity with regard to *kafirs*, being an Islamic State.

After the terrible holocaust of Partition brought about by the weakness and false psychology and history of the Prime Minister and his weak colleagues, it might have been thought that no Indian representative will again throw Indian citizens to the wolves knowingly. But there it is—it has happened! And the rest of the public is looking on with unprotesting docility! We have often wondered with distress how it was that the Indian people and rulers suffered the 17 annual invasions of Muhammad Ghazni without rallying and organising a defence! We understand now in the light of the way in which our people from the Himalayas to the Cape are mildly accepting socialist-communist liquidation of property and political rights (both by industrialists and agriculturists) without organising themselves and turning out the Congress leaders in power through the ballot box.

Another question that demands keen investigation in this matter is the verdict of the Constitution on the mode of surrendering national territory. We know how the French Constitution forbids such transactions except through a special vote of the National Assembly. It may be that France has too tenacious a hold of territory. But no nation can exist in this predatory world of international struggle in which the prevalent rule is that of *matsya nyaya* (the law of the fish: the big fish swallowing the smaller) if it does not have a sufficiently strong hold on the homeland.

The Constitution should sanction every such alienation by a two-thirds majority.

This Constitutional issue should be brought up in Parliament before the Prime Minister's surrenders are sanctioned. If such a procedure of ratification is not resorted to, the offence of surrendering national lands will attach to members of Parliament themselves.

In this connection, the statement of the General
(Continued on page 8)

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THE MISSION OF LIBERTARIANISM

By M. A. Venkata Rao

IN Europe and America a branch of the Enlightenment school of thought that prepared for and preceded the French Revolution developed a strand of socialism. While the central stream of inspiration released by the Revolution guided thought and reconstruction into channels of national democracy under the lead of the new commercial and industrial classes (whom Karl Marx called the bourgeoisie) side streams of what may be roughly called "socialist thought" sprung up seeking to mould social institutions including property and State on equality and fraternity rather than on liberty. The liberal democratic State evolved all over the continent and in North America on the basis of individualism which in the realm of economics assumed the shape of capitalism.

The leaders of the French Revolution and of the subsequent democratic *evolution* in England and other States evolved a philosophy of individualism stressing the key role of free economy or freedom of enterprise as the pivot of progress.

Socialist thinkers like Proudhon, Fourier and Saint Simon were not satisfied with the early decades of the working of capitalism in the Napoleonic era and the Restoration of the Bourbons. They saw clearly that the ideals of equality and fraternity that imparted such a glow to the revolutionaries as if they were the creators of a new dawn of perfection were jettisoned by the bourgeoisie. The new enterprise and wealth joined hands with empire and were concentrated in the hands of the new rich, a small section of the nation. The bulk of the masses remained poor and were exploited by the bourgeoisie almost as much as the aristocracy oppressed the peasants in their ancestral estates.

In England too discontent at the new exploitation of the bourgeoisie strengthened and expressed itself in a number of movements of which the Chartist struggle was the chief. Factory Acts and the First Reform Act of 1832 were the first symptoms of the new social conscience. The new world of commerce and industry of the Industrial Revolution came to be defended by liberal democratic thought of which Bentham, James Mill and his more famous son John Stuart Mill were the principal protagonists. Their work in economic, legal and political thought guided the development of democratic institutions and civil rights throughout the nineteenth century.

But towards the end of it, new streams of thought came to be felt making for socialism and collectivism. One was the idealism of T. H. Green and Bernard Bosanquet, which gave a new ethical basis to the State and coalesced in its effect with socialism. Fabianism assumed greater importance as the source of reform and welfare as the century turned the corner and the Labour Party adopted it as the sheet-anchor of their policy. Thus British thought sublimated the hate-filled class-war doctrine of violent revolution sponsored by Karl Marx into its own characteristic evolutionary, non-violent, parliamentary way of introducing socialism or collectivism. Today it has become

the official philosophy of the Labour Party and the climate of thought generally among the intelligentsia of all parties.

On the continent, the early part of the century began with the dominance of the Positivism and Religion of Humanity of August Comte. His scientific humanitarianism coloured the intellectual landscape in France and was reinforced with the integral or communitarian forms of socialism sponsored by Proudhon, Saint Simon and Fourier. These thinkers tried to cure property of its individualism or selfishness by suggesting methods of sharing it in communes or phalansteries of various kinds. They opposed also the centralising bureaucratism of the expanding State.

A side line of thought adopted forms of anarchism in trying to resist the crushing power of the Omnipotent State. Prince Kropotkin and Bakunin became the principal representatives of this anarcho-communist trend of thought.

But the most successful of these trends was that represented by Karl Marx, partly because he founded the International Working Men's Movement which acquired influence from the middle of the century and ultimately became the dominant form of socialism. It has been the misfortune of humanity that it was the violent, class-war doctrines of Karl Marx that got crystallised as the authentic form of socialism and the sole scientific system and saviour of labour throughout the world. The adherence of Lenin and the Russian revolutionaries and that of the German social democrats under Lassalle contributed to enthrone Marxist communism in this dominant position. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and its triumphant career to its present position of World Power challenging the whole free world has added hypnotic power to this collectivist, conspiratorial, violent form of communism.

Communism has today become the climate of thought in most countries. Even where a small part of the intelligentsia is free from the prevailing views, they are influenced all the same to a more or less extent, so that the cause of freedom is put on its defence. It is not State aggrandisement that has to explain and justify itself but on the other hand the claim of human liberty and individuality!

The capitalist Robert Owen fell in with the French socialists and initiated worker's communes or settlements in England, Scotland and even the United States in the early decades of the last century. An American thinker called Josiah Warren joined Owen's socialistic settlement and was inspired to start his own village settlements on a more individualist basis. He developed a *time* and *labour* theory of value in his own way. In Karl Marx's hands, the theory was distorted to become the surplus theory of value in order to support the thesis that all capital is robbery of the value created by labour. In Warren's hands, it became the foundation of a new equalitarian individualism which asserted the right of each individual to the proceeds of his labour as measured by the

time taken in producing the product of industry. Measurement of labour contributions became a subtle and vexatious calculation and source of trouble among members of settlements.

His example inspired a line of thinkers to reflect on the social aspects of individual liberty. Stephen Pearl Andrews developed the outlines of a science of society. Others developed the aspects of cooperation and mutual aid in banking and other forms of economic production and exchange. Others specialised in problems of currency and inflation. Others investigated the effects of State interference in banking, currency and economy generally. These thinkers of the libertarian school in America developed reflection both into the role of property, its meaning, function and limitations and into the role of the State in social affairs and individual life.

The general line of thought in regard to both aspects was to discover the degree of waste and frustration and complication involved in anti-social uses of property such as are indulged in by monopolies and cartels by the State outrunning its legitimate field of police and justice and by welfare policies of robbing Ram to pay Kishen. These excesses of the individual and the State lead to ever rising costs of production, to excessive pressure of economic groups on the State to get something for nothing, to rising inflation and confusion of values all round and to the collapse of confidence in currency and economic production generally and to the emergence of unnecessary economic crises with over- or under- production and unemployment.

The remedy is to return to individualist economy regulated by provisions against monopolies to safeguard the equal liberty of all. This principle of the equal liberty of all for engaging in free enterprise within the law (to exclude fraud and the annexation of unearned profits) in sufficient, say the libertarians, to justify the imposition of checks on those who take undue advantage of the freedom granted.

If these principles are intelligently followed, it is urged, the State and society will be freed from the excessive burdens from which they are suffering at present under the influence of collective ideas. They will be free from much of the present load of public debt. The State will be compelled by individualist citizens to live within its means and not to create artificial money by issue of loans and not to burden the present generation by ever-rising loads of interest on public debt. Though the principal is supposed to be paid by future generations, as a matter of fact it is the present generation that has to pay heavy interest. These interest payments to one class of citizens namely bond-holders will distort the economy by conferring on them more purchasing power than on the rest of the community. This distorts the economy in favour of unearned incomes annexing too much of the capital resources of the community towards the satisfaction of a few, leaving the demands of the vast majority starved and unfulfilled or under-fulfilled.

The central stream of thought in advanced democratic countries like the U.S.A. is that of liberal democracy formulated in the early and middle periods of the nineteenth century. Today technological industry, the growth of population and the advance of communication media—radio, newspapers, wireless, aeroplane for passenger and goods traffic etc. have all conspired to confer more and more powers on the

State to regulate the myriads of new inter-relations among citizens. Organisation has tended to become ever more complex and interwoven. Hence the feeling of inevitability in regard to the growing tendency towards collectivism and the expansion of State power.

Collectivism has become the *illusion of the epoch* today in which the rights and duties of the individual citizen as a self-determining and self-realising person are lost to view. Individuals and small groups feel lost in the vast agglomerations of large nation-States. Even small States feel a prey to massive influences and pressures impinging into their life from outside.

The wheel has come full circle. The individualist philosophy of John Stuart Mill and his followers which guided liberal democracy is today eclipsed by the communist collectivism of Karl Marx, particularly in respect of economy. Adam Smith and Mill are both put into the shade. They have become "Gods that failed."

But today doubts and misgivings are being felt in many quarters that we have embraced a remedy worse than the disease. After all, the only known reality in human life is the individual centre of experience, of thought, feeling, action and fellowship—individual men and women.

Sociologists are formulating theories of the right relationship between primary and secondary groups. The former like the home, neighbourhood and religious or educational fellowship are *primary* in moulding human life. They deal with individuals as full rounded persons and not as fragments—hands or members or customers or wage earners or employers or officers or rank and file anonymous common men. *Secondary* associations like occupations, amusements or casual groups as in hotels and railway carriages are necessary but if they crowd out much of the scene and activity of life, man is atomised and impoverished. Neuroses come to prevail. Suicides, mental aberrations, juvenile delinquents, divorce proceedings, prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, corruption in economic and political life—will all make themselves felt in disturbing degrees.

Libertarians call for a greater simplification of institutions, a reform in the use of property and a return to the limited role of the State in social life so that the submerged individual may be released for a new career of purposeful, healthy activity in which science and the other achievements of the modern spirit may be used more wholesomely to help men and women to fulfil themselves in pursuits within their reach and power of assimilation.

The libertarians call for a new relationship to land, so that unearned income may not accumulate in hands that do not contribute to production. Since land is limited unlike other forms of industrial or commercial property, it needs to be kept in the hands of people who actually use it for production, eliminating functionless or parasitic holders.

The libertarians are also interested in education. They are exploring the avenues whereby the individual may be led through self-directed thought and investigation to discover the right relations between individual and society. The new aim is to strengthen dispositions of cooperation and individual self-reliance *during the process of learning*. It is also necessary to destroy the roots of class antagonism by imparting the joys and skills of using tools so that the ancient

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NEHRU FOOLED AGAIN

By M. N. Tholal

IN order fully to appreciate the magnitude of the folly of the latest agreement with Pakistan, it is necessary to throw our eyes back on the recent past and recount events which may be said to constitute the background of the Nehru-Noon Agreement. At the Muslim Legislators Conference in Delhi in 1946, this very Feroz Khan Noon threatened such dire consequences to India, in case Pakistan was not conceded, that Chengez Khan and Timur would have paled into insignificance, presumably before him. Mr. Nehru is not likely to have forgotten this threat, as it made its contribution in the realisation of Pakistan, and it is to be hoped that the concessions made to Pakistan in the latest agreement are not also a consequence of threats like these, backed as they have been by increasing and almost incessant firing on the eastern Indo-Pak border. For, in that case, we may well expect the present to be only the beginning of a series of concessions which, history tells us, only lead to war.

On September 3, 1958, within a week of his scheduled arrival in New Delhi, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, that same worthy descendant of Chengiz Khan, tactfully decided to give Mr. Nehru a dose of his own medicine—emotional integration. He told the Pakistan National Assembly: "I am going to Delhi for making peace with India, not to create friction and further difficulties. . . . I feel the time has come when all threats of war by the Muslim League President against India must stop. . . . U.S. military aid to India will stop if Pakistan talk in terms of war. . . . I shall not lead this country to a war because I know war destroys both countries and solves no problem. . . . India is a great and large country. . . . We ourselves should be able to make peace with India. Such peace and friendship will enable both countries to rise higher." He was using Mr. Nehru's own words. What more could Mr. Nehru want? The ground had thus been carefully prepared for gaining concessions from Mr. Nehru.

BASE REPUDIATION

But Mr. Noon cannot be said to be a man without a sense of humour. For no reason at all, except to tell India what her agreements with Pakistan are worth, he chose the very next day, September 4, within a few days of his scheduled arrival in New Delhi for a new agreement, to tell the Pakistan National Assembly that Pakistan had repudiated the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of May, 1948, which regulated the flow of waters of the three eastern rivers of the Indus Basin to Pakistan from the Indian headworks. To add insult to intransigence, he added that Pakistan had informed the UN that the agreement was signed by her representatives under duress and that was why she was repudiating it. (Prime Minister Noon's statement came immediately after the West Pakistan Chief Minister had attacked the Muslim League leader, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, signing the agreement which, he said, had "sold away" Pakistan's right to the

waters of the three rivers. The two statements illustrate the Persian proverb that liars have no memory. If the agreement had been signed under duress, the attack on Mian Mumtaz Daulatana was obviously absolutely unjustified and unprovoked.

Even more than the repudiation of the Treaty the charge of having had to sign it under duress was a malicious insult to India but our Prime Minister swallowed it without even threatening to cancel the proposed meeting with Mr. Noon. Of what worth are agreements if they are repudiated after they are entered into and furnish only occasions for hurling base and unfounded charges of goondaism and worse on India and her Prime Minister? Even worse than feeling intimidated is the appearance of feeling intimidated, for it can lead to further intimidation by the bully and finally and inevitably to war—as demonstrated by Hitler and Hitlerism—as the bully soon becomes used to intimidation. This is exactly what the USA is preventing by "brinkmanship" and counter threats of war and this is exactly what India is encouraging by her postures of peace.

