

# The Indian Libertarian

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## Editorial

### PAK AGGRESSION ON THE EASTERN BORDERS

ONE is obliged to note as regards the apathy of our people in matters of defence that it follows the principle—*As the Leader, so the People*. The Leader asks the people not to take border "irritations" seriously. The people respond like sheep and refrain from following their instincts and demanding adequate defence measures. This has been the unfortunate history of our people down the ages. We allow the enemy to steal a march over us and surprise us with a showing of superior readiness and arms. They keep watch, arm themselves by alliances and weapons and train their people, armies and the public, men and women and even schoolboys. But our leaders ignore the peril to the nation and are absorbed in their personal ambitions and intrigues for place and power and the retention of their party advantages. They are not content with this culpable neglect of defences. They go a step further and hurl on such of those who are more sensitive to national danger condemnatory epithets such as *communalism, reactionariness, war-mongering, chauvinism, militant sectarianism* and what not.

The latest news from the Eastern Front is that Pak troops are extending the area of firing. It now extends to Sutarkandi, nine miles from Karimganj. They have started firing heavily with light machine guns aiming at the Indian border checkpost, land customs office and civil population of nearby villages. Bus service up to Sutarkandi has been stopped. Intermittent firing by Pakistani troops on Latu, Mahishasan, Barapunji, and Madanpur on the Karimganj border, Natanpur, Harinagar and Levarputa on the Surma

Sector and Bhangabazaar on the Kushiara sector are continuing fire till the time of writing.

It is learnt that Pakistan has massed crack Pathan troops for miles along the Tripura border. Evidently these firings and vexatious conduct such as closing the Tripura border on their side are meant as a *probe* into our defences both psychological and military. They wish to ascertain when India will feel really alarmed and order *action*.

It may be the classic theory of our Government that the best way in which to defend ourselves is to *shed fear* and keep up a brave unruffled front and *take no military measures!* Our Prime minister said recently that he is not prepared to mass our troops near the border. But the enemy has assembled his troops and is the poised for attack over a wide front. How can he be deterred from attack except by a corresponding response on our side! Does our Prime Minister propose to call upon Vedic priests to perform *yagnyas* as of old? But he is a modern and does not believe in such superstitions. We ask him to be a full modernist and rely on modern arms and modern defence forces and modern diplomacy and not let the country down.

Pandit Pant recently spoke brave words and told the Pakistanis that their aggression would be replied to *in similar language if not better!* Let him keep his word. The first front before which he has to keep his word and summon his utmost courage is the moral one *vis a vis* the Prime Minister himself! Let the whole Cabinet and Parliament awake to their responsibilities to the people who have trusted them and given them their vote and continuing support and even worship as to exalted gods awake and *concert adequate measures*. Let them take the people into their



confidence. Let the country know that our defence preparedness is adequate to meet the Pakistani challenge. There is no hope in historical dispensation for any people and government who depend on the psychology of monks and of irrational pacifists. The sentinel that appeals to the doctrine of *maya* and *ahimsa* for defence of his sleep while on duty is not spared by the court martial of any army. Appeal to Buddhist *ahimsa* and *Panchasheel* nor even the plea of raising the economic standards of the people by forced marches of industrialisation will avail anything. If people suffer from foreigners as the people living on the borders have been doing ever since independence it is outrageous for the authorities to plead that they did not take action in pursuance of a transcendental philosophy! Our ancient philosophy does *not* advocate any such foolish inconsequence. On the contrary, in matters of national defence and worldly matters, it asks the governing class to adopt a *realistic* policy. It prescribes an ethos or morality of courage, preparedness and heroic action in the battlefield to the kshatriya class entrusted with defence and administration. Perhaps our rulers have not heard of *Chanakya* who saved the country by helping Chandragupta to consolidate an empire sweeping thousands of ganarajyas and tiny princely states from Taxila to Pataliputra into a *single political system* under one Ruler. This enabled India to defeat Selvecus shortly after. Chanakya was a brahmin but did not teach Non-violence and *maya* to his Prince Chandragupta.

It is curious that our rulers who adopt non-violence indiscriminately themselves so far as Indian defence

is concerned, are ever-ready to condone violent revolution, violent aggression and violent suppression of opponents on the part of violent regimes like the Russian, the East European under Russian hegemony, the Chinese and the Arab nationalist rulers like Nasser! We accuse America of bolstering dictatorships but who are our friends? Khrushchev, Mao Tse tung, President Nasser!

We are in a minority in the country in taking the Pakistan seriously. We cannot forget history. Even recent history has the gruesome chapter of Timurism in 1946-47 to remind and warn us. But those who are shamming sleep cannot be awakened!

### JANA SANGH'S CALL FOR DEFENCE CONSCIOUSNESS

The Central Executive of the All India Jan Sangh Party has issued a circular to all its branches calling for a countrywide observance on August 15 as Defence of India Day and pass resolutions demanding adequate measures to be taken by the Central Government. Meetings of the party have been held and in many places general public meetings have also been held to *educate* the people on the urgency of the situation. We welcome this awakening and activity on the part of Jana Sangh.

"Persistent violation of Indian frontiers and forcible occupation of Indian territory in Assam and Tripura has made it clear that Pakistan is itching for trouble with India. Having secured the latest arms and armaments from the USA and increased her armed strength, coupled with the recent assurance of active help from Baghdad countries and the USA, she is trying to create conditions which may give her a plausible excuse to launch a full scale aggression against India. From the way she has massed crack Pathan divisions on Tripura borders, it appears that Pakistan wants to grab Tripura and present the world with a *fait accompli* before India wakes up to the situation.

What makes it more serious is the light-hearted way in which the Government of India seems to be dealing with the vital question. While Pakistan has brought her best divisions on the frontier, on our side the situation is being handled by just local officers and border police. It shows that either Government does not realise the gravity of the situation or deliberately wants to minimise it.

The defence of the country should be given top priority. Any neglect of defence will set at naught all our plans for economic and industrial reconstruction. Therefore it is imperative that the people are made conscious of defence needs and military strength and Pakistani aggression dealt with effectively. Mere paper protests have never produced any effect on Pakistan. She will not behave unless we talk to her in the language she understands.

We endorse every word of this appraisal and warning. We add our voice in support and call upon all associations in the country political or cultural to wake up and ask the Government what their plans are for defence of the country. They should ask—Where are our anti-aircraft guns, our coast guard stations, our citizen defence squads, air-raid shelters, our home guard, our emergency auxiliaries, rifle practice clubs and schools for young and old etc. etc?

(Continued on page 8)

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# CORRUPTION OF THOUGHT

By M. A. Venkata Rao

NOT a day passes without the press unearthing some case of corruption, some misuse of public funds by officials (including Ministers by reasonable implication) and some misuse of office to favour relatives or caste men or party supporters at the cost of justice and merit. The thoughtful observer has been wondering uneasily for some time now whether the sort of corruption in quality and quantity that caused the collapse of Chiang Kai Shek in China has been already reached by our Governments and society. Far from being disturbed by the widespread disease and its dread repercussions on administration in all departments (and on public morale and confidence in the capacity of the ruling groups), the Congress party which holds the reins of power is finding itself unable to make a clean sweep of the Augean stables and to initiate fresh air and renovate its inspiration and change its personnel and renew itself. It is unable to forego the fruits of unfair dealings. It is unrepentant. It continues to support ministers and others who bring a bad name to the Party if only they win votes anyhow. The way in which the many grave charges against the Punjab Chief Minister were brushed aside and a lease given to his corrupt regime, (ignoring the condemnation of many within the party itself) is a startling instance today of the blunting of conscience in the leaders of the Congress high command. The continuance of corruption is mainly due to the confidence that anything will be excused for party contribution whether by way of funds or by way of voting phalanxes!

It is true that wars begin in the minds of men. It is not less true that corruption begins in the thoughts of men. Conscience can be purified only if its source in thinking is purified. We need a new intellectual elite corps or body of thinkers to initiate a new stream of fresh air, sunshine and clear flowing water to purify the public mind and public opinion in all spheres of social life and work, particularly among leading personalities in the country.

No doubt science and philosophy as organised disciplines owing allegiance only to truth and proceeding by tested methods of objectivity in the collection of facts and the formation of interpretations and theories are as necessary and important for social progress as ever. They have to be encouraged in educational institutions as well as in administration and the application of the rational spirit to all spheres of social life—economic, customary observances and manners and tastes, political, literary and artistic.

But in addition to such academic functions performed by trained persons in existing institutions, there is dire need for a group or groups of thinkers who will devote themselves to applying pure thought to the stream of ideas coursing through the public mind, influencing public policies and creating dominant centres and streams of tendency in ideas. The climate of thought and opinion, imagination and sense of values in which the modern world lives has been the creation of Eur-american experience and thought

through the centuries. India has taken this body of ideas and values over into her social life and plans of reconstruction without proper assimilation. Indian thinkers have no doubt done a certain amount of thinking about social problems. But it is all too little and too superficial. It has not enabled Indians to relate the new ideas to their own experience today and their inherited traditions and standards of judgment and values.

Hence we find hasty policies being introduced by the ruling group. During the life of Gandhi, older ideas of life's values were predominant though he stimulated much thought on all matters of current reconstruction. But today we find the current of *Leftist thought* dominating everything and forcing the pace in directions that have already produced a reaction in Eur-america and are under strong criticism. We are taking over the cast-off clothes of the West! We are not aware that communism as a society and polity and economy has failed to achieve stable progress. Our Five Year Plans are being pushed in the name of progress on principles that lie at the foundation of communism at the suggestion and pressure of Pandit Nehru, the bulk of legislators being ignorant of their dread implications. Far from bringing a new stability on fresh foundations, a stability charged with the dynamism of progress, the new plans and policies in industry and agriculture bid fair to plunge the country into a disastrous chaos. Widespread famine greater than that suffered by China during her travail under Chiang Kai Shek is unavoidable if the proposals of "land to the tiller" are carried out in their present proposals. Inflation of a galloping variety is likely to set in dissolving all achievement made so far and disorganising the economy with consequent anarchy and disorder. These will usher in social *destruction* and disorganisation on a large scale which are a prelude to communist regimes.

Other dangers in other fields of life threaten the future of the country.

The only remedy is a long term one. But we cannot find it unless we initiate a new kind of thinking directed to current social ideas and plans with a view to separate the grain from the chaff; why, to separate the life-giving food and medicine in them from the element of poison by way of distorted ideas and values (coloured by selfish class or party motives) that have helped to give them force and collective appeal.

The fields of social life and administrative goals and methods in which such havoc is being caused to the sound functioning of society (both in the protective and value aspects of individual life) can be indicated briefly. Enough can be said in the course of a brief article to show the kind of work involved.

First of all there is dire need to analyse and appraise the major constituents that go to make up the world or system of leftist thought. This attack can be conducted from a two-fold point of view. One is to start with the policies being put into effect by Government. In the industrial field, the industrial policy statements

of 1948 and 1956 and the two five year plans will afford a starting point. They will be studied in conjunction with the doings of the Government—the abolition of the Zamindari, the dichotomy of the economy into public and private sectors, the details of the Plans, the nationalisation of public transport (motor traffic and airlines), of the Imperial Bank and of Insurance, the introduction of State Trading and so on. The thinker will work back from these policies to the *governing ideas or philosophy behind them*. He will find in them an acceptance of the basic ideas of socialism and democracy. But socialism is the sort of dogma that leads to communism. The similarity of socialist ideas to communist nations need to be traced by a comparative study of Russian and satellite systems; The second line of research would be more theoretical. It will trace the origin and growth of Socialism and Communism in Western thought including its varieties of St. Simonism, Fourierism, Owenism, Proudhonism with of course the pride of place given to Marxism, its theory as well as application in Soviet Russia.

The psychological conditions in Western societies that have led to the present dominating position of Marxism in contemporary affairs have to be patiently investigated, and in the East today the thinkers have to study the factors that have led to the collapse of original thought (if it existed in any decisive manner at all in recent generations) in relation to the impact of Marxism. The sway that Marxism is exercising today in our midst is not altogether an intellectual phenomenon like the sway of science in its theoretical aspect. Indian scientists like Jagadish Bose, C. V. Raman, Meghnad Saha have bowed to western science on grounds of reason and verification and have been able to make their contribution on the same grounds. This is healthy. But the sway that Marxism has achieved among us is not of this character. It is to be attributed rather to the influence of a number of irrelevant factors such as the imitation of Western social thought and ideas, the prestige of Pandit Nehru, the imposing power and achievements of Soviet Russia and its catching up with the West in science, industry and imperial power and the failure of Indian social thinkers, particularly in the universities, to display any capacity for original and sustained thought in the social science.

The errors of thought pervading Marxism are patent. Marx's economic and social analysis may have a large element of truth. The class war doctrine may be true in the sense of factual antagonism between rich and poor and the selfishness of the rich and their lack of sympathy for them. But the remedies suggested, namely, the abolition of capitalism altogether, the liquidation not only of the system but of the *people* in the upper classes, the psychology and sociology of class war, the dictatorship of the proletariat, one party rule, administration by permanent terror, the corruption of legality and justice, the denial of freedom even in the arts and science, slave labour camps, the new kind of empire, perpetual striving towards communism through force and fraud—seem outrageous to any honest thought. But we have to investigate how such unheard of cruelties and methods can be introduced and maintained by a handful of men in wide territories today comprising nearly half the world. The *temper* of peoples that favours such regimes needs to be studied with sympathetic imagi-

nation no less than by severe reasoning and full knowledge of facts.

Contemplating these phenomena of the contemporary world, one is led to distrust the power of reason to lead to truth even when functioning in educated and gifted minds. The assumption of liberals like John Stuart Mill that the mind need only to be presented with facts and need only put its powers to use in investigation and discussion for it to arrive triumphantly at Truth whole and entire has been previously falsified today. The assumption of the inherent truth-seeking nature of the human mind has suffered great shocks in recent history. It looks as though there is something akin to original sin in human nature in its power of thought apart from its theological interpretation! The mind is swayed more by prejudices and emotions and selfish or class interests than by the nature of things. The mind seems to have great difficulty in overcoming the misleading influence of emotions and other extra-logical factors. There is much material like the *idol* of the tribe, of the cave, of the theatre and market-place first described by Lord Bacon in regard to this subject of the distorting influence of emotions and interests on the conclusions of reason when confronted with actual situation in society. It may be easier to study the stars or animals objectively but it is very difficult to study men and societies, party programmes and political aims and their economic repercussions in the spirit of pure objectivity.

Modern psychology has contributed much information about these extra-rational factors in the formation of public opinion and public policies.

It is one of the cardinal ideas of Marx that the mind has *no capacity* to think straight and reveal things as they are. It is always and necessarily, according to him, biassed by the point of view of the class to which one belongs—economically speaking. Extra economic factors do influence men's beliefs no doubt, but in origin, it will be found that they all can be traced to the economic favour—a view of the impact of facts and ideas on the economic interests of the individual and class. "The truth of the social situation, of property, capital wages, justice, profits etc. reveals itself in one way to the worker and in a totally different way to the capitalist. No reconciliation of the difference between the two is psychologically possible, for there is no common norm determining any common interest. Hence the only way in which the working class can improve their economic position is by the *destruction* of the possessing class and to sweep all economic or productive power into the hands of the State, which, as the common agent of the working class, will do justice to it! There will be no class to annex surplus value."

The oceans of blood shed in the world on the strength of such a theory exceeds all past records of Timurs, Zenghish Khans, the Goths, Huns etc.

We have to enquire how it is that such illogical theories assume such power over vast masses of people in East and West. Socialists and Communists have a *good conscience* in holding such theories though it may seem unintelligible to the normal person! The aim adumbrated, namely the economic salvation of the poor and the seeming *scientific* nature of the method suggested, namely the total overhauling of the

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# Kashmir: India's Unanswerable Case

By M. N. Tholal

**P**ANDIT PREMNATH BAZAZ has made himself notorious by supporting the Plebiscite Front and the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan because he thinks that India has no case for retaining Kashmir. It will be a mistake to dismiss his propaganda in behalf of his views as the outpouring of a disgruntled soul, for there is no questioning the man's honesty. No one had a better reputation in Kashmir for decades.

When I was Publicity Officer in Kashmir in the thirties when Punjabi Muslim jathas were invading the state—sent there by the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on a requisition for publicity men by the Maharajah—the late Shamlal Kaul (who was then in charge of the annual administration report of the state) introducing him to me said of him: “He is the only honest man in the state.” It was indeed a great tribute, coming as it did from a man of great integrity. It would be a great mistake, therefore, to suppose that he has an axe to grind, but that does not of course mean that he is not mistaken in his views or that his honesty has not served to land him in a position which he cannot sustain on unquestionable principles or on grounds of justice and fairplay, or even in the quest of peace between India and Pakistan.

## PARTITION AGREEMENT

His main contention in an article in “Caravan” is that “on January 5, 1949, India and Pakistan had entered into an agreement under UN auspices to hold a plebiscite allowing the Kashmiri people the right to decide with which country they wanted to live.” Mr. Bazaz maintains, apparently legitimately, that the agreement should have been implemented by the Government of India, but he forgets that on November 26, 1949—nearly ten months and twenty days later—came into force the Constitution of India which does not permit secession of territory. Till that day—in fact till much later—Sheikh Abdullah was wholeheartedly on the side of India and the Pakistan Government was not at all keen on a plebiscite being taken, fearing that under the Sheikh's guidance, the plebiscite would go against Pakistan. The Pakistan Government therefore, refused to carry out the terms of the agreement whose implementation was a condition precedent to the holding of a plebiscite and thus delayed it, hoping that the tide would soon turn against India to enable it to demand the promised plebiscite. In the meantime the Constitution that came into force in India came in the way of the promised plebiscite.

But what is the Pakistani case? When India was being partitioned and the question of Indian states came up, it was decided by three to one—the Paramount Power, the Princes and the Muslim League against the Congress—that the right of accession to either India or Pakistan for contiguous border states would vest in their rulers and not in the people of the

states as desired by the Congress. The dreams of Jinnah were not realised—every one knows that the Maharajah of Jodhpur had almost acceded to Pakistan when Mountbatten intervened—and he fell back on his policy of “Heads I win, tails you lose” and began claiming Kashmir on the two-nation theory, because its population was predominantly Muslim, although the decision on his insistence to vest the right to accession in the Ruling Chiefs was a clear negation of his two-nation theory. This is a very important point which is often ignored.

Also, it was decided that pockets would not be allowed, hence the right to accede to either India or Pakistan was to vest only in contiguous border states; it did not therefore vest in Junagadh or Hyderabad. A journalist friend of mine on a visit to Europe explained the situation thus at a Press Conference in Europe and the European journalists said they had never been told all these facts. Obviously our publicity has been in the hands of fools.

## DEMOCRATIC STANDPOINT

So the accession by the Maharajah of Kashmir to India was complete and final. And we were right even from the democratic point of view. Mr. Bazaz himself admits in the course of the article that “the elements in public life which wanted the state to join Pakistan in 1947... were weak, disorganised and politically uninfluential”. What does it mean? It is a candid admission that the party in favour of accession to India was strong, organised and influential and would have carried the day, had a plebiscite then taken place. It must not be forgotten that the division of the country took place in 1947 and so did Kashmir's accession to India, and it is the opinion of the people of the region only at or about the time of the division of the country (which presented the occasion for accession) that can democratically be said to count. Kashmir was not a small piece of territory. Jinnah and his lieutenants must have had Kashmir in mind during the partition discussions. Can any sane man believe that a shrewd man like Jinnah would have risked the loss of Kashmir by insisting on accession being left to the Maharajahs, had he been sure that the people of Kashmir would vote for Pakistan? The fact is he was surer of the Hindu Maharajah than of the Muslims of Kashmir.

What then was the Pakistan position even when Pakistan agreed in January 1949 to abide by the result of a plebiscite? “We cannot win it now,” said Pakistan in effect, “Abdullah, the beloved of the people, is Prime Minister. Let us delay it as long as possible. The tide will turn one day. We have the Radio war on.” (Incidentally it is the same radio war which the West detests when it emanates from Cairo, but it has had nothing to say regarding its emanation from Pakistan!)

That seems to be Mr. Bazaz's position too. In clearer terms the position is that the opinion of the people of Kashmir will be considered valid not as it obtained at or about the time of accession but only when, for a certainty, it is in favour of Pakistan! Is it fair?

### INVALIDATED

Mr. Bazaz says, "India suffered the greatest reverse in the state in August 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested, following his insistence on the implementation of Kashmiris' unfettered right of self-determination". According to him, it was a turning point in the history of the dispute and then "slow and steady efforts were made to wriggle out of the pledges given to the Kashmiris and the world at large about the holding of a plebiscite to settle the dispute." No such efforts were necessary. He seems to forget, like most commentators and even defenders of Indian policy on the subject that between January 1949, when India agreed to hold a plebiscite, and August 1953, after which, as a result of Abdullah's arrest, Pakistan became keen on holding a plebiscite, an event of the utmost and far-reaching importance took place which overshadowed all agreements and declarations on behalf of India. It was the coming into being of a constitution for the country on the 26th November, 1949, as a result of which all promises in favour of the right of self-determination for communities or states were automatically invalidated, like many laws on the statute book of the country.

It may be said that Mr. Nehru continued holding fast to his promise even after that Red Letter Day, but who is Mr. Nehru to override the Constitution? The Government of India and its spokesmen may not emphasize this great development, culminating in the great event of November 26, 1949, for fear of offending Mr. Nehru but every one knows that the Supreme Court has many a time invalidated the fiat of Mr. Nehru and his henchmen.

And if the Kashmiris are given the right of self-determination, what is there to prevent the Tamils having it? Their complexion? Give the right of self-determination to states or communities and you open wide the floodgates of balkanisation of the land. The whole problem, like many other problems in the country—bilingual Bombay, for instance—is the creation of the brainlessness of Mr. Nehru who seeks to hide it by engendering fear in those around him through his flashes of temper which are generally, absolutely uncalled for. He has to make a bugbear of himself to prevent his brainlessness becoming known to everyone. The handling of the problem of Kashmir, —the only state entrusted to Nehru—is studded with follies of the first magnitude simply because Mr. Nehru relies on his emotions to do duty for his intellect. We have not so far had even a committee on Kashmir, the biggest problem we have had since independence. Mr. Nehru's fondness for fools makes him select them for the highest jobs. Mr. Krishna Menon's great marathon oration in the Security Council is full of sentences which make no sense whatsoever! And then we blame others for not supporting us in Kashmir. But surely a patriotic Indian should not exploit the follies perpetrated in the handling of the Kashmir problem and the presentation of the Indian case thereon to support Pakistan?

### NO SKELETON IN THE CUPBOARD

There is no skeleton in our cupboard so far as Kashmir is concerned, despite the childish follies and silly contradictions involved in our handling of the problem. If, as he says, "hundreds of articles denouncing India appear in the world press" and "even the best admirers of Mr. Nehru cannot help passing adverse judgments against India," it is our own fault. Writers can make the worse appear the better reason. We employ writers who make the better appear the worse reason. Europeans and Americans have not been condemning us out of spite against us. They have not been told the facts. I have yet to see a good article presenting the facts of the case on behalf of India. How can there be one when Mr. Nehru and his colleagues prefer flunkies to honest capable men. (A capable flunky is almost a contradiction in terms.) That is the root cause of corruption in the land. That is also why our name is mud today in the world.

But does Mr. Bazaz seriously think that if we hand over Kashmir to Pakistan, there would be peace between India and Pakistan? Already, with the problem of Kashmir awaiting settlement, the canal waters dispute has been declared to be a matter of life and death for Pakistan. And with that also unsettled, the border fringes in East Pakistan are threatening to engulf the two countries in war. Mr. Bazaz should study Muslim psychology. Has he read the history of his own country? Has he read the Holy Koran which enjoins upon all Muslims the duty of Jihad as one of the four foremost duties and which directs Muslims to extend the house of Islam until there is none left?

### WHAT ABOUT A CORRIDOR?

Had Pakistan been a truly democratic country, one could have understood and perhaps even appreciated Mr. Bazaz's stand on its behalf. But it is an Islamic land with an Islamic constitution and it is difficult to understand a freedom-loving Hindu, much less a Kashmiri, millions of whose kinsmen were converted by force to Islam, taking up cudgels on behalf of Pakistan. Do Muslims of Pakistan really believe in freedom and self-determination for others? If they believe in plebiscites let them start with Pakhtoonistan.

Has Mr. Bazaz any idea of what it is that stirs the Muslim heart? Has he read Iqbal's "Jawab-e-Shikwa"? I for one cannot forget the frenzy with which the heads of the most highly educated and cultured audience of Muslims of Allahabad once in 1921 swayed to the reading of the refrain of a poem by a Lucknow poet: *Ek din phir nara-e-Allah-o-Akbar dekhna*. (You will hear once again the cry of Allaho-Akbar.)

U.P. has been the seat of Muslim culture in India. If we part with Kashmir, will it be long before Delhi and U.P. are demanded as part of a long corridor to East Pakistan. And is it fair that the two wings of Pakistan should have been flung thousands of miles apart by India? Is it not upto Mr. Bazaz and his friends to try to put an end to this geographical monstrosity by providing the "corridor"—the balkanisation of India having been already happily decided upon?