NOON PUTS NEHRU IN THE WRONG

There can be no denying the fact that the Pakistan Prime Minister has definitely put Nehru in the wrong. Not only that. Like a shrewd politician he has advertised Nehru's wrong-headedness for all the world to see and note. "There has never been any disagreement," said Mr. Noon in a statement issued in Karachi shortly after his return from India and released to the Press by the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi, "that border disputes that the two countries are not able to resolve by negotiations should be referred to an impartial tribunal for adjudication and final settlement." This was practically confirmed by Mr. Nehru in Parliament when he said "Mr. Noon was not agreeable to this being done in regard to one particular matter". Mr. Nehru did not specify this particular matter but said: "The matter is open to consideration".

Mr. Nehru had very good reasons for not being specific on the point and Mr. Noon had equally good reasons for underlining it. "I conveyed it to Mr. Nehru," said Mr. Noon in his statement, "that the remaining unresolved disputes should be referred for final settlement to a tribunal only if India agreed to implement *in toto* the award given by the Bagge Tribunal" in respect of the Kushaira river. "The Indian Prime Minister," Mr. Noon added, "did not however find it possible to agree to this and had suggested that the Indian point of view with regard to the findings given by the Bagge Tribunal should also be specifically referred to the tribunal which might be set up for deciding unresolved border disputes". Mr. Nehru confirmed this in Parliament. Mr. Noon further said in his statement that there was "no justification for referring the decision given by a final adjudicating authority to any other tribunals." Only a fool would contest this proposition, for if decisions given by final

adjudicating authorities are referred to other tribunals, where is the finality about their decisions? And if this finality is not conceded, it is sheer waste of time referring disputes to them.

But we may patriotically take it for granted that there must be sound reasons for India not accepting the Bagge Award in regard to the Kushaira river. Since, however, that is the arbitrators award we were and are morally bound to accept it, unless we can persuade the Pakistan Government also to reject it in favour of a mutually acceptable formula. We might have persuaded Pakistan to adopt this course if we had withheld the concession we have needlessly made in ceding Cooch-Bihar enclaves and made them only in order to induce Pakistan to agree to bypass the Bagge Award. As it is, we have given away valuable territory, in a fit of emotional absentmindedness as it were, without gaining anything in return. We have given it away in a fit of emotion to a party regarding whose (evil) intentions towards us even Mr. Nehru does not entertain the slightest doubt. We have given it away without depriving that other party of the opportunity of defaming us—Mr. Noon in fact lost no time in doing so. Could anything have been more idiotic?

As a matter of fact prudence demanded that all these disputes be settled in a package deal. Where is the sense in resolving a few disputes to the advantage of the other party and letting a few remain as *casus belli* so that firing may start again at the earliest opportunity to produce that irritation in Mr. Nehru which eventually induces in him a frame of mind which must "settle the damn thing once for all" only to find a little while later that nothing has been settled and he has only been tricked into conceding something without any *quid pro quo*.

SOVEREIGNTY OF NEHRU OVER PARLIAMENT

What emerges clear from the Agreement is not only the (usual) folly of Mr. Nehru, but also the sovereignty of folly in the land. This is only a continuation of the good old tradition. Did not the spinning wheel, through the loin cloth, dominate Indian public life for three decades to work the country's ruination? And now we have emotional integration. The whirling of time brings its own revenges. For, this emotional integration (which nobody understands and which is not meant to be understood like the spinning wheel—where would Jawaharlal Nehru be if it is understood?) comes from the son of the man who made Gandhi break down and weep in an open session of the All-India Congress Committee. But alas, among our 360 millions today there is not one Motilal, one C.R. Das, one Subhas Bose to bring tears to Jawaharlal Nehru's eyes or remind him of his disservice to his country in the pursuit of the cult of personality. And yet we feel offended when Morarji Desai tells someone that we are cowards.

In his casual statement in Parliament on the Agreement Mr. Nehru said he was not quite sure whether it would be easy for him "to explain or for the House to understand" the specific border problems of villages here and there. Who was expecting or asking him to explain the "specific border problems of villages here and there"? What Parliament had a right to know was the general effect of the Agreement and what made Mr. Nehru gift away a few square miles of Indian territory and some ten or twenty thousand of

his countrymen and countrywomen to Pakistan. This is obviously a very serious matter but when a member of his own Party, Mr. Raghunath Singh, wanted the House to have an opportunity to debate the Agreement, Mr. Nehru interjected: "How can there be a debate about it?" The Speaker, the custodian of the rights of members of the Lok Sabha, had nothing to say regarding this insulting interjection from Mr. Nehru, who added: "If you want more clarification, I am prepared to give it". But it is exactly to elicit this clarification that a debate is held. How else are members to have an opportunity of seeking clarification in regard to points which are not clear to them. And how can Mr. Nehru give the necessary clarification, which he said he was prepared to give, unless time and opportunity are given to members to speak on the Agreement?

The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. Nehru did not want to give the House a clear idea of the Agreement, as it would have redounded to his discredit. The confusing statement he made also confirms this conclusion. So do his own words which followed: "Surely a debate in the House is the worst place to make suggestions for future negotiations. How can you have a debate as to how to negotiate with another country?" Who wanted to make suggestions for future negotiations? And who wanted to tell him how to negotiate with another country? Surely even a Prime Minister is not entitled to draw all kinds of silly conclusions from a simple demand to debate an important agreement. Yet the Speaker had nothing to say. Mr. Nehru has clearly established his sovereignty over Parliament even in matters procedural and all those who call themselves democrats have good cause to hang their heads in shame at this sorry development.

LOGIC OF THE AGREEMENT

The following example furnishes an idea of how the agreement was reached. On the Tripura-Pakistan border there is a small patch of territory—a few acres—near which the Pakistan Railway passes. "We have agreed to give this small bit of territory to Pakistan," said Mr. Nehru, "because it is near its railway." Surely this is a most amazing reason for parting with a country's territory. Had the Pakistan Railway been running on this small piece of territory there might have been some sense in Pakistan demanding the same, though none in our handing it over to Pakistan without adequate compensation. In the statement issued in Karachi, Mr. Noon said, "The question of the East Bengal Railway which passed through a part of Tripura State had been settled by India agreeing to give this piece of land in perpetual right to Pakistan". So it comes to this that neighbourhood of a piece of land to a Pakistan Railway is as good a reason for its being given to Pakistan as a Pakistan Railway's crossing over it! At this rate Pakistan should soon be declaring a few miles' limit—increasing at intervals—to define its territories on its borders, like the Chinese and the Ice landers' twelve miles' limit for their waters.

All this is Patelism in reverse gear. No wonder, now that the destinies of the country are in the hands of a man whose mood changes every five minutes, and who does not realise the importance of the elementary political maxim that there is no generosity in politics and that politics is a game for hardheaded and hard-boiled people.

ISLANDS OF WAR?

By T. L. Kantam

AND now the Far East. Hardly has the crisis in the Middle East or to use the term which has now become popular, West Asia, been resolved — at least for the time being — than alarm bells have begun to ring again. For the past few days, there has been continuous shelling of the Nationalist-held island of Quemoy in the Formosa Strait by artillery from the mainland of China, resulting in heavy casualties. Warships and airships have also been involved in many clashes, each side claiming to have scored hits.

Quemoy, which is 70 square miles in area, is only 14 miles distant from Amoy on the mainland of China. In Quemoy are entrenched 50,000 Nationalist Regulars, one-fifth of Chiang Kai-shek's effective ground force. Along with Quemoy, the Nationalist forces hold the Matsu group of islands. These cover an area of roughly seven square miles and are 40 miles from Foochow on the mainland. The Formosa Strait which separates Formosa from the mainland is 90 miles wide at its narrowest point and is shallow and dangerous for navigation.

UNSINKABLE AIRCRAFT CARRIER

Formosa has been described as an unsinkable aircraft carrier. The Japanese had developed Formosa's resources by monopolies operated by government or giant business combines and the people had attained a living standard higher than that on the mainland. The Chinese considered Formosa the richest prize of World War II.

The Cairo declaration stated that it was the purpose of the three great Allies that all territories that Japan had stolen from China — such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores — should be returned to the Republic of China. The declaration, with Stalin consenting, was reaffirmed at Potsdam. It posed no problem, so long as "China" referred to was "Kuomintang China".

On October 25, 1945, the Chinese Government General of Taiwan was inaugurated at Taipei, the capital. Early in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek anticipating the possibility of retreat to Formosa before the onslaught of the Communists, sent his most able lieutenant Chen Cheng to prepare for the possible reception of the government-in-exile. Throughout the year of defeat for the Nationalists, 1949, one million civilians from the mainland and about 600,000 soldiers straggled into Formosan territory, 13,885 sq. miles in area. In December 1949, the harassed Nationalist government retired to Formosa, where Chiang Kai-shek took up the reins of government. "While the deliriously excited Communists danced the *yang-ko* or peasant folk dance in the victory celebrations in Peking and Shanghai, the dejected, hungry Kuomintang sought sleep and "utter forgetfulness" in their island haven."

ARE THERE TWO CHINAS?

The governments — the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the Chinese Peo-

ple's Republic — have been vying for recognition as the rightful representatives of China's millions. Approximately one country in three has extended recognition to the People's Republic at Peking. These include the Soviet bloc, the neutralist countries of Asia and the United Kingdom. Those who have continued to deal with the Nationalist Government in Formosa include the United States, the Latin American Republics, the Philippines, Thailand, France, Belgium, Australia, Canada and South Africa.

The Nationalist government occupies a seat as a permanent member of the Security Council and represents China in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. The USSR has tried on very occasion to substitute a Communist delegation for the Nationalist delegation but without success. This, as the world knows, is due to the strong support which the United States has been extending to the Nationalist government.

In this context, the memorandum re-stating the basis for United States non-recognition of Communist China, released on August 11, is of particular interest. The most significant portion of this elaborate statement reads as follows: "The Government of the Republic of China controls the strategic island of Taiwan (Formosa) and through its possession of a sizeable military force — one of the largest on the side of the free world in Asia — presents a significant deterrent to renewed Communist aggression. Recognition of Communist China by the United States would seriously cripple, if not destroy altogether, that government. On the other hand, continued United States' recognition and support of the Republic of China enables it to challenge the claim of the Chinese Communists to represent the Chinese people and keeps alive the hopes of these Chinese who are determined eventually to free their country of Communist rule."

The Peking government, on the other hand, regards Formosa as the island which "shall be restored to China in due course" and has repeatedly declared that it reserves to itself the right to seize Formosa by force if other means fail.

CRISIS OF 1955

In the spring of 1955, newspapers in the United States posed the question: Will the United States soon be at war again? The question arose out of military reports and other intelligence sources that the mainland Chinese were about to attack the offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy and that they had moved into reverted position heavy artillery. On-the-spot military observers gave Chiang Kai-shek little chance of holding these islands against Communist invasion without American intervention.

Under the mutual defence pact entered into with Formosa in December 1954, the United States was bound to go to the rescue of Formosa if it was attacked but there was no such obligation in respect of

(Continued from page 2)

Secretary of the Jan Sangh Party is to be welcomed. It points out that no functionary like the Prime Minister has the right to alienate national territory without the sanction of Parliament. There is no provision in the Constitution for such alienation at present.

THE ASSAM BORDER

The Secretary, Bengal Jan Sangh Party, writes in *Organiser* (22 September 1958) that there is much disloyalty and weakness on the Eastern Front. He reports that in many places our border defences are not strong. He condemns the procedure of our government in not ordering our police and other forces to reply fire by fire at once without waiting for orders.

He points out that many Muslims within our border help their co-religionists to attack Indian territory and loot our villages. A Calcutta Muslim has written a foreword to a book in which he refers to Indian Muslims as not enjoying freedom and saying that they have to fight for their freedom!

We have continuing evidence that under cover of secularism, our officialdom is giving opportunities unwittingly in effect to the enemies of the country to consolidate conspiracy and establish strongholds within our territory! These will only do us grievous injury if greater vigilance is not displayed by the authorities. It should be a subject-matter of discussion as to what it is that prevents a secular state from protecting itself from the machinations of the enemy. Is it an ineradicable trait of secularism to allow the followers of one religion among the national population to aid and comfort their co-religionists in a hostile nation to the detriment of their own nation, which is giving them the full protection of equal civil rights? Does democracy require a suicidal practice of allowing enemies to fatten in the land and across the border waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon the unwary secular democratic State?

AMERICAN AID AND INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India's indebtedness to America in financing her ambitious Five Year Plans and feeding her huge population in spite of grievous shortfalls in agricultural production has grown to gigantic proportions with the recent bouts of assistance. The American Ambassador was within his rights in pointing to colossal assistance as evidence of America's goodwill to India and her faith in India's democratic destiny and viability. The new agreement which followed the visit of the finance minister Mr. Morarji Desai to Washington provides three new financial elements to India's Second Five Year Plan.

The first will be a series of projects (yet to be determined) through the Development Loan Fund. These projects are expected to total 100 million dollars.

The second will be a new Public Law 480 agreement under which food grains will be sold to India for rupees, a large part of which will be re-loaned to us for economic development. In addition, U.S.A. will pay a substantial part of shipping charges.

The third concession is the deferment of interest and principal payments on previous loans (1951 wheat Loan) for seven years. (190 million dollars.)

Mr. Bunker (U.S.A. Ambassador) said that these loans will bring US Aid to India to a total of Rs. 750

crores (1500 million dollars.) He concluded by saying "This new announcement of credits will I am sure, be interpreted for what it really represents: the conviction of the American people and Government that India—a sister democracy—will go forward in her plans to bring the fruits of progress to her people."

In spite of the lack of harmony between American and Indian foreign policies, (why even *contrariety* between them in the attitude to International Communism and the role of Soviet Russia in world politics), the American Government have been far-sighted and generous enough to bale India out from her sinking boat. Ordinary gratitude and prudence require that our authorities moderate their thwarting of American policies vis-a-vis Soviet Russia. Strictly speaking, a fair appraisal of the world situation and India's helpless position would suggest strong reasons for a revision of policy so as to support America in her desperate struggle with the communist bloc not only for her own survival but for that of the world as a whole.