Lastly, does a country which wants to survive consider the cost of self-defence? As for the West, better sense is already dawning on them. With India lost to the other bloc, they are doomed. They know it.

# Man Against State\* — American 'Utopias'

By V. R.

**K**ARL MARX condemned Utopian socialism and anarchism. The revolutionary thought and working men's movement of the nineteenth century rejected Proudhon, Fourier, Bakunin and Kropotkin and followed the Marxist lead with its slogans of class war and historical materialism. It may be futile but still significant and interesting to speculate whether the world would have been a better place now if the rejected prophets had been followed in place of Marx.

For a closer examination of the doctrines and strategies of individualist "anarchism" as sketched in the works of American pioneers and experimental Utopia-builders like Josiah Warren in the first half of last century reveals the inspiring outline of a constructive alternative to Marxism without the grave evils inherent in it. For here we have a peaceful revolution without the lurid hate psychology of class war and intolerant monolithic party system of Marxist communism. We have in this "anarchism" a greater patience with the infinite complexity of human nature, a greater readiness to build from foundations in group life, a greater attachment to the sovereignty of the individual personality. Utopia as practiced by Josiah Warren and developed into full fledged theory by his disciples and successors (of whom, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Greene, Ezra Heywood, Ingalls, Spooner and Tucker seem to be the chief) whose work covered the period 1830-1908 is full of constructive suggestions today to us in our task of building a free society on revolutionary foundations, without the destructive cost of classwar and the extinction of freedom.

"Utopia" appropriately enough was the name of one of the longest-lived of experimental *communities* built under the leadership of Josiah Warren. It was referred to in books and periodicals at the time as *Trialville* to spare the village from the unwelcome attentions of curiosity mongers and interfering gossips. It was started in 1847 and retained its original character and ideals of community living for upwards of 25 years. It was located in Ohio and started with some twenty families. The other community that endured for half a century on its original principles was called *Modern Times* and came to have soon about thirty five families comprising some 200 persons.

Josiah Warren had migrated to the Ohio area with his brother in the first decades of the last century when he was attracted by the socialistic community with common property started in neighbouring Indiana by Robert Owen of England. It was called *New Harmony*. Warren and his family joined the colony. But it failed to take root. Warren drew his own conclusions and took away a guiding light that became the core of all his subsequent experiments and speculation about the revolutionary reconstruction of society. Owen was a believer in the labour theory of value. Warren developed this labour theory in his own origi-

nal way and evolved an anarchist blue-print of commerce and social relationship. His "anarchism" meant community life without State or Police Power.

He called this "equitable" commerce. He felt that the right price of an article of commerce was the amount of *labour-time* put into it. Marx started from the same basis but made a class war theory out of it. Adam Smith and Ricardo built a *liberal* economy on its basis. Warren developed an *individualist* economy on its foundation carrying its clue far into the liberal structure and transformed it out of recognition. The lesson is instructive to the present world today.

Warren was not primarily a theorist. He had an experimental turn of mind. He went back to Cincinnati and started a *store* (retail shop) and tried out his theory through its transactions. It came to be called Warren's *Time Store* or Labour note store. The experiment was successful enough to serve as the inspiration for the subsequent life and work of Warren for over 50 years. It impressed the local community with its novelty and honesty. A Methodist clergyman said "Well, brothers, people have been disputing for eighteen hundred years about what is *true* Christianity. Now if you will go down to the corner of Fifth and Elm streets, you will see it in operation for the first time in the world!"

Warren put up a list of the purchase prices of the articles in his store together with their sale prices which were seven per cent more for incidental expenses and the time spent by him in purchase and transport etc. For his profit, he was content to take labour for labour in exchange in the form of promissory notes from his client! A clock with a dummy extra hand was set when the transaction began and the time noted when it closed and the package handed over to the customer. The buyer gave a note signed by him promising to give a stated amount of *time* to Warren when demanded. A tariff of labour time was soon worked out, so many *hours* for so many bushels of wheat, so many *minutes* for a dozen eggs, so many hours for other articles etc. This was worked out by practice and honest discussion and estimate of the time taken by different kinds of work. Soon these notes were accepted in lieu of payment by other customers and acquired the character of money in the little community. The cost of articles was about *half* that charged by the merchants and hence Warren incurred the wrath of the conservative commercial community. But customers of course appreciated the low prices!

Warren drew far-reaching conclusions from this experience of his with his time store. He declared that the true price of any commercial article was the amount of time it takes to manufacture and has nothing to do with the demand or need of the purchaser. To price an article in view of such need or urgency is nothing short of robbery: this became his creed. Further, if all value was to be derived from labour, the land, raw materials etc. should have no value. Rent therefore had no basis and land ownership as

\*Man against State by Dr. James J. Martin.

exclusive property had no justification. Warren and his disciples became the first *scientific* advocates of the *principle of giving land to user or tiller and only so long as he used it productively*. No permanent land rights could be granted on any other basis. And no compensation was due to the owner if he failed to use it effectively.

Another conclusion that Warren drew from his experiment was that the worker should get an equivalent for this labour by way of wages or other reward. He should not be paid *subsistence* wages but the *full value of his work* in terms of the work of other members of the society. To pay less was exploitation. But all commerce was not exploitation. There was such a thing like "equitable commerce." This phrase (equitable commerce) became the name of his book that became the founding book of the "anarchists" in his country for over a century and is still valuable for suggestions of a road alternative to the Marxist's way.

Further, his labour exchange notes that served as currency to a certain extent among his "Utopian" citizens suggested to him far-reaching ideas about currency and banking reform. He felt that the government monopoly of currency was unjust and was the cause of the periodical depressions in the business world. While American commerce and banking suffered dislocation and demoralisation in the monetary crisis of 1837, the members of his little colonies were little affected by it. The backing of currency should not be gold and silver which gives an advantage to the rich but the *entire wealth and labour of the population*. Banking should be free and mutual and always at the disposal of *all credit-worthy borrowers* backed by their property and character. The sociological ideas of individuality and politics were developed by Warren's friend *Andrews* in his *Science of Society*. His banking ideas were developed by *Greene* in his *Mutual Banking*. These have been reprinted by Mr. Lotwala of Bombay who has been an indefatigable propagandist of this school of thought through his *Libertarian Social Institute* in Bombay for more than 30 years now.

Warren was an enthusiast for occupational education and taught a vocational school in his experimental villages. He was an inventor and introduced a new kind of lamp and a rapid printing press. He became the acknowledged prophet of a new type of *free society without government and law* but ruled only by public opinion and guided by respect for the sovereignty of the individual.

Dr. James J. Martin has published a pains-taking study (called *Man against State*) of this school of individualist, non-violent, free economy and free society based on free land, free money and credit. It gives fascinating and fully documented vignettes of Warren and his successors which are likely to attract public attention in the coming years. Professor Henry Elmer Barnes who writes a foreword thinks that it will furnish ideas for a sounder form of civilisation than the present which is so much under the spell of collectivism.

(Continued from page 2)

As a journal we can but point to the danger and recommend emergency measures and full mobilisation. Mobilisation concerns not merely the army and territorial forces but also the emotions and pride of the people and training in team work. Every citizen, man or woman should be given a definite *place* and definite *work* so that the nation can rise like one man and fight the enemy in an organised manner.

#### NO USE IN MEETINGS OF PRIME-MINISTERS

Mr. Noon has offered to come to India for high level talks. We should make our authorities realise that there is *nothing to talk about* with Pakistan. We should answer bullet with bullet. Talks may be only a *camouflage* to put us off-guard while the aggressor perfects his preparedness for a surprise attack. We may expect a "Pearl Harbour" surprise attack on us while Noon is having dinner at Delhi or immediately he boards a plane on his return journey. With regard to Pakistan everything is possible. We should expect the worst from such a foe and should be prepared for it. What is so demoralising is the seeming unpreparedness of our Government. Government and army alone cannot successfully deal with a war with Pakistan. It needs the full cooperation of all the people with the civil and military forces. To this end, the people should be taken into confidence. It is only a *knowledge* of our *preparedness* that will preserve *morale* in case of a surprise attack. We ask the Government not to delay any longer but to publish their plan of defence and the part of the public in it.

#### RUSSIA'S DISCLOSURE OF PAKISTAN'S WAR PREPARATIONS

Russia has recently asked Pakistan for an explanation of her war defences by way of air bases and modern installations near the northern borders. Russia's disclosures are a grim warning to India that these installations may as well be directed against India. What have we against these installations? The public is no longer contented with silence of our government and their *ostrich policy* and spiritual preachings and poses. They want vigilance, efficient preparedness and instant action the moment Pakistan crosses the border or fires across into our land.

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# THE LEADER IN QUEST OF HIMSELF

By A. N. S.

WHEN you and I are bored, and our appointed work palls, we go to our neighbour for a chat. But the great ones of the earth have devised a new way of overcoming such tedium. They hold periodic press conferences. The rules of this game are still in the making; for it is of very recent origin. Hitler knew nothing about it. His way of passing the time was to stage-manage mammoth rallies of his troops, and then harangue them for hours together.

One of the implicit conventions of this new institution is that the press — which means a group with passes obtained previously should not ask inconvenient questions. But it is the prerogative, according to circumstances, of the prima donna, to speak not always the truth, sometimes only a portion of the truth and occasionally suggest nothing but falsehood. Most of the dope is prepared before hand. But some of the answers have to be necessarily extemporaneous; and it is these which give away more of the real show than all the laboriously constructed edifice or camouflage.

Our leader held the last one soon after returning from Tunisia to Polynesia, and flung about *ipse dixit* on a variety of burning or burnt-out topics. But there was a slight deviation into autobiography which has a permanent interest to students of Pandit Nehru and our times. In view of the fact that the remarks which he made in that connection showed a rather unusual economy of truth, it becomes the duty of the chronicler of current events to single them out and embalm them-like flies in amber-for the edification of posterity. I say posterity, sadly, for none of my contemporaries seems to have been interested enough in the matter to comment about it.

He is reported to have said: 'I have been an accidental and indifferent leader, which is perhaps why I have succeeded ... and I have always been anxious to lead aright.' Mind you, there is no mincing of words, no hedging of phrases or modifying clauses, but a sentence bristling hard in controvertible facts'. Let us see if these accord with what we know or can infer from other equally authentic sources of the history of our times, during the last twenty years.

My first submission is that no man in modern times was vetted or groomed into leadership with more assiduity, greater publicity, and to the accompaniment of the plaudits of his compatriots at home and admirers abroad than Pandit Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi had, strange as it may sound in the ears of his idolaters, a haunting and sub-conscious sense of the inferiority complex. When he happened to be with Pandit Motilal Nehru and his durbarlike household steeped in the composite splendours of the orient and occident he was as much vanquished by his chela as the chela by him.

The young Jawaharlal proved a mascot in more ways than can be recapitulated here, and the Mahatma cultivated him with a disinterested generosity which had also a horse sense behind it. For one thing, the fashionable young man-born with a silver spoon in his mouth and educated in the exclusive

atmosphere of the British aristocracy which exhudes culture while living comfortably on its dividends — possessed every thing which he lacked. He lisped the language of revolutionary materialism in strong contrast to his own addiction to a sort of copybook ethics and primer-type mysticism. The very dichotomy between them, so piquant from a publicity point of view was made much of to underline a basic identity of aims if not methods that seemed to insure the future of the national movement in safe and also dynamic hands.

In those remote days, Pandit Nehru was not a convert to the cult of non-violence. He often jibed at the mystic and temperamental double-crossings of the movement which the older leader himself indulged into the discomfiture of the simple and exasperation of the impatient. It was in those days again that the Mahatma once made a prophetic remark that Jawaharlal (who was nothing if not critical where Gandhi's methods were concerned) would himself one day become his thorough going chela and convert. Saul kicked against the pricks while the Mahatma lived; but became Paul with his martyrdom as we now know. For it was the Mahatma who nominated him in set terms his political son and heir. Accidental?

Further still, Mahatma Gandhi delimited the sphere of Jawaharlal's activity so that he might win his spurs in it. In the international sphere he pretended to be as helpless and innocent as the baby newborn, and would refer his correspondents to Jawaharlal as an animated encyclopaedia in that field. That was how Pandit Nehru built up his reputation as a student of international affairs. Gandhiji compelled world attention to himself by the novelty of his political approach and by disclosing to the outside world some of the indestructable glories of Hinduism and the Hindu way of Life. Pandit Nehru sustained that interest by going over to the enemy, as it were, for he has been an Indian only in name, while by training, temperament and association he is a cosmopolite at best, and a rootless being at worst. By the way, that inferiority complex which I attributed to the Mahatma is a national acquired trait of the last two hundred years. So all of us took our leaders at the valuation which the outside world came to put upon them, abdicating our judgement in the glow of a factitious and childish complacency. We may thus trace our leader's penchant for expatiating on the world at large even in the proceedings of the Indian National Congress under the tutelage of the Mahatma.

If all these events and developments were accidental and not planned, then alone can the claim of the Pandit now made be conceded.

But let us look at it from a somewhat neglected angle. Towards the end of the second world-war when indeed all was over bar the shouting, Pandit Nehru went on a conducted holiday tour of Malaya, at the time when Lord Mountbatten of Burma was the Supreme Commander of the Allied armies in South

East Asia. I say it was a conducted tour, since Mountbatten was briefed by the British Foreign Office to give the Indian rebel a 'right-royal' welcome as the 'future leader of India.' How did the British Foreign office get an inkling of the shape of things to come so far in advance of their coming? It did not pick out you or me—and send us on a jolly vacation at some one else's cost and all else found! No Sir, it was a case of intelligent anticipation, purposeful planning such as only seasoned empire-builders are capable of. Pakistan had not yet come, nor even the interim Government; and yet the British government picked out the winner. Accident again? Tell me another!

The second part of his claim is that he has *succeeded* because he came in accidentally. Rather would it be truer to say that he has failed all along the line during the last ten years, even though he had been handpicked for the leadership of this long-suffering and distracted country. He says that he has striven to lead aright always was the plumping for Pakistan. an illustration of this shining virtue? Mahatma Gandhi had cried himself hoarse against it saying that Pakistan would be 'inscribing a lie' in his soul. Pandit Nehru's protestations were louder and even more picturesquely phrased. Yet, some uncanny—wizardsly worked over-night, and made all these roaring lions gentler than sucking doves with the dawn of another day. It was neither doing right nor going aright. The followers crucified the Mahatma the moment they agreed to Pakistan. What Godse did was to remove a spent-out man—forsaken leader who could neither approve nor disapprove, and who in the Supreme crisis of his life proved himself unequal to his life's convictions.

On all the domestic discords that have dissipated our energies during the last decade, Pandit Nehru proved consistently and desolatingly in the wrong.

He stood out against linguistic provinces, but truckled to it when Potti Sriramulu was made a martyr despite himself. He denounced violence but succumbed to it at the last moment with a panicky thoroughness which throws no amiable light on him either as a man or as a leader. He gave his moral support to the last ditchers in Hyderabad who wished to aver the dismemberment of that spreading leviathan in the heart of India. He spoke of promises to the princes as though they had been made by the people. But when at last the flood proved a deluge, he allowed events to shape his policies instead of the other way round. The corruptions of Congress have now become a byword; but by temporising with his followers, he has in effect connived at them.

The point of all those acts of omission and commission is that they establish the contrary of the propositions which he so unctuously formulated for his own delectation. He had an arguable case in every one of his attitudes on public issues. But he ended up invariably by adopting courses which were the very antitheses of his declared convictions. Both could not be right; he must, therefore, choose whether he has been right in his intentions or in his deeds.

If the former, there is the proverb about the road to a certain destination being paved with good intentions: if the latter, why has he shown such allergy to act on them more vigorously and quickly in the interests of the nation?

To claim to have succeeded in one's task while it is still incomplete is to halloo before you are out of the wood; but when the success is seen to be a delusion and a snare instead of a reality, we can only contemplate the leader in stupefaction; for the only thing true about what he said is that he has been an *indifferent leader*.

—Bhar Herald

## DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



Traffic congestion in cities throughout the world has spurred new interest in space-saving monorail trains. Monorails are now operating in Germany, Japan and the United States. Swedish interests have developed a monorail train which straddles its rail instead of hanging from it. They say its center of gravity is so low that derauling it is impossible, and that it can reach 220 miles per hour.

Nikita Khrushchev, in his new position as Soviet Communist Party chief and USSR Premier, followed the same pattern set by Stalin in first winning control of the Communist Party machinery and then using that control to dominate all Soviet life. Like Stalin, too, he eliminated his rivals from top leadership while claiming to be an exponent of collective leadership and an opponent of one-man rule.

No belief is more firmly fixed than that frogs, fish, snakes, turtles, anglerworms and other creatures are rained down upon the earth. Scientists say that, except for the sea life, the creatures were already on or in the ground and the rain stimulated them into activity, making them appear as if "rained." Authenticated cases of raining fish and other sea life have been attributed to waterpouts, tornadoes, etc.

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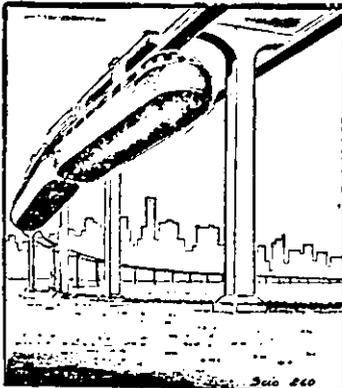
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# THE POLICE POWER

By Leonard E. Read

MILLIONS of Americans are concerned lest our present creeping inflation turn into hyperinflation. ("Creeping" may not be lusty enough to describe a dollar that has lost 51 per cent of its purchasing power since 1939!) This concern is warranted, for the consequences of hyperinflation here would be unbelievably awful much worse for the citizens of the U.S.A. than for those in other countries or at other times who are being or have been victimized and shorn of the fruits of their own labour.

In our highly specialized society, nearly all persons are utterly dependent on the free, uninhibited exchange of their respective specializations. There is a marked and dangerous unawareness of the extent of this interdependency.

Barter, the exchange of goods and services directly for other goods and services, is a primitive economic device. It is a negligible element in our own complex society, for obvious reasons. If we had to rely on barter, we would be able to exchange no more than the tiniest fraction of the goods and services we are capable of producing. A farmer in Utah, for example, can hardly exchange one of his lambs for the product of a workman in an Akron tire factory. Exchange in such a complex economy as ours relies on a circulatory system, one able to convey the fruits of our tens of thousands of specializations to all parts of the society. The circulatory system that performs this amazingly complex function is the medium of exchange—our money.

The economic circulatory system can be likened to the circulatory system of the body, in many respects. The bloodstream carries oxygen from the lungs and ingested food to trillions of cells and carries off waste matter. Here, again, is a performance so amazingly complex that the mind of man can comprehend it only in general way.

But look! One's bloodstream could be thinned or diluted to the point where it would cease entirely to perform this function on which life depends. The patient would die.

Similarly, the economic bloodstream—the medium of exchange—can be thinned or diluted to the point where it will no longer distribute our millions of specialities. This would be far more disastrous to us than to the peoples of other countries because we are far more specialized; because each of us is so far removed from self-subsistence. Ours is the most advanced division-labour society that has ever existed.

Inflation is a thinning or diluting process. It comes about by increasing the volume of money. It is a form of coin clipping. Coins have been clipped to the point where little of value remained in the hands of coin owners. The medium of exchange can be increased in such volume that it becomes worthless. (We have increased our own money supply by about 700 per cent since 1932).

Example: Two German brothers, during 1919, inherited 500,000 marks each from their father. One was frugal and never spent a mark. The other spent

the whole of his share on champagne parties. The inflation in Germany progressed so far by 1923 that 30 million marks would not buy a loaf of bread. At this point the frugal lad had nothing. The other was able to exchange his empty champagne bottles for a dinner. The exchange system was reduced to barter!

## GOVERNMENT FEEDS ON INFLATION

Observe the history of all hyperinflations. In every instance they were preceded by "creeping" inflations.

The question is: Are we headed for hyperinflation? The answer comes clear if we recognize the nature and cause of inflation. Inflation is a form of taxation, resorted to by government as a means of obtaining revenue. When the activities of government become so expensive that it is no longer politically expedient to obtain the needed revenue by direct taxation, inflation will be invoked. The whole historical record—confirms this conclusion. *Inflation inheres in over-extended government, and there is no remedy whatever except to shrink the activities of—and thus the expenses of—government.*

To answer the question—Are we headed for hyperinflation?—only requires that we answer the question—Are we headed toward the extension or the shrinking of governmental activities? The answer is clear: We are, as of now, politically committed to the further extension of governmental activities. All proposals from Washington confirm this. Unless the political design is reversed, we are hopelessly bound for hyperinflation.

Now, there isn't a single American who favours hyperinflation expect one bent on the destruction of our economy. Many will advocate the increase of governmental activities, but they will not favour the inflation which the increased activities make inevitable. As they view the inflationary aftermath of their work they will all wail, "But, I didn't mean this."

Those who would keep America from the disaster of hyperinflation have but one course to recommend: *The outright abandonment of excessive governmental activities.*

Here, however, is the rub. Hardly anyone is willing to be specific and name the things that ought to be abandoned. Who, I ask, will publicly proclaim that TVA, compulsory social security, government housing, subsidies to farmers and to thousands of other groups and undertakings should be repealed—as of right now? Few, indeed.

## TIME FOR REAPPRAISAL

Why this almost unanimous reluctance to be specific, to turn the spotlight on the only areas of political activity that will do any good? The reason is becoming increasingly apparent to me. Once government takes over the responsibility for any activity—the delivery of the mails, for example—it becomes a sacred cow, so to speak. Why this sacredness? Because it is

an officially proclaimed commitment. And, what honourable man isn't reluctant to recommend the breaking of a commitment?

We need to take a new look at these commitments. What if they are evil? Suppose, for instance, that we had traditionally condoned cooks and housemaids stealing from the home larder as a means of compensation? Would we hesitate to recommend that the practice be stopped? On the contrary, we would probably attack the practice with some fervour.

Here is my point: Until more of us understand better than now what is and is not the proper function of government; until we know that government, too, can do evil; until we can identify and explain what specifically is evil, and why; until then will we hesitate to do anything worth-while toward keeping our country free from hyperinflation and disaster. Let's take a fresh look at government in that light.

#### BACKED BY POLICE POWER

What distinguishes an individual as a private citizen from the same person as an agent of government? Is it other than this: An agent of government is formally, officially, and, quite properly, in league with the police power. Let the police force backing be removed from any public servant an agent of government—and he is, presto chango, a private citizen again.

Private citizens Hoover and Truman differ from President Hoover and President Truman by virtue of their altered relationship with society's police force. The same can be said of the difference between Mayor Bowron and Mr. Bowron or Congressman Buffet and Mr. Buffet. Once they were associated with the police force; now they are not.

Consider the significance of this altered relationship. When men organize a collective to accomplish certain aims, and succeed in getting the police force behind their collective, they bring into existence the social structure we call government. Their resolutions become decrees. When they resolve that you and I shall be hung for murder or go to jail for stealing or be fined for speeding or pay the deficits of TVA or build public bath tubs for camel-riding Egyptians or guarantee the income of farmers, we obediently respond or else reckon with the police force! Government, properly so-called, can never be reduced below two elements: a collective affixed to a police force.

Imagine, for example, all government personnel—federal, state, and local; legislative, executive, and judicial organized exactly as they now are but without any police force backing whatever. Their pronouncements would be reduced to those of private citizens; merely advisory, not compulsive. Without the police force their resolutions would be on a par with those issuing from a chamber of commerce or from the League of Women Voters. They might resolve that all of us should donate to the prosperity of farmers, and their resolution would have no more compulsive weight than an advertisement urging us to buy a certain brand of beans. It is the absence of the police force backing which explains why Mr. Truman's current deliverances, for instance, are taken so much less seriously than were President Truman's—pontifications.

In sum, it is only when a police force is affixed to a collective that government exists. Therefore, it is the police force element which is the essential, distinctive feature of government. To determine what government ought to do, then, would seem to require

nothing more than a reasonable determination of what the police force ought or ought not to do.

#### THE CLENCHED FIST

But first, what in essence is a police force? When currently defined, is it anything more or less than the *striking power* in each of us organized into a collective striking power? Striking power can be symbolized in its most rudimentary form by the clenched fist. More advanced symbols would be billy clubs, knives, guns, submarines, fighter planes, atom bombs.

Examining striking power in its simplest form, what can the clenched fist accomplish? It can hurt or punish; it can penalize, restrain, inhibit, destroy. What, in good conscience, ought to be punished,—inhibited, destroyed? Violence would appear to qualify. So would fraud, thievery, misrepresentation.

What can the clenched fist not accomplish? It cannot discover, invent, produce, create. Nor can its striking power cause others to—discover, invent, produce, create. It is, by its very nature, a repellent or defensive, not an attractive or creative, force.

Consider man's energies. They manifest themselves either destructively or creatively. What defensible code will deny that any individual has a moral right to inhibit the destructive actions of another or others? And, what defensible code will assert that any individual has a moral right to use his striking power against the productive or creative actions of another or others. Isn't it plain that a repellent force cannot be made to create, that it has only this inhibitory quality?