It is time that our intelligentsia ceased to follow official cues in interpreting world politics and made a fresh and impartial study leading to closer relations with the U.S.A. Such re-alignment will induce her to prevent Pakistan from doing mischief and starting war against India.

(Continued from page 7)

Matsu and Quemoy. It was therefore felt in certain quarters that the defence of Quemoy and Matsu could be left to Chiang Kai-shek's forces alone, the United States maintaining a static defence of Formosa and the Pescadores. To the question whether the United States would defend Quemoy and Matsu against China's attack, President Eisenhower did not give a direct reply but observed that the "maintenance of the morale and fighting spirit of the people and forces of Formosa was a key element in the defence of Formosa". He, however, discounted the talk about an impending attack by Communist China on Quemoy and Matsu.

The expected attack did not come off. One of the reasons, it was assumed, was the Afro-Asian Conference which was due to begin at Bandung on April 18.

PRESENT CRISIS

The reaction of the United States to the situation that has now developed in the Formosa Straits has been to build up what has been called "the greatest striking force in history." Russia has uttered a severe warning against this action and has accused the United States of "playing with fire". American intervention is fraught with grave danger unless it can limit itself to local action aimed at stopping the invasion of Quemoy and Matsu. Even such an action might set off a spark leading to a world conflagration.

On the other hand, United States' hesitancy or unwillingness to go to the rescue of Chiang Kai-shek at this juncture might be interpreted as another retreat and bowing to Communist "aggression." It might also result in the capture of these offshore islands by Communist China, paving the way for its taking of Formosa.

President Eisenhower has a difficult and agonizing choice to make.

Namboodripad's Threat Of Civil War

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

THERE can be no gainsaying the fact that poverty is the breeding-ground for Communism but only the gullible can say with any note of confidence that economic justice alone can stem the communist menace. Have not the communists overrun several countries in East Europe where the standard of living was not low?

It was in fact the prosperity of those countries that invited aggression; as for instance in the case of Czechoslovakia. Communists have flourished only in those countries where freedom and social justice have been present in much larger measure than in Africa, Latin American countries and South Asian countries where in spite of social injustice, class exploitation and imperialism, the communists have not yet been able to rally the masses around their slogans of class exploitation, war and Soviet worship. The communists thrive only in those countries where an attitude of softness is displayed towards them. Communism has been routed out wherever terror or stern measures have been used against them.

CIVIL WAR IN INDIA?

It would be sheer folly on the part of our leaders to write off communism merely on the basis of election. They must remember that the ballot box is only one of the devices of the communists for seizing power and that, too, a device in which they have got little faith and to which they resort under the stress of dire necessity. What brings them to power ultimately is a bloody relentless total *civil war*.

The Kerala communists no doubt came to power through the ballot box. But they have failed so miserably in the last 16 months that they are sure now that they will be pulled down from power by the United Front of Non-Communists in the next general elections. The C.P.I. has already warned that under no circumstances they would tolerate the *central Intervention*. Now, what is the implication of this warning and Mr. Namboodripad's earlier threat of *Civil War*? The Central Government's decision to institute an inquiry into the Kerala affairs is now dubbed by the Communist Party as an "intervention" and Mr. Dhebar's coming visit to Kerala is described by Mr. Dange as "landing in Kerala"! Are the communists trying to impress upon our people that the Central Government's decision to institute an inquiry into the Kerala affairs and Mr. Dhebar's coming visit to Kerala are of the same kind as that of American intervention in Lebanon and the landing of American Marines in Lebanon?

Will the Kerala Communist Party quit the office if it is defeated at the polls by the United Front of Non-Communists in the next general elections? Nowhere have the communists voluntarily surrendered their power and the Kerala Communists are not likely to quit its office honourably even if they are defeated at

the polls. They have already raised a private militia and they will resist any attempt by the Central Government to dislodge it from power. According to the Correspondent of the *Kerala Prakasham*, weapons from the government armoury are being smuggled out with the knowledge and consent of the government. The Communists in Kerala, seem to be already making hectic preparations to 'defend' Kerala against "aggressors" from Delhi. Any action by the Central Government to uphold the verdict of the Kerala electorate in the next election will be branded as *aggression* by the communists. They might even declare the Kerala State as independent and seek help from "friendly" nations like Russia and China against "aggression" from Delhi. Communists all over India will then resort to the old Telengana tactics, especially in their strongholds like Andhra, Bengal and Kashmir. The "objective" situation in India will then be ripe for *Civil War*, a warning of which is already given by Mr. Namboodripad.

Without arms aid from Russia and China, the communists have absolutely no chance of coming to power in this country through either guerilla warfare or staged insurrection, and they will have to fight not against the ill-equipped and inefficient Chiang's army but against a well-equipped modern Indian army. Secondly, unlike the Chinese Nationalists who inherited from the Second World War, an impoverished, weak and disintegrated China, we have acquired from our non-violent revolution a strong modern Army, united by well-developed communications and ruled by a trained civil service. War-weary, devastated, disorganised and economically prostrate, China was suddenly faced with a well-organised and well-equipped Red Army, actively backed by a strong power like Soviet Russia. The Russian occupation of North Western China and Manchuria at the end of second world war was mainly responsible for the victory of the Chinese Communists. The Chinese were allowed to equip themselves with heaps of armaments stockpiled by the Japanese in anticipation of a last-ditch fight against America and Russia. Soviet Russia, before withdrawing its troops in April 1946, enabled the Chinese Communists to establish their own Red Government in Manchuria. They could also get heaps of armaments supplied by America to Russia and piled up in Siberia for the war against Japan. In addition to the Japanese and American arms and ammunition, they could also get huge quantities of Russian armaments. They were also strengthened by a large number of Japanese and Russian trained Korean forces in Russia's Korean base. The Second World War thus definitely turned the scales in favour of the Chinese Reds in their Civil War against the Chinese Nationalists. Before the war started, the attempts of the Chinese Reds to overthrow Marshal Chiang's regime through guerilla warfare had ended in a stupendous failure.

NAMBOODIRIPAD'S HOPE:

Mr. Namboodiripad's comrades have none of these advantages which their Chinese comrades had against Chiang. But it was the common land frontier that mainly helped the Chinese Communists to overthrow Chiang's regime. India also has a long common frontier with Red China and Russia. The communists' intensification of their activities in Nepal, Kashmir, West Bengal and Assam after the Chinese occupation of Tibet, clearly points to the possibilities of these areas developing into an Indian Yenan, affording to the Indian Communists a vast land base in contact with Red China and Russia.

The acceptance of Pancha Shila by Red China and Russia might temporarily prevent them from giving direct arms aid to the Indian Communists or sending their "volunteers" for the "liberation" of India. But how long will China and Russia adhere to the principles of Pancha Shila? So long as the communist bloc is not sure of its own strength in the event of a final showdown with the Western powers, and needs temporary allies, they may observe Pancha Shila. They may not mind even betraying their comrades in countries which have not yet joined the Anglo-American bloc, and thus wean them away from the American influence. But the moment the communist bloc triumphs on the international plane, "volunteers" from China and Russia will step into India for her "liberation".

Our present method of fighting the communist

menace will ultimately end in a stupendous failure. We cannot fight communism without antagonising Russia and China; nor can we fight it by eulogising communist countries and their "achievements". The net result of our policy of appeasement will be that communism and communist countries will rise in the esteem of our masses whose minds will be prepared for the acceptance of communism. Some of our leaders eulogise communism day in and day out and single out for criticism only its philosophy of violence, and if the people are led to believe that the only virtue in the Congress is its (doubtful) philosophy of non-violence, our masses might reject the Congress outright in favour of the communists sooner or later.

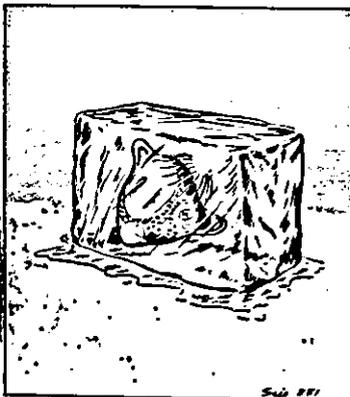
Communism is more than an idea; it is an idea with a body, supported by a mighty army, navy, air force, nuclear weapons, I.C.B.M., and spies. Our "dynamic" neutrality and "moral prestige" can hardly resist if "volunteers" from China and Russia march into India for our "Liberation" though our army is a dependable one in the event of any insurrection by the communists from within.

Pandit Nehru is hoping against hope if he thinks that Russia and China will become our friends if we go on paying handsome tributes to them and that he can successfully halt the march of International Communism into India by befriending Russia and China and confining his denunciations only to the Indian Communists.

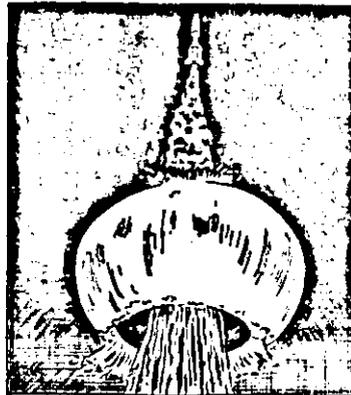
We can no longer afford to be complacent about the communist danger which has already poisoned the toe of Mother India, to wit, the tiny State of Kerala.

DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



The tiny rotifer is an amazing animal. He normally lives in water. But there have been instances when marooned on a sandbar that registered 200 degrees Fahrenheit, he survived without ill effects. And he's been known to stay alive in a cake of ice.



The U. S. Farside rocket, which in 1957 attained an altitude of at least 2,700 miles, the farthest any man-made device has penetrated space, is being considered by U.S. scientists for a flight to the moon in 1958.



Dr. Winston Price, a biochemist at Johns Hopkins University, has made the first notable advance in history toward the cure of the common cold, a disease which has plagued man since his beginning. Dr. Price has isolated the JH virus which causes 30 percent of the world's colds and has developed a vaccine which is 80 per cent effective.

Communist China On The Rampage

By L. N. S.

IT was said of the ill-starred poet Burns that he spent his life sinning and repenting for his sins. This lugubrious remark is more justly applicable to the ways of the modern world cleft latitudinally and longitudinally by rival ideologies, the simple aim of which seems to be to plague mankind for opposite reasons. Khrushchev had so long been playing a star-role that he needed a rest badly; and as the curtain is not yet to be rung down on the final denouncement he has given the cue to his Eastern satellite to deputise for him while he recoups for his next turn.

It may be remembered that the Middle-East crisis fizzled out in a disconcerting fashion to those who ate fire and rattled the sabre in a most fearful manner. 'Crushing blows' of 'complete annihilation' were threatened against the 'aggressors', and the American marines were promised their place of final rest at the bottom of the Levant. Foreign troops were ordered to withdraw on pain of the total destruction of Western imperialists. An extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the UNO was invoked; but the sequel showed that 'the dog it was that died!' For the complainant found himself in the dock, so to speak, and has promised to behave better. The much-trumpeted Arab nationalism received for the first time a salutary and reassuring check in what is unmistakably its homeland. President Nasser's promise to respect the independence and integrity of Lebanon and Jordan is tantamount to a major recantation which has been glossed over by the world Press for reasons best known to itself. Instead, the Assembly resolution has been hailed as the apotheosis of Nasser as the high-priest of liberated Arab resurgence.

But behind all this face-saving subterfuge, the rude reality of the continued stay of the American forces in the Lebanon is a reminder to the world at large that the genuine brand of Arab nationalism has been salvaged for the time being from the cat-burglaries of Egyptian imperialism. The Lebanon wants American protection and Jordan that of Britain *because of Nasser*. This fact is coming out more and more luridly as Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld is out to explore the ways and means of implementing the General Assembly resolution on keeping the peace in the middle East.

It is against this background that we have to study the present recrudescence of jitters in the Far East. During the last ten years of a troubled peace and tortuous diplomacy, the big powers have by tacit agreement deferred the disposal of many inconvenient problems. It all started with the division of Germany—the setting up of Pakistans all along the line. India, Korea, Indo-China, Indonesia, have all found a single recipe answering to neither ills, in a manner of speaking. In China, Formosa was saved from a burning house and converted into a political asylum where the orphans of the communist storm might collect their shattered strength and hopes. Considered *a priori*, Formosa is as inalienable a part of China as the Channel islands are of England. It is inconceivable that they should be in the hands of an alien and hos-

tile power. Or rather, such a situation could be conceived only on the basis of China or England itself having become a weak, enslaved or subject nation. As our Prime Minister has recently put it, eventually no doubt Formosa will become a part of the state or republic of China. We need no ghost from the grave, much less a statesman of world calibre to tell us that.

The more pertinent issue is why America should fly in the face of facts and expose itself for a cantankerous and jaundiced power in seeking with such cynical effrontery to meddle in the affairs of another country? All the moralists of the daily press, all the quidnuncs cackling through their special columns have had a field day shaking their heads and pointing their accusing finger at the follies of American foreign policy and the pureilities of Dulles' brinkmanship. According to these worthies, perpetual world peace could be ensured by handing over Formosa to the Chinese and the GI's demobbed so that they could chew gum or tobacco and expectorate its juice as their most innocuous and engaging national sport.

Neither America nor the American people are particularly vicious; there is no evidence to show that they are cursed with a double dose of original sin. Recent indications have left the world in no doubt as to the basic constancies of American foreign policy vis a vis the continuing and expanding threat of international communism. It is rarely that nations are either born great or achieve greatness. More often than not, they suffer from or react to the consequences of greatness being thrust upon them. Call it accident or Fate or destiny or what you will; but the turning points of world-history confront us with the miracles or marvels of victories and defeats which were incredible. Why should the Greeks have won both at Marathon and Thermopylae, or why should the Mahrattas have lost all the three Panipats? Waterloo was touch and go, and so was Stalingrad. The British did not win the Battle of Britain; it was Hitler who gave up prematurely in a fit of nerves. And so on and on....