A police force, it would seem, is nothing but organized striking power employed by a collective. It has no features to distinguish it from the striking power of the individual beyond size, power, and organization. It is merely the clenched fist multiplied, mechanized, organized, and embellished with titles, uniforms, and other trappings. *Its proper boundaries of action are deprived from and prescribed by precisely the same principles that pertain to the individuals who compose and organize it.* The individual has the moral right to inhibit the destructive actions of another or others. Morally, his striking power is limited to this right. This right is in no sense widened by two or any other number of individuals combining and organizing. Or, so it seems to me.

Those who argue to the contrary who contend that the collective striking force is morally warranted in extending itself beyond the area consonant with individual rights—must, if their contentions aren't to be groundless, point out the source from which any extra rights derive. If not from the individual, then from whom or what? Surely, not from God as the divine-right-of-kings theory had it! Are not rights, such as the right to life and the right to sustain life, exclusively vested in the individual? No right, any more than—immortality, is to be ascribed to an abstraction, organization being no more than this.

#### THE RIGHT TO DEFEND

We often hear that government—a collective linked to a police force—has the function of doing for individuals that which they cannot do for themselves is correct in a sense, but is open to easy misconstruction. The individual cannot protect himself against pirates or mobs or organized thievery or countless other forms of destructive actions. Government should

do for all of us *that which we have a right to do*, but cannot do, for ourselves.

However, we have no right as individuals to use striking power against the productive or creative actions of others for the purpose of feathering our own or anyone else's nest. By the same token, we have no rights collectively to use striking power for these purposes. To use a not too far-fetched example: At this juncture in our development we probably would not freely donate enough funds to build a missile that would photograph the other side of the moon. There are among us some persons who want this done. They lack the resources to do it themselves. Therefore, they call on the constabulary to forcibly take the fruits of the labour of others in order to gratify their wish. All subsidies and all federal grants-in-aid, whether to farmers or businesses or to communities or to foreign countries, fall into this category—a misconception of the idea that government should do for us that which we are unable or unwilling to do for ourselves.

### IMMORAL USE OF POWER

Police-ism—police power run riot, the uneconomic and the immoral use of striking power—is man attempting usurp the role of the Creator on the grand scale. Police-ism—government out-of-bounds—known popularly as state interventionism, communism, socialism, nazism, fascism, Fabianism, the Welfare State, the planned economy, the new deal, the fair deal, and so on, features the private gain of some at the expense of others. Its advocates are in all walks of life, ranging from seekers after office or after welfare or after prosperity to clergymen who have lost their faith in brotherly love. It is, in my view the most glaring sin of our age and it accounts, more than anything else, for the social disintegration now so easily observable in every “civilized” country. Further, these uneconomic and immoral uses of striking powers within nations account for the insane employment of striking powers between nations—wars!

Let's assume that we agree on what is the proper use of striking power: only for defense against destructive forces; never for interference with productive or creative actions, individually or collectively, with the fist or with the police force. Would this agreement on principles resolve all of our social problems? Of course not! Our judgements vary greatly. It would be difficult in many instances to agree on whether certain actions were destructive or creative. Yet, having an ideal, general principles as a common point of reference would help to direct our energies and our thoughts towards the ideal. We would more likely demand the same moral rectitude of our collective actions as we insist is proper for our individual actions. We can hardly expect to behave better collectively than individually. Yet, there isn't much excuse for behaving worse.

Double standards of morality? Imagine American farmers personally robbing everyone from the Widow Doakes to Mr. Gotrocks, justifying the robberies on the grounds of being reimbursed for raising less food than they could. It is unthinkable. Yet, there is hardly a respectable segment of the population that is not urging the police force the collective striking power to do this same unthinkable thing for them. Thus, by failing to apprehend a principle, we descend deeper and deeper into police-ism, the final stage of which is dictatorship. “Dictatorship,” according to

Lenin, “if scientifically considered, means neither more nor less than unlimited power resting directly on the police, not limited by anything; not restrained by any laws, nor by any constitutional limitations of any kind.”

Most of us realize, deep down in our hearts, that error brings its own retribution. Nor does ignorance absolve us in any measure. One who is unaware of gravitation and jumps off the Empire State Building hits the pavement no less resoundingly than does one who jumps and knows.

We believe it to be immoral to advance our own private gain by thieving from others. We would expect penalties in some form — social, like being put in jail or personal, like a loss of self-respect. Now, legalizing the process in no way alters its morality nor the certainty of retribution. Yet, after years of legalized plunder, few of us discern any penalties for our political waywardness. The popular chant, “We have never had it so good,” seems only to say, “At last, we know how to do wrong and to get away with it.”

It is naive, however, to assume that retribution for wrong appears only in forms that are obvious. If Cowper was right in saying that “God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform,” it is equally valid to assume that he moves in a mysterious way his penalties to inflict. It is absurd to acknowledge the former without any expectation of the latter.

Excessive governmental activities may for years give outward appearances of making us healthy, wealthy, and wise. However, those actions which have really been wrong must be building up quite an account on the retributive side of our economic, moral, and social ledger. The fact that most of us haven't taken the pains to look for this page in the ledger doesn't mean that it isn't quietly—almost secretly—recording the data for later reference, for balancing the accounts. As I look at this page, I see material retribution taking the form of a thinner and thinner circulatory medium — a progressive economic anaemia!

The only cure for this dread disease is to withdraw governmental interference from the productive and creative activities of people. The first step is for responsible citizens to identify activities of this sort which government has arrogated to itself and to explain attractively and persuasively why they should be returned to private enterprise. This will require the best—nothing less — that each of us has to give.

—The Freeman

### GOMULKA'S WAS THREATEND

Berlin: Mr. Gomulka's “long delayed justification” of the execution of Mr. Imre Nagy was made after he had been served by the Russians with what amounted to an “ultimatum,” said the “Nacht Despatch,” a West Berlin journal.

The newspaper said that Russia last week prepared to occupy Poland and arrest the Polish Prime Minister if he failed to support the execution of Mr. Nagy.

Strong Soviet armoured units had massed on the Polish borders, both on the Russian and East German sides, with Soviet officials explaining these movements as “extended summer manoeuvres.”

—NAFEN

(Continued from page 4)

social environment—property, Statist organisation of the economy free education total Government working on behalf of the disinherited—all these publicised objectives arouse an immense feeling of approval and enthusiastic identification.

A great humanitarian emotion in favour of social justice surrenders itself to the appeal of socialism. But the support is *not deserved* either by theory or by practice.

Ancient Indian social thought was aware of this fact and suggested that in cases where *dharma* or social justice has to be re-interpreted in new situations, a *dharma parishad* or committee has to be appointed. It should have on it in addition to people well versed in existing laws, customs and values and trained *logicians* as well!

We see the dire need of this idea today in all fields of social reconstruction.

The most glaring instance of this need for logic amidst us today is the lack of logic lying at the basis of the socialist orientation of the Five Year Plans. The Plans say that they aim at increased production all round. But they take for granted without analysis or proof that *these policies* of socialisation are the *only* or the *best ways* for achieving the stated goals of a rapid rise in the standards of living! In particular the goal of increased agricultural production is supposed to *necessitate* the expropriation of their *extra lands* above a low ceiling to the landless proletariat. The immediate effect of this policy will be a vast increase in the number of uneconomic holdings in the hands of poor tillers without any capital and skill in agriculture. The fearful result will be a vast "Bengal Famine" from which the poor administrative machinery we have, will not be able to extricate us. There are better and less disastrous methods before us in the contemporary world to show us the way. Witness Denmark and Britain. But the leaders in power refuse to see the lack of relationships between facts and their favourite theories, their policies and their natural consequences. Their followers in the legislatures and the journalists connected with the big business papers (whose proprietors are more concerned with economic influence with men in official positions than with logic and public welfare are ignorant of the illogicality and illusion of the socialist proposal. Those *who know* are powerless and have not the means of publicity. Those who have the means do not have the foresight and patriotism to support competent and patriotic thinkers and to pay for the widest publicity of their conclusions.

Modern psychology (in its two major divisions of naturalistic Conditioned Reflexes and sex-dominated theory of psychoanalysis adumbrated by the great Dr. Sigmund Freud) has reinforced the disastrous and untrue doctrines of Marx to the effect that the normal mind is unable to arrive at objective truth.

The former developed by the Russian psychologists by Pavlov holds that the mind can be made to assume any set of beliefs by exposing it to appropriate stimuli like the dogs he experimented upon. The dogs could be made to respond with any emotion by presenting them with appropriate stimuli—fear, anger, confusion etc.

The publication of psychoanalytic literature has revealed how *helpless* the mind of man is. It is controlled by subconscious and unconscious *complexes*

more than by surface reasoning. Reason as Hume said long ago, is the slave of the passions!"

And in religion, Matthew Arnold in the last century popularised the theory that it consisted essentially in the attachment of moral emotions to ideas of God. Any emotion, moral or immoral can be attached to religion or social ideal irrespective of truth and good! This conclusion was not drawn by Hume but it was implied in his theory!

The new thinkers have to investigate through hard and unbiassed analysis and find out whether the human mind has the potential capacity of *finding* and *contemplating* and *being motivated by truth as such*, rising above party and other individual and social interests. Are *universality* and *necessity* words without meaning? Is environment all? Has the mind no power of reflecting objective *Truth*?

This attitude has to be followed in all other fields of social life—religion, law, democracy and education. If Marx is true, education sinks to the level of *indoctrination* or teaching of "truth" as desired by the Statal Pragmatism in the bad sense of holding that any idea is truth if it pays to somebody will become popular! Truth will be proved only by practical consequences! To Stalin his *communism* was *truth*. To those he liquidated, it was *false*! Tito's truth is different from Khrushchev's truth on the same subject matter of the relation between Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia!

Such investigation is necessary to purify the present corruptions of thought.

#### WHEN SARDAR PATEL WALKED OUT

Bombay—August 5: Shri V. P. Menon, former Secretary of the States Ministry disclosed, here, today that Sardar Patel walked out of a meeting of the Defence Committee called to consider the question of taking police action in Hyderabad in 1948.

Speaking on 'Integration of States' at a luncheon meeting of the Rotary Club of Bombay at the Green's Hotel, Shri Menon said: "the meeting was acrimonious and I turned to the Sardar, only to find that he was not there. Subsequently, I myself packed up my papers and left the meeting."

Shri Menon said that Sardar Patel disagreed with rest of the members of the Cabinet who thought that if police action was taken in Hyderabad, it would result in communal strife in other parts of the country.

He charged the then British Commander-in-Chief, that the Cabinet finally took a decision in favour of police action. He said that the C-in-C asked for time at a time when "the quickest method was the best".

Shri Menon said the Government of India only wanted a loose federation with the Indian States initially, on the subjects of external affairs, defence and communications. Everybody agreed to the formula except the Nizam, who accepted only a part of it. And Sardar Patel too had to agree to this in the interest of peace, he added.

He said that Sardar Patel was the only politician who understood the difference between policy and administration. "Once he took a decision he fully trusted his lieutenants to carry it out", Shri Menon added.

He said that if anyone had given his fair contribution to the building up of this country, it was the Sardar. "I could not have served a better master", Shri Menon concluded.

# FOREIGN AID: A Dissection

By James Burnham

*We reproduce below an article from "The National Review", U.S.A. to apprise our readers of a powerful section in America who would wish to pursue an isolationist policy and who are sore on draining American dollars into foreign countries without getting and tangible results. It behoves the "rudely anti-West, and pro-Communist neutrals" like India to be a little more sympathetic in understanding American foreign policies, which are guided by a genuine anxiety to help free nations against Communist influence and ultimate conquest. (Editor)*

THE globalist humanitarians among us are an all-out 100 per cent for foreign aid; and many nationalists are 100 per cent against. Though these blanket attitudes are emotionally satisfying, neither makes much sense.

"Foreign aid" is a rubbery term that stretches over a half-dozen different sub-programmes, each with different objectives. If they get under the verbal surface, most citizens from Left to Right will approve some of the objectives; and only a few—apart from the bureaucrats, foreign and domestic, who draw their paychecks out of "foreign aid"—will approve of them all. The bitter quarrels are over one or two sub-programmes which represent, in money, a small percentage of the total.

The Senate's Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Programme wrote in its 1957 Report: "Foreign aid has come to be regarded as a single device of policy capable of achieving a multiplicity of objectives. Many people in the United States have been led to this view largely by the ambiguous justifications for foreign aid in the past... The fact is that the mutual security programme contains many separate undertakings whose purposes may be, but are not necessarily, closely related."

According to the standard classification, the total expenditure on foreign aid is divided into "military" and "non-military." In recent years these have been about equal. (Direct military aid was 54 per cent in 1956 and 49 per cent in 1957.) Most of the non-military aid is called "defense support" or "supporting assistance," with the remainder classified as "technical assistance" (Point 4) and "development aid." In 1957 more than half—1.5 billion worth—of the non-military aid took the form of agricultural shipments: 35 per cent of the value of all U.S. agricultural exports during the year.

When we examine the data we find that these classifications are blurred. "Direct military aid" includes the transfer of military goods and services for: (a) our own military installations in foreign countries; b) NATO installations; c) military forces (e.g. of Korea, Free China and Turkey) that are in effect auxiliaries of our own; d) military forces of close allies in Europe and Latin America; e) military forces of neutralist or actually pro-Soviet nations.

A big share of "defense support" goes to nations like Korea, Free China, Turkey and Spain that under our strategic direction are maintaining a level of military strength beyond the capability of their own economies. Some goes to nations like Vietnam and Pakistan that have been holding to a fairly consistent pro-Western course in critical areas. And a third share goes to the India, Yugoslavia, Poland, Indonesia,

Afghanistan crowd that is avowedly neutralist, rudely anti-Western, and usually pro-Soviet in practice.

An adequate American defense system requires, at present, installations (ports, airfields, communications posts, supply depots) outside our national boundaries as well as the help of some allied and auxiliary forces. No responsible American, therefore, can object in principle to "foreign aid" that is designed to provide these requisites. But there is no reason to call appropriations for such a purpose "foreign aid," or to lump them together with appropriations which serve other purposes.

The sums for "direct military aid" ought to be included as a distinct category within the defense budget. Congress could then insist that the Pentagon's spokesmen justify them not by vague appeals to the national interest but by precise proof that they are indeed essential to our strategic plans in exactly the same sense as money for a missile base in Wyoming or a new atomic submarine. ("Expenditures on military aid must be weighed primarily against the return which would be expected if these funds were spent directly on the National Defense Establishment," commented the Senate Special Committee, and added: "The Committee is not satisfied that this principle is now being followed... Military aid appears to be considered as an end in itself.")

The non-military foreign aid budget would legitimately propose such "defense support" as really was necessary to support the military strategy—in countries like Korea, Spain, Free China, Turkey, for example, or even in Britain, where the Pentagon's strategic decisions impose a disproportionate burden on an ally. And one might add—though as a distinct and separable project—a modest appropriation for such technical assistance and "development aid" (e.g., for port or transportation facilities) as could be shown to promise specific and ultimately profitable return to the U.S. economy.

This approach would dissect out and isolate the fraudulent portion that is now disguised by the justifiable elements in the present foreign aid package: the bubble-headed dogooderies plus the arms, money and supplies for neutralists, Titoists and popular frontiers. This portion cannot be objectively motivated by military strategy or national interest. It has served not only to antagonize our genuine friends, but to drive the recipients further away from us, not closer. Handling it in isolation from direct military aid and honest defense support, Congress would not risk any incidental injury to national security in doing what should have been done long ago: not just cutting down the (preventively inflated) sums asked for these self-defeating purposes, but wiping out this entire dimension of the foreign aid amalgam.

—National Review

## RUSSIA WOOS PAKISTAN

The spokesman of the Pakistani delegation to the London talks is reported to have said that Pakistan would now receive greater military aid from American Jewish lobby in the United States Congress and Iraq's presence in the Pact. The same spokesman is further reported to have said that a new treaty between Pakistan and American would contain a clause pledging U. S. support to Pakistan in the event of aggression direct or indirect from any quarter. This clause does not figure in the existing mutual security pact between Pakistan and the United States.

The Soviet Premier is also reported to have offered to Pakistan all possible help, both economic and military, if Pakistan gets out of all military alliances and follows a neutral policy. Mr. Khrushchev is also reported to have assured Pakistan that Russia would not exercise her right of Veto in the Security Council on the Kashmir issue if Pakistan quits all military alliances.

It is quite obvious now that both the United States and the Soviet Union in their attempt to woo Pakistan would let down India badly on the Kashmir issue; Pandit Nehru's policy of appeasing all has resulted in pleasing none, and we have not a single friendly country today to back us on any issue concerning our national interests. Yet, our leaders shout from house-tops that our foreign policy is a great success!

## GAMBLING WITH THE PUBLIC MONEY

While our Congress rulers ask us to tighten our belts more and more, they are playing ducks and drakes with the tax-payers' money. Crores of rupees are wasted over mad projects and wild schemes without any result. The real beneficiaries of these fantastic ill-conceived schemes are not the people but only the speculators and executives.

Some brain wave enters a minister's head and he embarks on some wild scheme. The scheme fails and results in loss of crores of rupees. Mr. A. D. Gorwala's recent report on the Mysore administration, pointing out the various cases of wastage in the administration, makes a pathetic reading. Mysore is no exception. We hear the same story everywhere. If this state of affair continues for long, India will become insolvent. The whole structure of our finance is crumbling down under the present set-up of top-heavy inefficient and corrupt administration.

## INDIA APES RUSSIA

The Soviet Constitution, by article 2, frankly abolishes private property in land and houses as well; this provision may lack justice, but at least it has the merit of frankness. The Indian Constitution, no doubt, recognises private ownership of all property. But its recent amendment has virtually brought the Indian position in line with the Soviet's. Under the guise of "regulating the use" of land, already a spate of legislation has been enacted in various states virtually depriving the landlord of his rights over what has always been considered and what the Constitution also conceded under Article 19, to be his exclusive property which he could deal with in any manner he liked.

A Full Bench of the Madras High Court has recently decided that what just and thinking men would consider to be highly immoral, the Fair Rent Act and the Tenants' Protection Act, were perfectly *intra vires*. Today the Government exhibits an anxiety to do away with what it calls intermediaries and to make the tiller the owner of the soil. The next step would be to effect collectivisation of land whatever opposition there might be. That happened in Russia, China and all East European countries. It is good to remind our Government that while it is good to have a giant's strength, it is tyrannous to use it as a giant.

## PAK HYPOCRISY

For several months now there have been a series of border incidents both in the East and the West. Pakistan seems to be sedulously practising the dangerous art of "brinkmanship". The words of Pakistani spokesmen backed by minatory gestures such as the massing of troops cannot be explained in any other way.

Mr. Noon, the Pak Premier says that Pakistan desires to live in peace with India. Massing of troops does not bespeak peaceful intentions, whatever the verbal expressions in which they are explained. Pakistan seems to be adopting a deliberately provocative attitude. Pakistan, perhaps, hopes to attract the sympathy of the world and invite "intervention" by posing as the victim of wanton aggression by a stronger neighbour—India.

No country can fool the world all the time. Even Pakistan's friends will not believe her if she constantly cries "wolf".

It is high time the Pak Premier realised that the peace he desires with India cannot be achieved through war preparations and constant cries of "Jehad" against India.

## HUMAN EXCRETA FOR SALE

In the readers' forum of the Peking People's Daily of March 5, a reader wrote: "Members of the Hung Kaang agricultural co-operative in Nan Yuan Chu of Hsing'ai Municipality had to remove nightsoil from over 60 organisations in another part of the municipality for use as fertilizer and had also to wash their lavatories. These organisations not only did not pay for cleansing charges, but collecting more than 700 annually from the agricultural co-operative for the sale of their nightsoil. There were some members who even wanted to make a little money out of this transaction. On the other hand, workers from other organisations had been collecting human excreta in their spare time to assist in agricultural production. But these 60 organisations insisted that the agricultural co-operative should pay for their nightsoil. Should these organisations give a little thought to the matter? If they are sincere in supporting agricultural production, then they should waive such charges!"

The Chinese Communists have been claiming increased production through the use of better chemical fertilizers. But human excreta in the Chinese Mainland is being sold as precious fertilizer! It is most revolting to hear that there are some who even want to make a little money out of this transaction.

# HOW THE RUSSIANS SEE IT

Peregrine Worsthorne

IT is difficult to read Soviet military journals to-day without being impressed by the calm, matter-of-fact way in which they discuss the problems of war. Their strategic thinkers show no signs of being either inhibited or dismayed by the H-bomb. It does not even dominate their debates. For them, thermonuclear war is just one of several ways in which meaningful victory might be gained. They would prefer to rely on conventional weapons, because of their massive superiority in this field; and by their Herculean efforts to achieve thermonuclear parity, they also hope to impose this preference on the West as well. But they do not rely on this, rightly recognising that in the last resort the choice of weapons is something which the Soviet Union cannot alone determine. If, therefore, the West insists, the Soviet generals are prepared to fight a thermonuclear war—which they also believe they can not only survive but actually win.

When they write of "victory," they do not mean, as does the West, a mere avoidance of defeat. They have in mind a victory that would result in the spread of Communist control over the conquered area. This positive conception of victory governs the nature of Soviet strategy, just as the West's negative conception—the mere avoidance of defeat and the endurance of "co-existence"—governs its strategy. As a result, the Soviets believe, as a cardinal principle, that the primary purpose of military operations, as much in the thermonuclear age as before, is the destruction of hostile military forces and not the annihilation of the enemy's population and economic resources. They do not want Communism to inherit a radioactive desert.

In contrast, because the West has no positive war aims, being essentially defensive, its strategic thinking is designed to prevent war, rather than win it. Western generals have been ordered to develop a military posture which will make war impossible. If war breaks out, therefore, they will have failed in their central task. It is perfectly logical, given the West's basic aims that its strategy should be overtly terroristic, aimed less at destroying the enemy's forces than at annihilating his population and economy. Having no acquisitive war aims, the West is not concerned with the fruits of conquest. That they should be damaged beyond the point of recovery is not the inevitable by-product of their strategy but its central objective. For the more certain it is that no side can win a thermonuclear war, the more likely is it that a policy of deterrence will succeed.

Viewed strictly from a military standpoint, then, it can be said that the Soviets, because of their positive war aims, have developed a constructive strategy, while the West, because of its negative war aims, has developed a destructive strategy. But, it may well be asked, is not a constructive, positive thermonuclear strategy a contradiction in terms? Can thermonuclear

victory be anything other than mutual defeat? Has not the H-Bomb ruled out all possibility of victory in the sense of one side actually gaining more than it loses—which is the only meaningful sense? The Soviet answer to these questions is: No.

IT USED to be fashionable in the West to reply that Soviet complacency over the Bomb was more than a compound of ideological obscurantism, technical ignorance, and political opportunism. During Stalin's day, this Western reaction was clearly justified. Because the West at that time enjoyed, first a nuclear monopoly and later a thermonuclear superiority, it was only natural that the Soviets should refuse to admit the decisive nature of these new weapons. To have done otherwise would not only have placed the Soviet Union at an intolerable diplomatic and military disadvantage, but Communism as an ideology would have been forced to eat its favourite words. For how could the Communist world accept the implications of a decisive weapon in the hands of its enemies without being forced to qualify its belief in the inevitable triumph of Communism? Furthermore, it was always possible then that the Soviets might have been plain ignorant. Not having the full facts about nuclear weapons themselves, they may, understandable enough, have been reluctant to accept the American assessment of their destructiveness, when it so clearly served the West's ends to exaggerate.

To-day, however, the development of Sputnik reveals that Soviet scientists are quite as knowledgeable as their Western rivals. If, therefore, Soviet strategists differ from American strategists, it is not because of the inferior quality of their technical information. Achievement of thermonuclear parity has also removed the earlier sense of military inadequacy and vulnerability. To admit now that H-bomb warfare would destroy both parties to the exchange, would not necessarily weaken the Soviet Union. Indeed, by confirming the West's own apocalyptic attitude to these weapons, it might encourage mutual reliance on conventional weapons, in which the Soviet Union enjoys such a superiority.

It is possible, of course, that by pretending that they are certain to win even if the United States does have recourse to H-bombs, the Soviets hope to make the use of such weapons seem fruitless. This policy of bluff might be sufficient to explain Soviet propaganda. But Soviet behaviour goes far beyond propaganda. The Russian government is spending vast sums of money on maintaining massive land armies trained and equipped to fight a thermonuclear war, as well as a conventional one. They would hardly go to these lengths if their belief in a protracted but ultimately successful thermonuclear war was mere bluff.

As in all Soviet policies, ideological compulsions cannot be ignored. It may well be that admission of a thermonuclear stalemate is as ideologically unpalatable

table to Mr. Khrushchev to-day as admission of inferiority was to Stalin yesterday. The latter posed the possibility of the defeat of Communism, which was sheer heresy. The former denies the possibility of victory, which is scarcely less heretical. But at the celebrated Twentieth Party Congress, Mr. Khrushchev seemed to solve this doctrinal embarrassment by declaring that Communism would inevitably triumph, even without recourse to war, through its own innate economic and political momentum. So even if the thermonuclear stalemate were to be admitted, this would not involve any necessary contradiction of the basic belief in Communism's ultimate triumph over capitalism.