Now, there is no use of any one with a grasp of prevailing trends and knowledge of historical processes pretending to ignore or under-rate the almost cosmic intensity of the conflict now raging between capitalism and communism—between rival ideologies and techniques one of which is aiming at world domination and the other struggling for honourable survival. The democratic way of life gladly recognises the evangelic zeal for human amelioration which is one of the ostensible incentives to communist exertion; but the intolerance of the communist doxy is so thorough that it is unwilling or incapable of seeing any good in the democratic heritage.

In this dilemma or impasse, it becomes scientifically essential for a force to be evolved which would bar the too facile progress of communism in the interests of world progress and balance. Political thinkers have long ago pointed out that in every human struggle for reaching out to higher norms and values, the proximate winner is more often the ultimate loser.

The Hegelian dialectic needs time to work itself out; in the secular, mundane plane this is guaranteed by the rise of powerful states eventually emerging as champions on either side, and clinching the issue when all other conditions are ripe for the final show-down.

America's role in the present posture of world-affairs thus becomes ineluctable. If America scuttled, as now widely desired by milk-and-water philanthropists, the world would come under a dictatorship which wont be the end of history or the beginning of the golden age. It would be an intolerable tyranny since it will be fortified by the malignant refinements of a soulless science which has been emasculating us for long and which may end up by brutalising us at last.

More immediately, the withdrawal of American influence from the South-East Pacific areas is fraught with political and other consequences which will impinge unfavourably on every one of the countries in the region. For, if America has to withdraw from Formosa, it should follow that Britain should withdraw from Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore, the Dutch from the New Guinea and America itself from the Philipines and the island chain that leads to the western sea-board of the U.S. Into this colossal vacuum, the Chinese communists as the largest, most aggressive and best armed would naturally rush in. Japan in the Far East and India on this side cannot contemplate with indifference the spread of the Chinese influence, arms or ideology in that extensive, fabulously rich but vulnerable area. But neither of them is now in a position to call a halt to such an expansive move. Our present ideological alignment with China springs from sentimental and not realistic considerations. But we are bound to speak in another voice altogether against the day of such an untoward orientation.

It therefore follows that American global policy as it is now emerging is doing a piece of job which it is our duty to take over, but for which we are not yet ready. America does not expect our thanks; as recent pronouncements show, she is prepared to stand a great deal of world obloquy. All the more reason why we

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should admire her courage and prescience in espousing what is seemingly a doomed cause.

It is not claimed that America is wholly altruistic; in a very real sense, her own present position and future security are bound up with her offering a continuous, determined and versatile challenge to the inroads and erosions of communism organised and promoted on a world-scale. In this crucial fight, American policy-makers are the legatees of history. Their only hope is that all those who are not against them are for them. They wish to save themselves by their exertions and the rest of us by their example. We may help them if we like. But we cannot hinder them if we would.

(Continued from page 4)

class distinction of workers and lords may disappear in the minds of men and women. Work and culture should be integrated.

Freedom in economic and political life has to be supported by a new psychology of cooperative and creative living, fostered in creative education inspired by a vision of human unity and human progress in free and joyous fellowship.

If a gradually increasing *elite* imbued with these ideals could be developed through discussion, propaganda and group life, the collectivist *illusion of the epoch* could be made to melt and a better day of happy, free, cooperative humanity can be ushered in by and by. This is the aim of the Libertarian Social Institute.

**AMERICAN DILEMMA ABOUT THE CHAMOUNS
OF PAKISTAN AND IRAN**

The New York Times (Washington, August 6) published C. L. Sulzberger's column on the problems facing the U.S. policy.

Referring to the situation in West Asia, Sulzberger said: "When we dispatched troops to the Lebanon it was apparent this was more in order to be in place to move against the new Iraqi regime than to protect President Chamoun who had requested such force for weeks. But we promptly discovered that the new Baghdad Government gave no evidence of being either communist or unpopular.

"As a consequence of Mr. Dulles' last fortnight of hectic diplomacy do we now undertake to insure existing Administrations in Iran and Pakistan, both Baghdad Pact Members? Supposing there a move is stemming from popular discontent to upset either Teheran's Shah or President Mirza in Karachi and supposing this receives external encouragement from, shall we say Mr. Nasser or Mr. Nehru, do we automatically and militarily oppose it?

"This is a weighty consideration. We must remember that not many Asian Governments are widely liked. There are reports of deep uneasiness in both Iran and Pakistan. By our combined Baghdad Pact and anti-indirect aggression pledges do we guarantee their present system?

"Our own proclaimed objectives encourage change in considerable portion of the world, for example, Hungary and China. Should we not therefore ponder practical application of our evolving theories?

We do not seek aggression of any sort. But it requires uncanny precision to outlaw its indirect form without risk of freezing political status quo."

—Organiser

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Agitation on Food

THE food problem has become very serious in our country and it is not confined only to U.P. The opposition parties in U.P. have adopted a policy of agitation to solve this very serious problem of food, but it must be admitted that such a policy instead of solving the problem would make the solution more difficult. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru assured that he would convene a meeting of the members belonging to different political parties to discuss the food situation in the country but the opposite parties in U.P. should give up the agitation and cooperate with the Government. The agitation would only encourage the tendency of hoarding and profiteering which in turn would inflict more hardship and suffering to the vast majority of the consumers. The crisis was partly due to the difficulty of transport owing to heavy rain. The businessmen have taken the advantage and raised the prices. Instead of asking the people to raid the godowns and to resort to hunger strike, if the opposition parties had helped the Government to check the profiteering and hoarding and to regulate the food supplies the solution would have been easier. The intention of the opposition parties is laudable, namely to sell the grains to the people at a fair price and remit the money to the treasury, but what the leaders have failed to realise is, that such an action would lead to looting which is definitely antisocial and there are blacksheep always ready to exploit the situation. If the object to the agitation is to protest against the failure of Government's food policy and to mobilise the public opinion against the policy, then the best course would have been to adopt constitutional measures instead of antisocial methods, which would cause more chaos, suffering and misery to the people and the solution of the problem would become more difficult. It is to be hoped that the opposition parties will realise this fact and adopt constitutional method and constructive and cooperative attitude.

China and India

CHINA, like India requires foreign exchange urgently and in order to boost up exports she is subsidising her exports to the tune of Rs. 110 crores during this year by curtailing the home consumption. This has affected our exports adversely. It is stated that the fall in our exports to the tune of Rs. 58 crores is partly due to the dumping policy adopted by China which has already captured our traditional markets namely, South-East Asia, Africa and Middle East. It is argued that China is able to achieve this feat mainly because of her regimented economy, but this argument does not hold much water, when we see that our economy is equally regimented. We are also regimenting our exports and imports trade through State Trading Corporation and many items are now

transferred to the care of that Corporation. As a result of this, private trade is reduced to the mercy of that body. It is also argued that we cannot subsidise our exports due to our commitments under G.A.T.T. but we have exported 500 tons of sugar at a loss of Rs. 65000/- to keep our price of sugar at parity with world prices. If this is the case, then we must find out ways and means to boost our exports and recapture the lost markets. To achieve that, our production costs must be reduced and the quality of the goods must be improved. Unless we achieve both these things it would be difficult for our country to compete favourably in the international market which has become a buyers market and not sellers market. Along with this the exporters should be given concessions in railway freights. Railways have agreed to give this concession to export goods, but the most important hurdle in the path of our exporters is the confiscatory pattern of taxation which hampers our export trade. The scope of S.T.C. must be limited. In order that our traditional markets are preserved for our exporters, we must give every possible incentive to our exports, but the greatest attention should be paid to the cost factor.

World Bank's Advice to India

WORLD BANK has rendered a great service to our country not only by granting loans but also by inviting five countries to the Consortium meeting which produced favourable results so far as foreign help is concerned. At the same time it has given a friendly advice to our Government and especially to the Planning Commission to achieve a stable economic development. Our Prime Minister has taken this frank and friendly advice very seriously and made a "tactless" statement before the Press conference. He said, "We are going to be ambitious, very ambitious, and over ambitious. If we fail, we fail. In any case we cannot sit quiet." This statement clearly shows how vexed our Prime Minister is. He is not happy with the present economic affairs in our country. There was no reason for him to lose his temper. The advice was very simple and right one. It says "time has come for India to consolidate her economic gains rather than make fresh investment." There is nothing critical in this advice. It has been given for the benefit of our country. The same kind of advice was given to N.D.C. in the month of May when it had discussed the draft of Second Five Year Plan. The advice amounts to the simple plain fact that in order to see the Second Plan through, it should be properly planned and that the Third Plan should be within the means of the country. In other words our Plans should not rely solely on foreign help. The tactless statement to our Prime Minister only shows that he is not prepared to face the reality. "It is time that the Government came down from the crest of the skyscraper on which it is sitting in order that our national economy gets a move on smoothly and without disaster".

KEYNES AND CAPITALISM

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

NO economist has left behind indelible footprints on the sands of economic thought—footprints which shall provide guidance, sustenance and stimulation to several generations of economists yet unborn as late Lord Keynes has done. His General Theory is regarded as “Bible” of the professional economists. His economics is now termed as “New Economics”. Various writers have interpreted Keynesian ideas in different ways. According to socialists and Marxists, Keynes, like Marx was against Capitalism, but it must be remembered that Keynes was brought up in classical tradition and he had taught Marshall's Economics at Cambridge for several years, but soon he came to realise that the prewar capitalism could not work automatically without the intervention of the State. This does not mean that he was against Capitalism. On the contrary he was the staunch defender of Capitalism. His motive was to save capitalism and not to destroy it. As John Eaton says “For Keynes capitalism is fine; it merely needs adjustment”. Keynes never stood for the abolition of capitalism. He merely wanted to reform it so that it could better serve the needs of society in the light of changed conditions. He advocated state intervention to step up effective demand during depression in the shape of public work programme and a cheap money policy. The idea was to increase public investment in order to compensate the slackness of private investment. He himself writes, “I conceive that a somewhat comprehensive *socialization of investment* will prove the only means of searching an approximation of full employment”. It should be remembered that although Keynes advocated State intervention to push up investment, he wanted to preserve *intact* the various ingredients of capitalism such as free choice, profit notice and price mechanism. He wanted to revitalise capitalism so that it could face the challenge of Communism better. Though he was a bitter critic of Financial Capitalism yet he was a staunch supporter of Industrial capitalism and this distinction is visible in his GENERAL THEORY. The Socialists have completely ignored this distinction and have come to the wrong conclusion that he was for Socialism or Communism. As a matter of fact he was a staunch enemy of Communism.

At several places in his writings, Keynes subjects Communism to the most searching criticism and even condemnation. He boldly asserted that Communism could *never* be a more efficient form of organization and expressed his surprise “how a doctrine so *illogical* and so *dull* can have exercised so powerful and enduring an influence over the minds of men and through them the events of history.” In GENERAL THEORY at several places he has indicated his strong aversions to Communism. This is what he says:—

“The authoritarian state systems of today seem to solve the problem of unemployment at the expense of efficiency and freedom.” Further defending capitalism he says:—

“There is no reason to suppose that the existing system i.e. capitalism seriously misemploys the factors of production which are now in use”.

The proposal to nationalise the means of production evoked Keynes's forthright opposition “It is not the ownership of means of production which it is important for the State to assume.”

So from this one can easily conclude that he was in favour of Capitalism. He realised that *laissez-faire* capitalism failed to provide full employment in the altered circumstances after the war. He therefore wanted to alter it, amend it, and to reform it. But at the same time he was not prepared to part with the basic institutions of capitalism such as free enterprise, free choice and the market mechanism. His biographer says “His life long effort to understand what is wrong with the machine i.e. capitalism implies an interest in the machine; implies that he wanted us to continue to use the machine; implies, in fact, that he was at bottom an individualist” (Harrod)

In his earlier writings and especially in THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PEACE he was opposed to the redistribution of the national income and attempted to justify unequal distribution of wealth on the ground that it was conducive to capital accumulation. But in GENERAL THEORY he struck quite a different note and opposed unequal distribution of wealth on account of its depression effect on the *consumption function* and hence on effective demand. It must be clearly understood that Keynes advocated redistribution of national wealth in favour of the poor because the poor have a greater *propensity to consume* than the rich. If wealth is transferred through redistribution it shall raise national consumption and hence effective demand. At a time of depression nothing is more important than raising national consumption to achieve greater employment. So Keynes became the protagonist of a more equal distribution of wealth because it would help to raise the consumption function.

Despite Keynes's advocacy of State intervention and a more equal distribution of wealth, he remains a consistent and bitter opponent of Communism.

WHAT WE PROPOSE

The Community, by its presence and activity creates ground rent; therefore, this ground rent belongs to the community and not to the landowners to whom it is given by our present land laws. Justice requires that the government representing the community collect this ground rent for government expenses and abolish the taxation of wealth.

—The Henry George News

Economic Morality and Economically Backward Nations

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

TO the casual observer there is little connection between the economic progress of a "backward" nation and the economic morality of its government. Actually, the morality must precede any substantial progress.

The importance and urgency of moral principle in today's troubled international scene is illustrated by the work of a subcommittee of the National Association of Manufacturers — an association to which research into morality might seem somewhat foreign. It creates a new world-wide, universally acceptable code of governmental morality regarding the sanctity of property belonging to citizens of other nations.

This is being done because the absence of such an accepted code is the greatest existing barrier between the undeveloped nations and their realization of a better economic life.

This barrier is particularly formidable in the case of those nations which have only recently gained their sovereign freedom, because sudden liberty is a heady wine which makes it easy to lose one's intellectual and ethical balance.

The most urgent need of our undeveloped nations, was a quick increase in our stock of productive tools.

Our progress would have been discouragingly slow had we been forced to lift ourselves by our own economic bootstraps; to expand our tools entirely through our own thrift and savings.

But, had it not been for one man, Alexander Hamilton, that is probably what we would have had to do, because immediately after the Revolution we

came very close to repudiating our private debts owed to Great Britain, a step which would have caused foreign investors to avoid the United States as they would the plague.

The undeveloped nations of today could do no better than read the fascinating story of Hamilton's crucial victory over the hot-headed short sighted intemperance of post Revolution public opinion in the United States.