Yet the fact remains that the deadlock has not been admitted. Mr. Malenkov, who once made so bold as to do so, was swiftly forced to retract. It may be, of course, that this retraction seemed necessary on exclusively ideological grounds which had nothing to do with military at all. Certainly Soviet policy showed then, and still shows, a marked reluctance to admit dynamism of the original doctrine. But there is also much written evidence to show that Malenkov's reference to a military deadlock outraged the generals quite as much as the Party dialecticians. The generals appeared to be genuinely reluctant to concede a deadlock because they simply did not believe that a deadlock existed. They argued that to accept a stalemate would be contrary to the thermonuclear facts, as well as to the Marxist fictions. It would deny the Red army real military advantages, not only ideological reassurances.

The West, therefore, would be making a serious mistake if it attributed the present buoyancy and flexibility of current Soviet military thinking either to ignorance, bluff, or ideological necessity. Ideological absolutes may play a part, as may old-fashioned prejudices in a General Staff deeply wedded by history and the experience of the Second World War to a belief in the ultimate value of mass land armies. Nor can diplomatic and political bluff be entirely ruled out. But none of these factors, even in aggregate, strike one as altogether convincing. There is, alas, a further possibility which certainly deserves far more attention than the West seems prepared to give it: namely, that the Soviets' strategic confidence and flexibility indicates a new realism, a fresh and more modern approach, with which the West has not yet begun to catch up.

That this is real possibility is confirmed by an excellent recent study of current Soviet military thinking. Its author, Raymond L. Garthoff, a prominent authority on this highly esoteric subject, traces the development of Soviet Stalin's era to its present open-eyed, unblinking appraisal of the thermonuclear scene. The conclusion that emerges is of a contemporary military doctrine which has jumped from the conditions of the Second World War straight to the thermonuclear age, without ever getting bogged down in the intermediate and essentially temporary phase when one side enjoyed a nuclear monopoly.

In the years when Western strategists were enraptured by the siren songs about a miracle weapon, their Soviet counterparts were tied by Stalinist ropes to the mast of old-fashioned mass-army orthodoxy. But Stalin's policy of repressing the truth paid off, because what was temporarily true then—the absolute value of the bomb—is no longer true now that

both sides possess it. While the West is still obsessed by the earlier truth, remembering the earlier examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—which Stalin never allowed to make any impact on Russian opinion—the Soviet strategists have been able to come entirely fresh to the contemporary truth: that thermonuclear parity has revolutionised earlier nuclear strategic thinking quite as profoundly as the United States monopoly of the nuclear weapon revolutionised conventional, pre-nuclear strategy.

It would, of course, be absurd to pretend that Western strategy has not recognised the profound implications of thermonuclear parity. But the mood in which this recognition has been made is subtly different from that in the Soviet Union. The West, having convinced itself in 1945 that the A-bomb was an absolute weapon, and that future major war would follow the Hiroshima pattern—which was then the case—has simply extended this picture to cover the new situation brought about by the Soviet Union's development of similar weapons. These weapons are still seen as absolute. The only difference now is that we assume that, because both sides possess them, neither can afford to use them. From being the miraculous determinants of war, they have become, in Western eyes, the miraculous deterrents of war.

But the seed from which this obsession has grown was originally sown in 1945, when the strategic soil was still unfertilised by later developments. The Soviet Union, having refused to consider the problem when American monopoly did make the A-bomb an absolute weapon, thereby escaped the initial obsession with a strategy of annihilation. It sees parity to-day not so much as a hardening of the deadlock as an opportunity for exploiting their natural advantage in mass land armies. Without wishing to exaggerate what is in essence a difference in psychological approach, one can say that Stalin's head-in-the-sand policy has resulted, quite inadvertently, in Soviet military thinking being tailored to the last half of the 1950's, while the West still harks back to the last half of the 1940's. Just as German industry has enormously benefited by enforced modernity, so also has Soviet military thinking.

But there is another reason, too, which helps to explain the degree of flexibility which the Soviet generals clearly believe themselves to enjoy. They are not frightened of mass destruction. The West tends to forget that the initial losses suffered by the Soviet Union in the last war compare in size with those that they might expect to lose in the opening phase of a thermonuclear war. In visualising the image of a future war, and calculating on its conduct beyond the first phase, the Soviets cannot but recall that they suffered in a relatively brief period in 1941 the loss of control over 40 per cent. of their population, 40 per cent. of their gain production, approximately 60 per cent. of their coal, iron, steel, and aluminium output, and 95 per cent. or more of certain key military industries such as ball-bearing production. They lost four million soldiers, dead, wounded, or prisoner, and over two-thirds of their tanks and aircraft—yet they survived, and won perhaps the most fruitful victory in the history of war. The West cannot conceive of surviving anything on the scale of thermonuclear destruction. The Russians can, because they already have.

*(To be concluded)*

# NEHRU IN A MESS

MR. NEHRU'S address from the Red Fort on Independence Day has been the subject of acid comment here, particularly by those who have been closely watching his pronouncements, private as well as public. It has been bruited abroad for some time that the Prime Minister and his colleagues, conscious of the power in their hands, have got rather fond of saying: *Goliyon se urha denge*—“We'll blow them up with bullets”. If it is not a fact, it should be contradicted in the interest of the good name of the Government. Perhaps it should be denied in any case for the result of utterances like these—howsoever consoling and comforting they may be to those who cannot brook opposition—is bound to be adverse in the long run in a people conscious of their rights. And to think they should be on the lips of the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi who believe in Panch Shila and the Moral Approach!

The Gujerat upheaval overshadowed even the Western crisis. Perhaps even the organisers of the campaign there, were not expecting the international publicity their cause gained as a result of the proximity of their demonstrations with Independence Day. The view is gaining ground here that the Mahagujratists have won and that it is downright dishonest on the part of the Government to say that the remedy lies in the hands of the Bombay legislators whose unanimity can settle the problem and then to refuse the Congress legislators the right to vote according to their beliefs. What is sauce for the gander should be sauce for the goose. If the bilingual experiment in Bombay has been a great success, it should be applied to other states. If it has been a failure, it should be scrapped.

### TASK BEFORE NEHRU

Mr. Nehru's difficulty is mainly psychological. Having conceded Andhra as a result of violent demonstrations and having thus laid himself open to the charge of pussillanimity, he seems to say to himself: “I am damned if I am cowed down again. Do they think I am a coward?” That is how a man suffering from inferiority complex thinks. He could have very well said: I bow to public opinion. Unfortunately his colleagues make sure of what he thinks before coming out with their opinions, lest a clash produce a flash of temper to which they have to submit for the sake of their jobs, knowing that even a menial would not submit to a thing like that today.

If Mr. Nehru was serious in saying at the Red Fort that “any one who tries to weaken India would be put down”, he should be putting himself down with a strong hand, for it is high time he knew that he has been weakening India in diverse ways and that there is no one else in the country who can put him down. He should follow his own advice to people to “understand each other's views in a friendly persuasive way and stop fighting each other”. This fighting cannot be stopped unless the dictator in Mr. Nehru is vanquished or the people become like dumb driven cattle. The latter being impossible, the task before Mr. Nehru and the country is obvious.

Mr. Nehru also told us the other day that states do not stand in need of guardians. The reference was to the American and British armies in the Lebanon and Jordan, now there at the invitation of the governments of those countries. Of course, they don't. Did Tibet need a guardian when Mr. Nehru decided to withdraw Indian troops from Tibet? Not at all. For had Tibet needed a guardian, surely Mr. Nehru could have played a part being so fond of lording it over others. But it remains unexplained why, having handed Tibet over to the Chinese wolf, Mr. Nehru wants to pay a visit to the country. Why should he interfere with other people's affairs? He did not do so to maintain Tibet's independence. President Truman offered to back him and Tibet to maintain the country's independence but Mr. Nehru deserted Tibetans in their hour of need and handed them over to the Chinese Communists. And now he wants to pay a visit to Tibet! If even the small states do not need guardians, what is the United Nations for? And the Security Council? They should be scrapped. Does Mr. Nehru realise the clear implications of his hasty and emotional utterances? Nothing could gladden more the hearts of the Communists. And to think that this man was a violent critic of Hitler once upon a time!

### PROFESSIONS AND PRACTICE

Every week that passes underlines the ever-widening gulf between Mr. Nehru's professions and his practice. He is in this respect a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi but, unfortunately, suffers from a handicap which did not fetter the Mahatma. He has to act in the international field where his professions are closely scrutinised and compared with his actions, whereas the Mahatma's saying were broadcast to a world which was too busy with its own affairs to try to peep through the keyhole into the Mahatma's bedroom.

Mr. Nehru has been talking so much of the peaceful approach, the moral approach, that some foreigners almost began taking him seriously. Some of these journalists in Delhi have been asking why Mr. Nehru was in such a hurry to recognise the new Iraqi Government which came into being as the result of a violent bloody coup by an Army clique. Was this consistent with the principles underlying Panchshila? I had to tell them that to enable the principles of Panchshila to govern the world, it is absolutely necessary that Mr. Nehru should be on the top of the summit—master of all he surveys—and his blessing of the bloody coup was a short cut to the top of the summit to which he has had to resort because of the stupid failure of the world in general to see a Daniel in Mr. Nehru. Well, if they do not want Mr. Nehru to bless such coups, the remedy is in their own hands.

In any case, if he had condemned the Iraqi coup, he would have had to condemn the Egyptian coups through which his friend Nasser came to power and the coups through which the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communists came to power—a pretty mess for a man in a hurry to reach the summit!

## **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

### **PAK SMUGGLER ARRESTED**

A gang of Pakistani smugglers functioning with the connivance of Pakistani border police has been unearthed. It is stated this gang has contacts on this side of the border.

Recently one of the two smugglers was apprehended by the border police. He is reported to have confessed there was a group in Karolranga village in Sialkot who were carrying on smuggling activities.

—*Hindustan Times*

### **SUHRAWARDI SAYS HE KNOWS WAR PLANNING**

Mr. Suhrawardi ridiculed the suggestion that he would be bought over by the Hindus. He recalled that even before partition he had launched "Jihad" against Hindus (presumably a reference to the Calcutta riots of 1946 when he was Chief Minister of Undivided Bengal).

Mr. Suhrawardi said that only if Mr. Nasser supported Pakistan's case over Kashmir, could he (Nasser) expect Pakistan to be friendly towards him.

Referring to the Muslim League propaganda, that Kashmir could be won only through war, he said that he too believed that it could not be won through mere words. War required careful planning and preparation and he knew exactly what was to be done in regard to Kashmir.

— *Times of India*

### **CONGRESSMEN'S QUERIES**

Several prominent Congressmen, among them a minister and a provincial secretary, I have met during the last few days, have put me the following questions:

1. Why didn't Nehru while applauding Arab Nationalism, condemn or at least deplore the methods of violence adopted by the Iraqi army clique? Have Gandhi and Pancha Shila been already reduced to an empty shell?

2. Won't there be an end to stability of a government if ambitious Army officers carry out murderous coups in this fashion?

3. Why this indecent haste in recognising the new Iraqi Government, when Israel had to wait for years before securing a hesitant recognition from Nehru?

When I suggested: "Why don't you raise these questions in the AICC?", there was no answer.

— Mr. H. V. Kamath in *Current*.

### **NEHRU VISITS TIBET**

An estrangement between India and China is now imminent following the cancellation of Mr. Nehru's proposed visit to Tibet.

With true Chinese hospitality, Mr. Nehru was first invited to visit Tibet. When the time came for the Indian Prime Minister's visit, the Chinese told Mr. Nehru that he might do so "at a future date".

New Delhi has not taken kindly to the Chinese behaviour, particularly when India has been the stau-

chest advocate of China's admission to the U.N. outside of the communist countries.

The reasons for the Chinese anxiety to keep out Mr. Nehru are not far to seek. Observers here have been anxiously scanning scrappy news of revolt in Tibet's eastern Shan province received in New Delhi.

—*Current*

### **PAK SABOTAGE IN KASHMIR**

Two Pakistani border intelligence officers, Illa Bux and Mohammad Ismail, have been arrested by the Kashmir Police at Uri town, near the cease fire line, according to a report received here today.

Some arms and explosives were recovered from them by the police, it is understood.

In a statement to the police, Illa Bux and Ismail are reported to have said that they crossed the cease-fire line and entered Uri with the purpose of blowing up the residences of Raja Mohammad, Akhtar Khan and Raja Sarguland Khan, National Conference leaders of the area.

The two Pakistani intelligence officers were understood to have admitted that they were trained in Pakistan for sabotage at a centre near the cease fire line and had been sent to Uri by Khan Mohammad Khan, Chief of the Pakistan Border Intelligence.