From this reading, these nations would also learn that the running mate of an honourable *foreign* financial policy is an honourable *domestic* financial policy.

In practice, the first becomes very difficult in the absence of the second.

No nation can properly protect the property rights of foreigners without protecting those of their own citizens; neither can they properly protect the rights of their own citizens without protecting those of foreigners.

Thanks to Hamilton, the new-born United States did both, and in a few short years (by 1803) *more than half of the productive capital in the United States represented foreign investment.*

The seemingly high cost of acting honourably, and in good faith, was quickly regained a hundred fold.

All men of good will should pray that the universal code of fiscal morality, the formulation of which is being pursued by Ambassador Braden's committee, will soon become a reality.

There is no other quick way to a better world.

—*The Economic Facts of Life*

Causes Of The Textile Crisis

By A. D. Shroff

THE textile industry developed sickness in September 1956 when in a reckless and irresponsible manner, excise duties were increased for the second time in that year. It is a curious anomaly in India's economic situation that with such large amounts of money being spent in the Public Sector, which means the creation of so much additional purchasing power in the country, the industry producing one of the very essential elements of life, viz., cloth, should be in a situation where the country cannot absorb its total production. From the highest peak of about 6,23,000 bales of cloth in stock held by the mills, we have run down to 5,65,200 bales recently. But that is not due to larger or accelerated off-take of cloth but to the decrease in production. Twenty-five mills have already closed down and a larger number are working short in shifts.

The textile industry is suffering not only because of

the excise duty. The excessive excise duties ^{of res-} American course primarily affected the working of the ^{have to} It was not generally appreciated in New ^{ly,} without there is a factor in economic life which is called ^{ly,} this mer's resistance. We may go on putting excise ^{not so} and we may go on raising prices but consumer ^{dis-} "disen- tence enters into the market at a certain stage ^{m the} the people refuse to buy a commodity beyond a ^{or.} It price.

The frequently altered excise duties are so high ^{de-} ^{ges} they cannot be maintained. This creates an element ^{et} of uncertainty in the markets. And, therefore, the ^t wholesale dealer who in the past used to take the ^{normal} normal risk of carrying stock of cloth is naturally ^{chary} chary and hesitant about carrying normal stocks with the result that the industry is burdened with carrying ^{on} hand abnormally large stock of cloth.

Apart from excise duties, it has been realised by the

industry itself that if this largest industry of the country is to be put on a permanently healthy footing, the pattern of production has to be changed and there has to be a lot of rationalisation in the working of the industry. Although it is true that certain units in the industry have been rationalised and modernised during the last five or seven years at very heavy cost, by and large the greater number of units in the industry are still anything but modern. These units are to be modernised.

Unfortunately, we have not yet reached a stage where the local manufacturers of textile machinery can make available to the industry all the latest equipment that is necessary to availability of foreign exchange and the consequent drastic cut in imports, both capital goods and essential requisites, the industry is not in a position today to modernise itself.

As a matter of fact, India woke up rather late in the day and did not realise that with such a large domestic market most of these accessories which are needed for our largest industry could have been made in this country long ago. It is, however, a very happy sign that a large number of these accessories are being manufactured in the country and made available to the industry today. One can well imagine the plight of the cotton textile industry if bobbins, spindles and various other accessories which we are making today were not indigenously produced. Under the very stringent foreign exchange situation, automatically a substantial part of the installed capacity of the the industry would have been left idle without the supply of these essential accessories.

OUT OF GEAR

The genesis of the textile industry's present trouble lies in the political philosophy of our Government. When the "socialistic pattern of society" is put into actual action, we see how the established economy gets out of gear. It is high time to realise that this philosophy which may look a very fine horse in the stable becomes an arrant jade on actual journey. The captain a great believer in Free Enterprise. Every mechanising what is happening in the country, makes it could confirmed in the view that the more of control. Though have, the more of regulations we have, there yet he whittling of individual initiative and enterprism and we are, therefore, unnecessarily retarding THEORY.

this distinct emergency like the one we are faced with sion that on we are going to be short of imports of a matter necessary articles and raw-materials, if indunism. the country had faith in the future of the

At seven in the sense that the utilization of their enterCommud initiative would merit the deserved reward condemy should have, a lot could have been done to could the emergency.

and ave not the slightest doubt that a country like and which in the days of foreign regime, with nothing discourage, was successful in building up industries which put India on the industrial map of the world did gave us the rank of the eighth industrial nation, does not lack talent, enterprise or initiative to fight an emergency of the present character. It is only a question of allowing people with initiative and enterprism to work and get the reward that they deserve as a result of their efforts.

FOREIGN AID DILEMMA

IN a searching scrutiny into the foreign aid programme, Peggy and Pierre Streit, in a recent New York Times magazine article, looked into the Middle East, despite the millions spent by the United States.

Taking Iran as a typical example, it was noted that the villages are subject to feudalistic systems under which tenant farmers work land owned by a landlord, receiving in payment a percentage of the crop. Under an American technical assistance programme instituted five years ago, an effort was made to help peasants improve agricultural techniques and raise more food through improvement of grains. The use of an inexpensive insecticide removed an ancient scourage and in three years the crop yield doubled.

This increased crop yield, which seemed to be a great boon, was allocated as follows: one-fifth to the owner, one-fifth to the man supplying the seed, one-fifth to the man supplying the water, one-fifth to the man supplying beasts of burden, and one-fifth to the man supplying labour. The improverished peasants came into the final category only. So while their portion doubled, it looked smaller than ever in relation to the greatly increased four-fifths accruing to the landlord as supplier of land, seed, water and beasts.

In some cases American aid technicians tried to improve the peasants' bread and tea diet by encouraging them to cultivate vegetable plots in their yards. This failed in some instances because landlords refused to allow water to be used on vegetable beds, preferring to have all available water used on a cash crop from which they too would benefit.

The authors drew the conclusion that economic improvements would continue to be frustrated until there was a social and political evolution in the age-old system. The U.S. has, however, no choice but to work through governments, and the Iranian Parliament is composed mainly of landlords. Even though the Shah of Iran, along with a few others, has recognized a need for basic change, there has been little indication that the majority of landlords share his views.

Many villagers are aware of the fact that through American help the hated landlords have grown richer and more powerful than ever. Assistance in the fields of education and health have reduced illiteracy and nearly eliminated malaria—and it follows that literate and healthy peasants may find out how to overthrow the landlords, whereas sick and underfed people had too little energy to try, and here a new danger lurks. Ironically enough, the only voice raised against the old system has come from the Communist Party which American influence has largely throttled.

"In some way," the authors conclude, "America must associate itself with the aspirations of the common man of the Middle East." No specific formula was suggested for accomplishing this. Henry George, whose prophetic vision can perhaps only now be appreciated fully, gave his life to the study of just such problems. No great truth can ever be lost. His method will surely be tried at last, but regrettably, only after many failures on the part of astigmatic mankind.

—The Henry George News.

The Sick Man Of Europe Is . . . Europe

By Francois Bondy

THOUGHTS AFTER KENNAN

THE word "disengagement" is not to be found in the text of George Kennan's Reith lectures. Indeed, the term has, in its protean ambiguity, been linked with political tendencies and sentiments for which Kennan and such systematic D-planners as Hugh Gaitskell and Denis Healey have a scant regard. None of these men, for instance, believes that Western policy towards the Soviet Union should be based on "trust", as so many who agitate for "disengagement" do. For Kennan and his true supporters, the problem of "trust" or "confidence" is real enough: it pertains, however, not to Russia, but to Germany and, implicitly to Europe.

To the question whether a united Germany should be allowed full freedom of action, Kennan replies:

"If Germany cannot be accorded reasonable confidence in these coming years then I would know of no promising solution to the entire problem of Europe. To assume that such confidence cannot be given is to cut ourselves off in advance from possibilities that may be vital to our very survival. If we are going to make so negative and so hopeless an assumption, let us be terribly, terribly sure that our judgment is drawn not from the memories and emotions of the past but from the soberest sort of attention to present realities."

And in an article in *Western World* (April), examining the arguments around the question of "disengagement", John Midgley, former *Times* correspondent in Bonn and now foreign editor of the *Economist*, wrote:

"In the end, these arguments will be determined by the degree of faith which the leaders of opinion in Europe have in the peoples of their own continent. Do they believe that Europe—not merely its western extremity but the whole continent west of Russia—has become incapable, if 'abandoned to its own devices,' of establishing a stable political life and pacific internal relationship of its own? If this is so, then the obvious answer is to keep the Russians in Central Europe in order to prevent the Americans leaving."

It will be noticed that Kennan's and Midgley's framing of the question pretty much anticipates their answer: no one likes to disclose himself as having a suspicious nature, lacking in faith. But might not a European be allowed to enquire in what Europe, the Europeans themselves and the great powers are supposed to have confidence? In view of the fact that national and political conflicts in Europe gave rise to two world wars, it is not exactly reassuring to be told now: "We will restore the Europe we had before, and hope that this time things will work out better."

When Don Quixote set forth to accomplish his heroic deeds, he made a helmet of cardboard and tested it with his sword. The helmet was cut in two. Whereupon he made a second helmet of cardboard, but refrained from testing it. That is one way of learning from history; but perhaps it is not the best way.

German Nationalists of the Right, as of the Left,

have often hurled at Chancellor Adenauer the reproach that he is reluctant to trust the German nation as such, that he wants to tie the Germans so firmly to the West that they will no longer have the opportunity of pursuing a foreign policy of their own. And such "European" statesmen as Robert Schuman in France and the late de Gasperi in Italy were subject to sharp criticism in their own countries, for the very same reasons. But is it not significant that these three statesmen refused to trust their own peoples, and their own historical and political traditions? Meanwhile, the larger Europe to which the three Chancellors looked has failed to emerge; European national sovereignties are now held in check only by the relations among the world powers. But the question remains: how shall Europe organise itself after the eventual withdrawal of the non-European world powers?

Only —yesterday it seemed that nothing but Hitler and his mania for power stood between Europe and a peaceful future. To-day, the argument runs, only the Soviet occupation forces, and the satellite regimes they maintain, stand between Europe and a peaceful future. But the position of a united Germany in a more or less neutralised Europe, consisting of the traditional national states, would be one of tremendous superiority; and so long as there was no supreme body for Europe, no common European policy, it would be unreasonable to rule out in advance the possibility of France's seeking once more an ally in the East to counter-balance the weight of Germany, however wisely Germany was ruled. The Western bloc and the Eastern bloc would then be replaced by alliances cutting across both. What, precisely, would have been gained?

Moreover, the tradition of East European nationalism, when directed against alien rule and dictatorship, appears primarily as a movement for freedom. But is it a movement for freedom in every respect? Would the re-establishment of these nations, as so many sovereign states, guarantee a peaceful settlement of all those national quarrels which so marked the East and Central European scene of yesterday?

Europe still bears within itself the seed of disruption, for itself and for the world. The idea of restoring a Europe cleared of Russian and American troops, and to trust this Europe because we have no other choice, simply cannot be accepted without further scrutiny. Indeed, examined more closely, this "confidence" so passionately appealed to is not so confident. The Europe that is to emerge from "disengagement" would not be distinguished from the Europe it supersedes by a new and better order. It is to differ from the Europe of the past by being deprived of power in world politics. Kennan envisages a future wherein the United States and the Soviet Union will still dispose of the full range of deterrent weapons, while the countries of continental Europe (and perhaps also Britain) will have only militias to maintain internal security and order. Europe strikes the world, and George Kennan too, for all his confidence, as an explosive continent which it would be wiser not to trust with highly explosive weapons.

Thus, the contemplated "liberation" of Europe is to be accompanied by a declaration of Europe's incompetence to play a role in world affairs. Kennan's warning against the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr as an irreversible and hence tragic decision^o must be seen in the light of his broader conception—not so drastically formulated but unmistakable nevertheless—of a disarmed and neutralised Europe as in effect a ward of the Great Powers, this being the only kind of Europe from which Russia and America could afford to withdraw.

IN THE background of "disengagement"—and a not very distant background—the outline is beginning to take shape of a comprehensive large-scale American-Russian agreement, starting from those implicit rules and restrictions which, in the Cold War (and even in the "hot war" in Korea), determined Russo-American relations and set limits to the danger of a world conflict. But one implication of this agreement seems to pass unnoticed; it nullifies all hopes for the establishment of a genuine "Atlantic community" as the potential nucleus of an eventual world government. In its stead, there would be a more or less permanent, uneasy stalemate between the two great atomic powers, with only fear and weakness in between.†

Western community or Russo-American atomic hegemony with all its tensions and conflicts? Have we Europeans, or some of us, still the power to make a choice between these two groping beginnings of two so different world orders?

At the very least, those who advocate "disengagement" ought to make it clear that there is a choice involved, whether Europe makes it or whether it is made for Europe. The policy of "disengagement", is credited with the ability to overcome the crisis in N.A.T.O. ("Disengagement is not an alternative to N.A.T.O., it is an alternative policy for N.A.T.O."—Denis Healey) and also to liberate the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe from the most oppressive features of Communist dictatorship. What Western policy could not achieve in its moment of confidence and strength (when America had an atomic monopoly) is now to be achieved by a gesture of weakness. And what Russia could not be made to yield in its moment of weakness, it is now expected to surrender in its moment of strength. As the French say: "the bride is too beautiful."

It is now generally forgotten that, in his Reith lectures, Kennan uttered a specific warning against a summit conference, as conflicting with the principles of *souffid*, "old-fashioned," secret diplomacy. But the compound of interest in Kennan's ideas with pressure for a summit conference is precisely a part of that muddled "Kennanism" which is a peculiar political climate—the climate of European demobilisation.

^o In subsequent conversation with Kennan I had the impression that he does not despair of the reversibility of new military arrangements, even atomic ones.

† But even such a compromise is not so sure a thing. Is a limitation of rivalry, and restrictions imposed by implicit or even explicitly formulated rules, compatible with the character of the Moscow regime? Does its vision of the world, and of the historical process as a whole, allow it to make such a compromise without subverting its own claim to legitimacy? This is not a question that anyone can answer dogmatically. But on the basis of past experience, it is a question one cannot dismiss as unreal.

There is of course a great difference, and even a contradiction, between the real possibilities of a Russo-American agreement and the hysterical pressure for a summit conference, which is expected to work miracles—as though the Geneva Summit conference in the summer of 1955 were not enough to destroy one's belief in such miracles once and for all. But the very mood in Europe is in itself a proof that, at any sober summit, there is really only room for two. Looking ahead, therefore, one can say that the chances of the European and American halves of the Atlantic community growing together seem fewer than the chances for an American-Russian agreement about some kind of neutralised Europe. And it is distributively possible that this neutralised Europe will bear little or no resemblance to what at least some eloquent European spokesmen for "disengagement" have in mind.

IN THE last eight years European passivity and European activity alike have in the queerest fashion converged to weaken the Western community.

As to passivity: Paul Henri Spaak, as Secretary-General of N.A.T.O. has actually said that "There has probably never been an alliance which has realised its principal objective so completely." What he meant was that, at the decisive moment after the putsch in Prague, it saved Europe from a "Korean" fate. This is incontrovertible, and the great debate of those years between believers in the Atlantic pact and the neutralists, who were prepared to capitulate, was to the point. But the debate to-day between the "Atlanticists" and the "disengagers" has a different meaning—although behind Kennan and the D-planners are hidden very many Europeans who, like the earlier neutralists are moved by nationalist aspirations, pacifist illusions, and even a readiness to capitulate.

The question that has now come to the fore is: Was the Atlantic pact a full partnership or was it primarily an American shield for a part of Europe between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean? Was it a genuine alliance with mutual obligations so simply an American guarantee?

About a quarter of a million American troops are stationed in Europe. How many European soldiers stand beside them? It is enough to think of France, which to-day has only one division in West Germany under N.A.T.O. command, and has actually dissolved its elite (and American-equipped!) divisions, built up in ten years of hard work—even trained air crews have been assigned to the infantry in Algeria. France, it is clear, has had sufficient confidence in the American shield to devote itself entirely to the war in Algeria, and to leave the defence of France itself to the United States. The truth is that, in essentials, the West Europeans have relied on the United States for their defence, and that N.A.T.O. is the instrument, not of a partnership, but of a receivership. Nobody can maintain that Americans would not have preferred much stronger and self-reliant European allies—even if that would have meant less comfortable allies.

As to activity: France and Britain took an uncalculated risk in the Middle East at the moment of the Hungarian uprising. Ever since this event, one suspects that the ardent rhetoric about the Atlantic community as "a way of life" is premised on growing doubts of its value as a military agreement expressing a specific minimum of political and strategic unity among the partners.

The more the national states of Europe—especially those with an imperial past—turn their forces, whether in desperation or confidence, to pursuing their own national policies along traditional lines, the more they weaken Europe as a whole. And to the same degree, they weaken the European-American partnership, without which the United States remains a world power, but not one of the European nations does. Thus, a supranational Europe—even a Little Europe—as a clearing-house in which the national policies of the member states were subordinated in advance to the common interest, offered the only possibility of sustaining and carrying forward a European-American partnership. Perhaps it was really the rejection of the European Defence Community by the French National Assembly on 30th August, 1954, which undermined the Atlantic community. There was a good deal of derision in France at the time about John Foster Dulles' warning of a possible "agonising reappraisal" of American policy. The phrase was laughed off as a typical "Dulles bluff" and an empty threat. But the reappraisal was not a matter of one day or one year; it was a gradual and unavoidable shift of weight. And it has taken place—as Suez demonstrated. The United States may not have, ultimately, any real choice between Western Europe and the non-European world. And it is gradually exercising that freedom more and more.

When the United States does now intervene in Europe, it is not as a senior partner, but as a power representing "the force of order" which cannot tolerate local troubles in a part of the world which is of concern to it—not least because of its engagement in other parts of the world that might be affected. One need only mention Algeria to see the point. Today Europeans have begun to notice that N.A.T.O. is becoming a kind of Spanish inn, where you eat and drink what you carry with you.

Meanwhile the Soviets have caught up with the American lead in armaments, and the American umbrella over Europe has sprung a leak. If, in the interval granted by history, no foundations were laid under its shelter, no house built, then—at least in this respect, and in the eyes of this European-American is not to blame.

FEW signs point at present to the emergence of a deeper and more comprehensive Atlantic community; but there are more and more indications that some agreement on a neutralised Europe is on its way. It may be worth while, then, to speculate on the prospects for Europe outside present political engagements, that is in "disengagement." The dispute between those who lay the blame on American leadership, and those who lay the blame on American failure to lead, is beside the point. So is the longing, particularly marked in Dean Acheson's writings, for a return to the less ambiguous position before 1950. That particular phase of the recent European past no longer provides a guide to the future.

The trend towards an American-Russian agreement over a more or less powerless and not wholly sovereign Europe, should make a special settlement for Germany, or rather a special status for Germany, superfluous. At least it is to be hoped that no distinction will be made between "engaged" and "disengaged" Europeans. A great and present danger would arise out of an unequal division of privileges, responsibili-

ties, and burdens among the democratic European States; this inequality could generate new national hatreds and rivalries, and make of Europe simply a greater Balkans.

One of the few significant political achievements of post-war Europe has been Franco-German reconciliation and co-operation; perhaps even Socialists would admit that, in so far as it depended on him (and that was a good deal), Chancellor Adenauer acted in this respect like a statesman and that all Europe is indebted to him. For reconciliations and agreements of this kind there will still be opportunities in the relatively powerless Europe of the future. The first task will be to smooth out, as far as possible, the inequalities between France's imperial position and that of her European partners, which pre-supposes a settlement in Algeria. At the same time, one must be careful to avoid creating a new and more severe inequality between a France that belongs to the Western bloc and a Germany outside it. Co-operation between France and Germany, now functioning in so many fields, remains dependent on a basic equality of risks, of obligations, and of responsibilities, and it would not survive the destruction of this equality.

One should also consider the political and psychological conditions: so far as the readiness to engage in a Western coalition under American leadership is concerned, the citizens of the Federal Republic are decidedly more "Western" or "Atlantic" than the French. Even apart from the large Communist party and the extreme nationalists, various forms of neutralism and of attentism play a large role in French politics. To neutralise Germany and to burden France with correspondingly greater responsibilities in the Western community is a policy which may be deduced from geography but which runs directly counter to the psychological climate in both France and Germany.

Balkans or Switzerland? Perhaps neither goal is likely to arouse enthusiasm in the citizens of that Europe which discovered the modern world, established it, and ruled it for so long. But Balkanisation will only be the fate of those who are themselves ready for it, and prefer to be a shrunken power rather than a small state. Switzerland—using the model in its broadest sense—implies the union of European cultures under a common democratic law, with adequate conventional military forces to deter aggression and the renunciation of those world-wide political ambitions which can only be satisfied by military power. To-day, when the hopes for a democratic Western Community born of the war have faded, and with the new balance of power whose outlines have become clearer since Budapest and Suez, that is still an idea, and even an ideal.

Wherever the Atlantic pact has replaced the will of nations to defend themselves, instead of strengthening it, its usefulness has become questionable. As an American, George Kennan defined Europe as a "vacuum," and so it must appear to an observer without illusions. But as the Swiss journalist, F.R. Allemann, has written: "The military disengagement of the world power would be a reasonable formula for an eventual agreement between East and West, and for a settlement of Central Europe's political problems, only if the vacuum which resulted were to be filled by the political and military engagement of those living within it."

—Encounter

TIT-BITS

IMPEACH NEHRU

THE recent decision of Pandit Nehru to "transfer" certain areas of West Bengal to Pakistan is a gross betrayal of the trust reposed in the government by our people and a flagrant violation of our Constitution.

It is learnt that in view of this surrender of Nehru to Pak Premier's demand, over ten thousand refugees will be unsettled and once again thrown to the mercy of the reactionary communal fanatics of Pakistan where it has been impossible for the Hindus to live with any security of life, property and honour. In the circumstances, it is inhuman on the part of Pandit Nehru to force the people of the transferred areas to accept Pakistani nationality against their will.

The Nehru-Noon talks have proved once again that vandalism, murder, loot, arson, aggressive attacks on India's border and outrages on our sovereignty by Pakistan pay her rich dividend.

It is amazing that Pandit Nehru gave away a big slice of our territory to Pakistan without consulting our parliament which was in session. If in a country like Britain, if the Prime Minister commits such an unconstitutional act, he will be out in 24 hours. But in India, as Mr. Morarji Desai said in an interview with the *Time* magazine, the Prime Minister can do anything he likes and get away with it.

When questioned by some members of Parliament whether his act was not unconstitutional, the Prime Minister replied that he would consult the law minister and if his act was found to be unconstitutional, he could be censured in the parliament. He should not only be censured but impeached under our constitution for his flagrant violation of the constitution. Further, we should repudiate the Nehru-Noon agreement which is illegal. Nehru has no right under our constitution to give even an inch of our territory to any foreign country. Even boundary adjustments require under our constitution parliamentary sanction.

Mr. Nehru says that he has already entered into an agreement with Mr. Noon to transfer the Cooch-Bihar enclave to Pakistan and that we should honour it. He had no right under our constitution to enter into such an agreement and there is no reason why we should honour it at all. The agreement lacks parliamentary sanction and hence invalid. The members of our parliament and the people of India should demand his resignation for having bypassed our parliament which is the sovereign in a Republic.

PAK INSTABILITY

A country's stability hinges largely on the stability of its neighbour. And the stability of Pakistan is of vital consequence to India.

In the eleven years since independence, India has had two general elections while Pakistan has still to have its first general election. In this period, Pakistan has had seven Prime ministers none of whom has been responsible to an elected legislature and all of whom have owed their office either to the former Governor-General or the present President. Everything in Pakistan happens at the top. The people are never in the picture.

Pakistan's leaders finding internal troubles too severe for solution seek to divert the people's attention in another direction. They create border troubles and issue threats about Kashmir and Canal Water dispute, an obvious target for directing the thoughts of their discontented people and a sovereign remedy for disaffection.

Pakistan's domestic problems are endemic in the anomalous situation in which Pakistan finds itself, for the fear-frustration complex under which Pakistan labours, operates on a dual plane — extremely vis-a-vis India and internally as between the eastern and western wings. The temptation to distract attention from the latter by concentrating on the former would be irresistible to any ruler, particularly to the ruler of a country so plagued and tormented as Pakistan's is by internal stresses and strains.

Herein lies the core and kernel of the Indo-Pak tension. Had Pakistan a stable government and political system, there would be less of these appeals to extraneous emotional excitements, to fear and hate of India, to the cry of religion in danger, such fears and frustrations being concentrated on a convenient political target such as Kashmir, the canal waters or frontier incidents.

NOON'S NAIVE EXCUSE

Asked what his attitude would be if Mr. Nehru initiated discussion on the cry of Jihad against India, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Noon, replied, "How can I stop the people exercising their freedom of expression, guaranteed under the constitution? It is an impossible task to lay down what the press should write and what they should not. Our policy here is to give people freedom of speech."

Mr. Noon is extremely naive in seeking to justify the cry of Jihad on the plea of freedom of speech. There is nothing like absolute freedom of speech anywhere. In all countries, there are limitations and the freedom can be exercised only under the limitations laid down by the law and, there is no such right, as the right to preach murder, violence, loot and class or communal hatred.

PEKING MAP

Whether by accident or design or sheer carelessness, Chinese cartographers have included some bits of India into Chinese territory. This is an old story and its echoes are frequently heard in Parliament as was the case once again recently. The stock excuse given by Peking for this encroachment is that the maps were drawn under the former regime of Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and it has not had time to revise them.

Even if the premise is true, the excuse sounds thin because India is not the only country which has been wronged in this manner. Burma also had made strong protests against similar cartographic errors some years ago although their upshot is not known. An encroaching map often serves as a prelude to a policy of expansion.

RALPH BORSODI

MR. Ralph Borsodi, well-known Writer, Economist and Educationist of America who is visiting India on a lecture-tour arrived in Bombay on September 23 and will stay here for about a fortnight as the guest of the Libertarian Social Institute.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:—

Ralph Borsodi was for many years a consulting economist in New York City for some of the largest corporations in the country, including the Dupont rayon interests, R. H. Macy & Company, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and the great O.N.T. and Clark thread interests. During this period he wrote various technical books, including *THE NEW ACCOUNTING*, *NATIONAL ADVERTISING VS. PROSPERITY*, *THE DISTRIBUTION AGE*, and *PROSPERITY AND SECURITY*. The year before the great depression began in 1929, he wrote *THIS UGLY CIVILIZATION*, in which he roundly condemned the catastrophic direction in which the nation was moving.

In 1932 he was invited to assist the Community Chest of Dayton, Ohio, in dealing with the unemployment problem along the lines suggested in his book. From that time on he abandoned his professional work in the business world and devoted himself to the development of the educational implications of the Dayton movement. In 1934 a group of admirers of his work joined in the establishment of the sociological experiment called the School of Living, at Suffern, N. Y.

Out of this experiment came the progress for problem-integrated education which eventually led to the founding of the University of Melbourne in Florida. During this period he published *FLIGHT FROM THE CITY*; joined with U. S. Assistant-Secretary of Agriculture M. L. Wilson and Dr. O. E. Baker in writing *AGRICULTURE IN MODERN LIFE*; and wrote the report on the Sufferen experiments which was published in 1948 in two volumes entitled *EDUCATION AND LIVING*.

In 1952 a group of friends interested in his idea that the central function of a university should be the equipping of its students with a philosophy of living, organized the University of Melbourne. The University is developing a "pilot course," together with text books and supplementary readings, which it is hoped will be used by colleges and universities generally. Mr. Borsodi is Chancellor of the University.

INTERESTS:

Critic of modern nationalism, industrialism, urbanism, advertising, advocate of the "green revolution"—of decentralization, of rural and community life, of folk arts and crafts, folk dancing and singing; advocate of libertarianism, of local autonomy, of world federation, as essentials of the good life; became interested in education as a means of fundamental reform through adult re-education.

In his latest, "The Challenge of Asia," he sums up his prescription for the dangerous period in which we live, as follows;

"The time has come for the teacher to lead. The

time has come when the leadership which the primitive priest lost to the warrior, the warrior to the merchant, the merchant to the banker and which the banker is now losing to the bureaucrat, must be taken over by the teacher. A new world must be built and the castle-centered and church-centered world of the past and the money-centered and government-centered world of today replaced by a school and — university-centered world.

"And in that new world which we should start now to build, the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind must be made supreme in the hearts and minds over the behaviour of mankind. To us, the building of this new world, individual by individual, family by family and community by community, calls us to a crusade. It calls not only for a moral, intellectual revolution in the hearts of those I am calling teachers; it calls upon them for triumphant creative action...

"The problem at this crucial period in history is, *Who shall lead?*"

CAREER:

1913-1934: Consulting Economist in New York City. Among his clients were (1) The National Retail Dry Goods Association, (2) R. H. Macy and Company, (3) The Fairchild Publications (Publishers of two dailies and magazines in New York, London and Paris), (4) The Dupont Rayon Company, (5) The Spool Cotton Company (O.N.T. and Clark Thread) and many others.

1932-1933: Consultant to the Community Chest of Dayton, Ohio, in the famous Subsistence Homestead Projects launched by the Chest based on Mr. Borsodi's ideas during the depression.

1934-1940: Founded and directed the School of Living, Suffern, New York.

1940-1954: Conducted Seminars on the Major Problems of Living at Oberlin University, Antioch College, the Sheil School and other institutions.

1954: Chancellor of the University of Melbourne.

HIS BOOKS AND WRITINGS INCLUDE:

The Challenge of Asia—A study of Conflicting Ideas & Ideals.

Social Pluralism.

Education and Living (Two Volumes)

Inflation Is Coming.

Prosperity and Security.

Flight From the City.

This Ugly Civilization — A Study of the Quest of Comfort.

The Distribution Age.

National Advertising Vs. Prosperity.

The New Accounting.

Agriculture in Modern Life (with M. L. Wilson & O. E. Baker).

Co-Editor with Mildred Jensen Loomis of "The Interpreter"—1948-1952. Editor "Advertising" and contributor to many trade and technical publications during career as Consultant on Marketing and Distribution Problems. Contributor to "The New Republic," "The Christian Century," "The Forum" and many other magazines.

MR. CHAGLA'S TRANSLATION

By Azad

THE appointment of Mr. Chagla as our ambassador to the U.S. seems to have been made, *inter alia*, to shock the pandits and purists among us. The conventions which have grown in other democratic countries have ruled that once a judge, always a judge for the rest of the incumbent's natural life. It was in pursuance of this notion that judges were appointed for life in older days, and even now in America, they are removed only by the hand of death or by their voluntary resignation of the office for reasons of health etc.

It cannot be seriously argued that there is a dearth of talent in the public of this country from which to recruit seasoned men to man the ranks of our fast-growing diplomatic corps. Judging some recent appointments in this field, the criterion of fitness or previous experience seems to have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. If judges alone were deemed essential there are any number of them living in 'official retirement,' but active lives making their varied and valued contributions to the evolution of right ideas on and attitudes to public issues. Any one of them would have graced the appointment adequately if not with distinction. They too were ignored in favour of a gentleman whose extra-judicial record and personality seem to have exercised a sort of compelling fascination over Pandit Nehru.

For Mr. Chagla has become mixed up in a sort of politico-cultural ballyhoo or racket as became evident when he sponsored the demonstration arranged in honour of the negro singer Paul Robeson. It was not the mellifluousness of the singer, but rather the colour of his natural and political complexion that made his association with him piquant. A 'piknish' if not 'red' judge in India is a sort of *rara avis*, and sending him to America is tantamount to dropping a medium-sized brick on our patrons to bel! The irony of it must have appealed to Pandit Nehru. Coupled with the roving commission entrusted to Sri V. K. K. Menon the appointment may well prove a gratuitous handicap to the improvement of our ambiguous relations with the people of the U.S.

Pandit Nehru has gained another point in the domestic sphere by this appointment. It administers a resounding slap on the cheek of the Hindu-half of the two-nations over whose misfortunes he presides with such gay insouciance. The outside world has every reason to infer from this appointment that the Hindus cannot match one of themselves against Mr. Chagla. Or they might conclude, with even more justification, that as the previous incumbent was a Hindu, the present turn had by rights to go to a muslim. In either case, Pandit Nehru has advertised himself to the world at large as one hopelessly bitten with the two-nations theory, and that he is indeed conducting the affairs of this country on that untenable and puerile basis. These are unpalatable truths, and that is the reason why no one has had the courage to voice them forth in public, beyond a few organs of uncommitted opinion whose only fault is that they are true to the enduring interests of the nation.

Those who are fond of hunting after precedents would doubtless find them to suit their purpose. The other glaring instance of a judicial worthy pitch-forked into politics and rising very high in the latter sphere was the late Lord Reading who was inflicted on us as Viceroy of India in the twenties. He was implicated along with the whole liberal cabinet of Asquith in what was known as the Marconi scandal—it was something like our Jeeps scandal, only dragged into the light of day by the pertinacity of a truly independent House of Commons. Everybody thought that Lord Reading's career was finished. But as the poet said of the tragic queen of Scotland: 'In my end is my beginning,' Rufus Isaacs, as he then was, got second wind and rose to cabinet rank in addition to a lustrum of Vice-regal reign. But it was rather the exception than the rule, and should serve more as a warning than as an example to us!

These concessions and panderings to muslim susceptibilities are bound to grow on what they feed on, and are an unpleasant reminder to us that by succumbing to Pakistan, our leaders have not only stultified themselves but have ensconced the minority community in a safe if not almost impregnable position. Mr. Chagla is not going to set the Hudson on fire; the probabilities are that he may tread on a few more American corns than are either necessary or desirable for our purpose, and breed for us a growing but intangible crop of ill-will or annoyance among the Americans. This is not a matter for thanksgiving or self-gratulation among ourselves.

In Lighter Vein

A congressman presented a cheque at a bank for cashing. The teller examined it, then asked "Can you identify yourself?"

Looking puzzled, he dipped into his handbag and pulled out a small mirror. He glanced in it for a moment, and then smiled, "Yes, it is me all right".

"Don't try to hoodwink me. I consider you a child in law", said an elderly judge to a young lawyer who was pressing his points in such a way as to by-pass some legal aspects which went against his case.

The lawyer retorted hastily, "Quite so, Sir, I also consider you as father in law.

Two congress men were passing through a forest when night fell. One held a powerful torch to show the way. Suddenly he had a brain wave. He tilted the torch upwards and it sent up a full beam of bright light. He asked the other—"Come on, if you are a bold man, you will climb up 'this beam'". The latter replied, "Don't think I am a fool. You cannot play a trick on me; I know when I begin to climb and reach the top, you will switch off, and so make me fall that big height, to have a good take at me. But I am not such a fool."

ON THE NEWS FRONT

MAGIC SLIPPER OF PEACE

By gallantly picking up the fallen slipper of Begum Firoz Khan Noon and presenting it in a typical knight-errant style to the damsel in distress, Premier Nehru has not only captured the hearts of the visiting Pak Premier and his officials, who are here to work out a Indo-Pak agreement, but has provided proof positive that the spirit of chivalry is not yet dead in India.

—Blitz

(Blitz's conception of gallantry and chivalry is amazingly strange indeed. The Hindu conception of gallantry and chivalry as borne out by our history is something quite different)

The people, who count in the United States, have been made willing to think that if and when Morarjibhai becomes Prime Minister, the attitude of the Government of India will be much warmer towards the U.S.A. than today.

The weight that is attached to Morarjibhai's utterances and private promises is not due to present position but to the expectations from him when he will become Prime Minister.

—Blitz

The harmful legacy, which Pakistan has inherited from the Muslim League, the legacy of hatred is a great stumbling block in the way of amicably settling the disputed matters between the two countries.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana who is among the pillars of the Muslim League and one of the most prominent public men of Pakistan has recently aired his view of International Fellowship in the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly. He has declared that it was a shameful attitude to refer to the Indian (parliamentary) practices as an example to be followed in Pakistan, since Pakistan was achieved by the opposition of the Muslims to the traditions of majority of the people of India. Further enunciating his epoch-making doctrine, he said "the people of Pakistan should not only hate India, but have a contempt for everything Indian. Even if any good things come from India, we should not accept it." The quintessence of hatred exhibited towards India by a man of such eminence is reprehensibly deplorable and implementation of this doctrine of hate and contempt may result in further complicating the already strained relations between the two neighbourly countries.

—Vigil

97 PROTESTS TO PAKISTAN IN 8 MONTHS

In all 67 protests were lodged with the Government of Pakistan on border incidents since January 1, 1958. Out of these, 12 pertain to incidents on the border of the Western Zone, comprising of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan and the remaining to the Eastern Zone i.e., Assam, West Bengal and Tripura. This information was furnished by the Prime Minister in a written answer to V. C. Shukla and others in the Lok Sabha.

The incidents related to murder and kidnapping of Indian Nationals, firing and raids on Indian territory by Pakistan's Armed Forces and Border Police, lift-

ing of cattle and other instances of arson and trespasses.

No remedial action has been taken by the Pakistan Government on these protests so far. It was stated that in some cases they have denied the occurrence of the incident, while in some other cases they have made counter allegations.

—Nagpur Times

Mr. Satpal Gopaldas Bhalla, recently released from a Pakistan jail said after his coming to India, "About 300-400 unfortunate Hindu youths are still languishing in Pak jails. They are all victims of 1947 happenings. Most of them are innocent. All of them are serving heavy sentences, often increased by jail punishments. After partition, the young boys arrested were handed over to Christian Mission. Anybody now in jail can secure release by embracing Islam. Some did so. However, to convert them in Islam, they were sent to handle cattle slaughter. This so disgusted them that some of them committed suicide. The worst part of this business is that more than once when Miss Mridula Sarabhai visited us in jail, she advised us to become Muslims! I suggested that India and Pakistan may agree to the exchange of riot prisoners of 1947 days. The present position is inhuman for these "leaves in the storm".

—Organiser

MUSLIMS INSULT NATIONAL FLAG

Cachar district in Assam which has been subjected to constant Pak attacks since last April has developed a new disease of communal disharmony. It was reported that the Indian National Flag was prevented from being hoisted on August 15 by some muslims who apparently were encouraged by Pak aggression. The Tukurgram area has been occupied by Pakistan. It is said that the Muslim villagers rejoiced over the Pak "Victory" and shouted anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani slogans. The Hindu villagers left the village as destitutes for Indian territory.

—Organiser

PAK INCURSIONS IN ASSAM PERSIST

Pakistanis violated the Indian border on the Assam-East Pakistan boundary on the afternoon of September 10, even as the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan had nearly arrived at an agreement in their talks to put an end to border disputes.

According to official information available here, Pakistani forces opened fire at Dimcherra in Patharia Reserve Forest, about 65 miles from here maintained their battery for half an hour. The Indian Border Guards did not reply, honouring the cease-fire ordered by the two Prime Ministers a few days before their talks began.

Again yesterday, some Pakistani civilians guided by their army men trespassed into Indian territory on the eastern slope of Kulonai, a hilly tract in the Patharia Reserve Forest. They illegally felled and took away some bamboos.

—Free Press Journal

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, CHAMRAJPET, BANGALORE

LECTURES ON SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY BY M. A. VENKATA RAO ON 12-9-1958—INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

1. The purpose of the present series of lectures is to present a brief panoramic view of the main problems and currents in the field of social thought.

The term social philosophy is chosen to indicate the wide scope of the field to be covered, though in outline. Current problems in the whole world run into some aspect or other of relations between individual and society, though their matrix and starting point may lie in different regions of this relationship economic, political and sociological such as group conflicts, (religious and racial). Economic conflict may show itself in communal tension. Political conflicts may overflow into religion. Class conflict may have a cultural overtone.

The range of social thought would include historical evolution in different cultural milieus. People at different stages of culture and civilisation may come into conflict. They may have achieved some sort of assimilation and accommodation in a common social life in the past. Such forms of inter-relation may break again under the new stresses of modern life. So the course will include what is called philosophy of history in a general way.

Another reason to include this subject is the hold that Marxism as a philosophy of history has acquired over contemporary minds, fixing the goal of a classless and casteless society.

2. CURRENT THEORIES

1. Socialism and Communism of the variety associated with the name of Marx may be said to be the dominant social philosophy of the present day. It is strengthened immensely beyond reason by its incorporation in the foundation and expansionist policy of the great Soviet State.

This philosophy or ideology has introduced a cauldron of thought and feeling and has precipitated itself into a constellation of doctrines and policies making toward world reconstruction and subverting all older systems of thought and types of polity—whether monarchical, aristocratic or democratic.

In India today, thanks largely to

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, this all-embracing philosophy and series of practical policies have embodied themselves in public philosophy and the plans of reconstruction compendiously called the Five Year Plans aiming at the socialistic pattern of society.

INDIVIDUALISM WAS THE BASIS OF THE LIBERAL STATE J.S. MILL WAS THE CHIEF SPOKESMAN IN THE COUNTRY

It stresses the dignity and freedom of the individual. The outlook was embodied through John Locke in the liberal tradition of British politics and became the inspiration of the American and French Revolutions. The Bill of Rights of 1688 became the foundation of the Rights of Man.

Individualism assumed an evolutionary form in the hands of Herbert Spencer and came to be defended in terms of the theory of evolution.

3. IDEALIST THEORY OF THE STATE

This is a synthesis of individualist and collectivist theories and claims to offer a just balance between them, moralising the State and so-

ciety and throwing light on the lines of progress.

Plato and Aristotle, Rousseau, Hegel and in Indian thought; the substance of Rajaniti and Raja dharma represent this point of view. In recent British thought, the work of Green and Bosanquet developed this theory in some detail. Sir Henry Jones and Ernest Barker and among the Americans, W. E. Hocking are later representatives of idealism.

4. All current social problems:

- nationalism versus internationalism,
- class conflict and Marxist internationalism,
- the future of the family, rural or township neighbourhood and other groups,
- religion of humanity or secularism,
- Civil rights, democracy, human rights,
- race conflict,
- problems of industrialisation and planning,
- world peace and the conflict of the blocs

All these involve attitudes and decisions that imply a consciousness and weighing of issues covering these major social philosophical views—individualism, socialism and idealism.

We shall take up these theories one, after another, beginning with the individualism of John Stewart Mill.

Book Reviews

INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHISM

INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHISM by Henry Meulen, Price annas 4.

This is a small booklet by Henry Meulen which explains, in brief, the essentials of the Individualist Anarchism where Anarchism is advocated to preserve the liberty of the individual.

He agrees, in the main, with the analysis of socialism given by Benjamin R. Tucker. Tucker maintains that it is Adam Smith who provides the starting point (at least, chronologically speaking) for the economic analysis advanced by three different thinkers—Josiah Warren, Proudhon, and Karl Marx. Adam Smith maintains in his "Wealth of Nations," that the value of any

commodity to a person who possesses it, and who means not to consume it himself, but exchanges it for other commodities is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to buy or command. Karl Marx proceeded on the lines of state Socialism, making a distinction between capital and the product—of labour, whereas Warren and Proudhon proceeded on libertarian lines, refusing to make an artificial distinction between the capital and the product of labour. Thus far, Meulen deals with the analysis given by Tucker.

Then he goes on to explain positively the essentials of Individualist Anarchism.

TAXATION AND ROBBERY

As regards the ownership of land, the anarchists would recognize only personal ownership, that is to say, only the actual tillers of the land can hold and own the land. Land cannot be owned as an instrument of exploitation of labourers. In the field of industry, the anarchist would advocate competition—competition amongst the employers to prevent the harmful effects of monopoly, and competition amongst the employees or labourers so as to keep the cost of production reasonably low, and consequently to make the commodities reasonably cheap. In the matter of morals, the chief maxim would be "Mind your own business." That is to say, anarchism maintains that every individual is at liberty to effect an unlaboured, unenforced development of his own personality without meddling with the free activities of other individuals. Let the drunkard and the gambler, the rake and the harlot have their own ways of life. Not that a change in their ways of life is considered unnecessary, but that the change should be such as not to endanger their liberty. Similarly, every man and woman should be economically independent, and should stay together, if and as long as they agree to do so.

The anarchist would go a step further and say that the state should be allowed to decay. He thinks that it can be dispensed with. But it is difficult to see had this can happen. He says that the enforcement of promises and contracts should be effected by voluntary organizations of people. History has been showing, up till now, that society has not been able to dispense with the state as a wielder of the coercive power for the enforcement of the obligations of individuals to one another and to the state. State as a wielder of coercive power cannot be done away with unless we are, socially and rationally, so advanced as to set up voluntary organizations for the enforcement of our obligations. In this sense, the dispensation of the state with its coercive power is more of an ideal towards with all social activities should be oriented rather than a practical policy which must be put into practice at any cost.

The booklet, on the whole, makes a stimulating and thought provoking reading.

—R. T. Jangam

Available at, Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

TAXATION IS ROBBERY: By Frank Chodorov. Published by Human Events Associates, 608, South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois. Price 25 cents.

Few readers require introduction to Frank Chodorov, who is a trenchant and caustic freethinker and an ardent individualist. In the booklet the author challenges the right of the modern states to their citizens and exposes some of the anti-Social and anti-individual aspects of modern taxation, which, the authoritarian and autarchic power of the state forcefully imposes on the shoulders of its innocent and credulous citizenry. A highly forthright broadside against the ever encroaching function of the state, and the alarming curtailment of individual liberty which characterises even the so-called democratic governments of today, are the pivotal things of the booklet, which has chosen 'taxation,' as its central theme.

The author was, for some time, the founder-editor of the *Freeman*, New York, and currently he edits a monthly broadsheet, *Analysis*, emphasising a highly individualistic philosophy. The booklet breaks ice by defining taxation as "that part of the revenues of a state, which is obtained by compulsory dues and charges upon its subjects". This turns out to be a handy and precise definition for our purpose. The learned author picks up the word 'compulsory' and straightaway, raises the profound objection as to how the state can exercise coercion or compulsion.

By way of preface the author probes into the history and origin of taxation. A strict historical study of taxation, which the author's remark leads inevitably to loot, tribute, ransom—the economic purposes of conquest. "The barons who put up toll gates along the Rhine were tax gatherers. So were the gangs who protected for a forced fee, the caravans going to the market. The Danes who regularly invited themselves into England, and remained as unwanted guests until paid-off, called it *Dannegeld*; for a long time that remained the basis of English property taxes. . . . It took centuries to obliterate the idea that these exactions served but to keep a privileged class in comfort and to finance their internecine wars." The quotation throws a

flood of light on the sinful genesis of taxation since the time of Danish and Roman conquest of England to the medieval feudal ages, aptly described by historians as the 'Dark Ages.'

The author gives just one example to show how the colossal burden of taxation has broken the brunt of human capacity to bear such a heavy burden, which, not even a washerman's donkey can forebear without protestation. "Whiskey is perhaps the most notorious example of the way products have been transmitted from satisfactions into tax-gatherers. The manufacturing cost of a gallon of whiskey for which the consumer pays around 20 dollars is less than half a dollar. Most of this tax which passes over the counter goes to maintain city, county, state and national officials." The manufacturers' cost is one fortieth of what the consumer pays for availing himself of a gallon of whisky! Thirty nine times the cost goes to replenish the bottoms of the state treasury to ensure its costly solvency! He points out that though the cost of living problem affects mainly the poor, yet it is on this segment of society that incidence of indirect taxation falls most heavily. . . . "It is not the size of the yield nor the certainty of collection which gives indirect taxation prominence in the state's scheme of appropriation. Its most commendable quality is that of being surreptitious. It is taking, so to speak, while the victim is not looking." The author brings home the fact that many of the manufacturing industries requiring little capital and enterprise, could have been started by the commoners with little

Individualist Anarchism

By

HENRY MEULEN

"Communism has faith in a cataclysm: Anarchism knows that social progress will result from the free play of individual effort."

Published by:

The Strickland Press, Glasgow.

Price 25 nP.

PROPERTY AND LIBERTY

BY RALPH BORSODI

command over their purse strings, but the various licence fees and revenue stamps turn them virtually into monopolies, which, become the close preserves and prerogatives of 'big business.' The wind is taken out of the sail of 'taxation' but it is a pity that our learned author, in his hurry to demolish the tax structure has failed to point out the alternative source of revenue for maintaining the 'keel of the state' evenly.

The author carries forward his tirade truly in a veteran spirit, thus "Social security taxation is nothing but tax on wages in its entirety, and was deliberately and maliciously misnamed. Even the part which is contributed by the employer is ultimately paid by the worker in the price of the goods he consumes, for it is obvious that this part is merely a cost of operation and is passed on, with a mark-up." A better diagnosis of our ailing tax system could hardly be found elsewhere! The great enthusiastic individual reformers and freethinker leads even some of the so-called tax experts by their nose, and gives them a kindly and brotherly warning against too hasty and ill-considered tax measures.

It is a spirit which is quite in keeping with the ever increasing free thought and freedom, which, for generations moved the hearts of enlightened people and re-oriented their thought towards broader horizons and nobler visions. Here we have got a chip of the block — and an illuminating block at that! — which has come from a nation, rightly considered as the leader of the freeworld.

H. M. Pai.

THE FREEMAN:

Important Contents of August 1958

A Monthly Journal of Ideas on Liberty; Published by The Foundation For Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

1. Value Judgments in the Classroom. By Patrick M. Boarman
2. Government Sets a Pattern. By E. F. Hutton.
3. None so Virtuous. By Richard L. Fruin.
4. No. Thank you. By Jim Patrick.
5. Campaign Promises. By Rae C. Heiple, II
6. Why Protection Is Easier To Sell than Competition. By R. C. Hoiles.

The owners of property in America are engaged in a very significant contest. Their contest is with politicians and bureaucrats. The prize in the contest is freedom. If individual property owners win, the prize is freedom to enjoy life and decide for themselves, on the major questions of life. On the other hand, if the prize goes to politicians, it is freedom for bureaucrats to regulate, to license to tax, to inspect, to plan where people shall live, what sort of houses they should live in, what they should grow and what they should manufacture.

What is property? "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is a famous phrase in the Declaration of Independence. We have been taught to regard this phrase as the basis of our liberty. But as it stands it is most unfortunate. What does it mean?

Jefferson coined his phrase, but he took it from a similar—but more meaningful one—from John Locke. Locke spoke of "life, liberty and property." Locke had thought through to the basis of liberty. He did not say liberty depended on voting, or that liberty was related to the vague pursuit of happiness." He said liberty rested on property.

If one has liberty—if one is free—he has the right first of all to his life. But then he must have the right to maintain his life. Nowadays we talk about the right to work. But a man has really no moral right to insist on, or compel others to employ him. But he does have a right to an opportunity to

work for himself: to produce on his own land and property. Liberty means the chance to work for yourself on your own land and with your own capital.

Not collective property—not property owned by a big corporation, or owned by a big government, but private property. Private property consists of homes and farms, shops and stores, ships and businesses which are owned and operated by private persons.

The right to property is a human right. Some people speak of human rights and property rights, but property has no rights. Property is a thing not a human being. But human beings—if life is to have any meaning—are entitled to property in the same way they are entitled to free speech, free assembly and free trade. These rights are not granted by government: they must be held inviolable and inalienable—to be protected by government, not taken from us by government officials. If an individual is to be free his most important right is that right to acquire and hold, to use enjoy and dispose of his own private property.

Not all property owners are aware of the significant contest in which they are engaged. The problem is how to awaken the rank and file of property owners to this fact before it is too late (as it became in Germany) to save their liberty and their property. How much are schools and colleges doing to awaken property owners to this fact?

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Letters

To The Editor

INDOCTRINATION OF STUDENTS

Dear Madam,

To substantiate the charge that the Kerala Government is indoctrinating students, a well-documented memorial has been submitted to the Union President on behalf of the School Managements of the State.

For instance, in the chapter on the rise of Asia and Africa in the Text book for Social studies, for the seventh standard, Japan gets four lines, India seven and China 8 pages.

The language book (Book IV) contains chapters on leaders of religion which hurt the sentiments of millions of Christians. The poems included in the books decry spiritual values and emphasize materialism.

Bombay

B. S. Shankar Rao

KRISHNA MENON

Dear Madam,

Perhaps India is the only country in the world which appoints a man as Defence Minister, after he has been involved in a major military purchases (jeeps) scandal. And perhaps India is the only country which sends its Defence Minister to lead its delegation to U.N. Our defence position vis-a-vis Pakistan is difficult. Every other day there is border firing. But it seems Krishna Menon is interested more in being in U.N. limelight than in defending the country.

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Nor is that all. For the first time in eleven years of freedom there is no deputy leader in the 23-member strong Indian delegation to the U. N. For several years Nawab Ali Yawar Jung—formerly our ambassador in Cairo, and now in Belgrade did great service in that role. But Menon has no need for a deputy. He must be undisputed master of all he surveys. It is learnt that he strongly opposed the naming of a deputy leader—and he—succeeds!

A brochure has been unofficially distributed through official channels in New Delhi. The cover page, which carries a picture of Krishna Menon, says in bold print "Meet the great self-sacrificing patriotic son of our people!" The brochure, which is profusely illustrated with photographs of the Defence Minister in the company of Pt. Nehru, the President and other dignitaries, carries some pictures which were taken as far back as 20 years ago. Obviously all this material was made available by Menon himself. It is clear he is building himself up as heir-apparent to Nehru.

The other day a weekly news-magazine-LINK- was launched in New Delhi. Premises for the paper were made available by the Government in the Theatre Communications Bldg., Connaught Place. Most of the correspondents, editorial assistants, and "advisers"—including Panikkar and Mrs. Asaf Ali—are either communists or known pro-communists. They have collected some Rs. 5 lakhs for it, and propose to collect twice as much more. The paper is believed to have the blessing of Krishna Menon. One can only hope that it will not be the policy of the LINK to chain India to Moscow.

Delhi

Daya Prasad Komal.

DISCOVERY OF HINDU GOD IN MUSLIM MOSQUE

Dear Madam,

The startling discovery of a great idol of Mahadev in the foundations of a Muslim mosque has just come to light, at Kumbhakarni in Parbhani taluk. On the news spreading, a huge crowd of people assembled there. The Magistrate of Parbhani made an official inquiry in the presence of a Panch.

It is stated that some 80 years ago the temple of Mahadev was converted into a mosque and the idol was buried in the foundations.

Owing to the rule of the Nizam, the Hindus could not protest against the sacrilege. But after the "Police Action", representations were made to the authorities and investigations started. Prominent persons took part in unearthing the idol of Mahadev in the presence of the Magistrate. Representatives of both the communities were present during the investigations. The "Mosque" has been taken over by the authorities.

Now, in view of the startling discovery of the Hindu idol in Muslim Mosque, will the State Government carry out further investigations into the complaints of a number of Hindu Mandirs converted into Masjids in the former domain of the Nizam?

Bangalore

B. S. Suresh

GOVT. ADVERTISEMENTS

Dear Madam,

On August 15, 1958, a bright new weekly magazine saw the light of day. It is the LINK published from Delhi. Its very first issue carries two full pages of Government of India advertising—Ashoka Hotel and Life Insurance Corporation and three full pages of Kashmir Government advertising. A recent Hindi monthly—JAGAT—from Delhi has been patronised equally well by the Government.

The question is: On what basis were these advertisements issued? Surely, there was no basis for determining the effective circulation of the new paper the thing they insist on all other papers. Obviously, the Government does not mind waiving its own rules when it comes to helping the friends of men influential in the Government of India.

New Delhi

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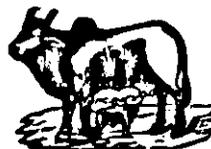
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