—*Free Press Journal*

### **31 BOMB EXPLOSIONS IN KASHMIR**

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed said during question-hour in the Kashmir Assembly that 31 incidents of bomb explosions took place in the State from January to June. Data regarding the estimate of loss of life and property in these incidents and the compensation to be paid for the loss was being collected and would be placed on the table of the House soon, he added.

### **PAK SMUGGLERS FIRED UPON: BOAT DISAPPEARS INTO DARKNESS OF NIGHT**

A Patrol constable and two N.V.F. men had to fire four rounds near the West Bengal Border in Chojadagram under the Basirhat Sub-division of 24 parganas when a number of Pak nationals were trying to cross over the State's border into East Pakistan after taking away smuggled articles.

—*Amrit Bazar Patrika*

### **PATHAN UNITS MASSED**

Crack Pathan divisions of the Pakistan Army have been massed along the borders of Tripura and East Pakistan, it is authoritatively learnt. The Pakistanis yesterday sealed the Akhaura—Agartala main road and the Akhaura immigration check post and posted a detachment of the Pakistan Army there, according to reports here.

Meanwhile, the body of the Indian havildar, Priya Lal Seal, who died in the firing by Pakistani raiders at Lakhimpur has been brought here.

—*Times of India*.

## Mr. V. P. Menon's Lecture On "Government Expenditure"

**T**HE extreme centralisation of power in the hands of States' Chief Ministers and the Prime Minister was strongly deprecated as detrimental to the interests of the country by Mr. V. P. Menon, former adviser to the Ministry of States, Government of India, delivering the fourth lecture in the series on "Government Expenditure" under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise in Bombay.

Mr. Menon said that his remarks on "Administration in India—Past and Present" should not be taken as carping criticism but as the expression of sorrow of one who had the good of the country in his heart and one who felt not to speak out his mind at this stage was a "dereliction of duty."

A large gathering greeted with applause moving tributes paid by Mr. Menon to his former chief, the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as the architect of law and order and a disciplined administrative set-up out of the chaos which followed the partition of the country.

Mr. Menon said that the Sardar's method of not interfering with the services once a policy was laid down and the administrative reforms he introduced, such as the Central Recruitment Board to recommend promotion of Officers, infused confidence in the minds of civil servants who were distrustful at first of the politicians because of the attacks the politicians had made on them before coming to power.

Mr. Menon, tracing the history of administrative services from the time of the East India Company, said that the present degeneration in the services was partly due to deterioration of educational standards. He condemned the interference by politicians in the day-to-day administration of the country.

Doubting the wisdom of giving the right to vote to illiterate people, Mr. Menon said that adult franchise and illiteracy were mutually contradictory. It had resulted in illiterate people being elected to power whose only aim was to see that they remained in power. The taste of power to them was like the taste of human blood to the tiger. The huge election expenses which amounted to at least Rs. 60,000 in the case of a Lok Sabha seat were made good by politicians by resort-

ing to coercion on business men and other people.

Mr. Menon said the corruption and degeneration among the ranks of politicians had also affected the civil service. He said that when serving under Sardar Patel, the Sardar had directed him to take action against a politician, who had resorted to corrupt practices, on the ground that if at the dawn of independence, politicians were not punished for their offences, then the entire administrative services would also become corrupt. Mr. Menon added that as soon as the Sardar died, the first order he got was to withdraw the prosecution.

The former adviser to the Ministry of States stoutly defended the honesty of the majority of civil servants as also of business men. The necessity, however, for civil servants to be on the right side of the ignorant politicians had resulted in immobilising their initiative. He recalled amidst great laughter among the audience the case of a District Collector who had narrated to him how he got himself in the good books of Ministers only by providing them with tea and "bhajias" every time they visited the headquarters.

Mr. Menon warned that the administration in the country was fast deteriorating and if there were to be a crisis like the Third World War, it would completely break-down.

He said that the idea of a socialistic pattern of society, which was undefined even by the authors of

the resolution, had only made confusion worst confounded in the administrative services. He recommended a High-power Committee to apportion duties and responsibilities to civil servants of all cadres. He suggested more autonomy to states and the strengthening of Governor's position.

Mr. A. D. Shroff, who presided over the meeting, stated that a new spirit of arrogance had arisen among civil servants because of the spate of legislation which while they could not keep track of had conferred on them extraordinary powers. While there was much to be said in favour of civil servants, he added, many of them had constituted themselves into an array of "Chota Hitlers".

Mr. Shroff said the degeneration in standards of public conduct in the country had also affected the services. He cited the instance of the Prime Minister paying glowing tributes to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari on the eve of his resignation when the entire country was severely critical of the Ex-Finance Minister. Mr. Shroff also pointed out that the Prime Minister's interference with the recent Dock Workers' strike was not only "injudicious" but had also undermined the position and prestige of the Minister who was handling the strike situation. The Prime Minister's interference with the work of other Ministries came in for criticism in the hands of Mr. Shroff. He said that the running of the food department today "was nothing short of a scandal." Such things were tolerated only because the will of one man predominated.

## THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE

### Mr. Groom On "Sarvodaya"

**M**R G. D. GROOM an English disciple of Acharya Vinoba Bhave gave a lecture on the philosophy of Sarvodaya at the Institute in Chamrajapet Bangalore on 18th July which was reported in these columns in the issue of 1st August. On the 4th August, a follow-on meeting was held expressly for discussion which was led by Mr. Groom with Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao in the chair. Mr. Groom prefaced the discussion with an interesting autobiographical account of how he was attracted to the movement. He was a Quaker and had

bitter experience of the persecution to which his community was subjected in England during the war of 1914-18. His father and other relatives were imprisoned for conscientious objection to participation in war service. The experience reinforced his religious conviction that war should be abolished. He volunteered later to serve the cause of freedom in the Spanish civil war of 1935-37 when Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin sent troops and arms to Spain to assist the rebels and the Government fighting on opposite sides. The Government was a demo-

cratic one but Franco rebels were destroying it with the help of Hitler and Mussolini. Mr. Groom saw that fighters for liberty though poor, ill-equipped and famished, wounded and crippled, displayed a wonderful spirit of mutual helpfulness and self-sacrifice. This strengthened his conviction that there is something in human nature that could overcome selfishness and furnish the basis for a reconstruction of social institutions to make world peace possible and normal.

At Paris, he met Dr. Keskar who was studying there and learnt from him the central ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, especially his satyagraha based on truth and non-violence. He came to India just before the last war and has been working since in the village activities of the Gandhian movement. That is how he came to be associated with the bhoodan-gramdan movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

What attracted him in this movement was its great attemptiveness and mutual cooperation supported by an all-pervading sense of community. Today the villager finds himself lost and forlorn in the large organisation of the outside State and large scale machine industry. Village self-sufficiency and village democracy will give him a definite place in his little community in the network of social relations. With the abolition of excessive self-interest flowing from private property, a family sense comes to prevail. Mr. Groom said that he had seen the great response that Indian villagers were making to the appeal for bhoodan and gramdan, though they were uneducated and poor for the most part. Even the richer villagers were unable to resist the public opinion of the community and made grants of land. This strengthened the hope that India might succeed in developing an object lesson of a new social order based on village democracy free from conflict and war by conquering the excessive urge towards selfish possessiveness.

A questioner (Mr. Mallya, editor of Vikrama) asked whether there was not the danger of a new class of power-holders and exploiters arising from the village sabhas entrusted with full powers of managing the property and social relations of gramdan villages. Men differ in their temperaments and talents and if there is no private property to engage their attention, the more energetic and aggressive of them

will make themselves leaders and build up political power for themselves. And since the villagers depend on the will of the sabha for their livelihood in the absence of individual holdings, they will furnish material for oppression and feed the power-lust of leaders. Injustice, inequality, oppression and conflict may lift up their heads again. Mr. Groom conceded the possibility but hoped that the co-operative impulse released by the new spirit of community consciousness may overcome this defect.

Mr. Prahlada Rao, writer, pointed out that complete abolition of all scope for individual interest and initiative entailed by the abolition of private property may engender an excessive anxiety for daily food and other necessities. Villagers will lose their freedom.

Mr. A. Venkatram, the Secretary, pointed out that anxiety and absence of security of livelihood depending on self-effort may strengthen violent tendencies on the part of aggressive personalities and defeat the object of sarvodaya. Security brings peace and insecurity brings hatred. This is the social value of private property.

Information about the actual experience of villages where gramdan has been complete was asked for by many members. Mr. Groom said that it was too early to assess the practical success or failure of gramdan.

Mr. Madgal, specialist in Gita philosophy, asked whether the experience so far gained could be considered to be a first step in the realisation of the social ideal of Sarvodaya.

Mr. Venkata Rao in his concluding speech pointed out that the central problem of modern society sprang from the failure to humanise large scale organisation, political, economic and social. Modern industry has posed problems of the participation of the worker on terms not satisfactory for the normal growth of human values. The worker and not the opportunity to exercise freedom and to feel the sense of responsibility in the management. His share in the profits is not sufficient to raise his life to satisfactory levels. This was the central problem whether in Soviet Russia or in America. Social reorganisation should be directed to methods of restoring human participation to all on fair terms in large scale govern-

ment and large scale industry or agriculture or commerce.

The aim of Sarvodaya namely a cooperative social order recognising the dignity of man as man is good. But the method it is adopting under the lead of Vinoba Bhave namely dissolution of private property is not calculated to realise the goal envisaged.

## FORUM

The second meeting of the Forum of the R. L. Trust Hostel, was held on 31st July 1958 at 9 a.m. Shri G. N. Lawande addressed the members on the subject "DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE AND THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN"

Shri Hemendra K. Shah was in the chair.

At the outset Shri Lawande described the unrealistic assumptions of the Plan which have caused great difficulties from 1956. The most important difficulty that the Planning Commission has to encounter was the Finance. It was wrongly assumed that there was nothing wrong to have an ambitious Plan. It was based on the assumption that foreign aid would be forthcoming very easily but the facts proved otherwise and now the country is facing a serious crisis of foreign exchange.

In order to solve the crisis, some economists, especially Dr. Shenoy has advocated devaluation of the rupee. But Shri Lawande objected to the devaluation of the rupee as it would lead to inflation in the country and instead of solving the problem it would aggravate it. Devaluation according to him is "beggar my neighbour policy". In his speech he has severely attacked protagonists of devaluation. Devaluation according to him would not increase the exports unless the demand for our exports is unelastic. Secondly exports would not increase unless quality of the goods is greatly improved and the costs are greatly reduced. In the short run both these objectives are difficult to achieve. They are possible only in the long run, but "in the long period we are all dead".

The only solution to the present-exchange crisis according to Shri Lawande is to follow free economy i.e. to give import licences to the private enterprise within certain limit but on one condition that they should export same amount of the imports that they are going to have.

If this principle is followed, then according to him the black market that is very rampant in opening import licences would be abolished and the government would obtain necessary foreign exchange for the implementation of the Plan.

The second solution he gave was the reduction in the taxation. According to Shri Lawande heavy Taxation has caused so much harm to the economy of the country that the entire taxation policy must be reoriented. It is the wrong assumption of the Government that our taxation policy is an integrated one. According to him the whole system is a haphazard one and it is not based on the twin principles of equity and justice.

If the private enterprise is given free scope and if the state play the role of an umpire instead of active

fielder, all the present ills of the country would be abolished. Profit motive according to him is a sine qua non of the economic progress. Inflation is enemy number one of the economic progress and as long as Finance Minister does not recognise this fact all talk of economic progress is meaningless and the earlier our Government realises this fact better it is for the particular and as in general. It is not possible for us to tighten the belts. The belt has become so loose that it cannot be tightened due to Industrial Policy of the Government of India.

So Devaluation according to Shri Lawande is detrimental to the economic development of the country.

The meeting ended with apt summary remarks by the Chairman.

with charka can make one a good spinner is too much of a strain on our imagination. If real technical experts are the trainers, the cost of teachers and equipment is bound to leap beyond our reach. Advanced technical knowledge can be given only at the advanced stages. As to training for a profession, it can only be according to the aptitudes revealed after basic education.

Perhaps a reformed general education and special governmental arrangements for getting good apprenticeship can save some money going now for experiments, which, even if successful, cannot be implemented on a nation-wide scale for quite a time to come.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

## Book Reviews

### BASIC EDUCATION

**BASIC EDUCATION ABSTRACTS**  
No. 1 1957 Pages 27.

**BASIC EDUCATION ABSTRACTS**  
No. 2 1957 Pages 45.

**IN BASIC EDUCATION** published by Government of India, National Institute of Basic Education, 55, Friends Colony, New Delhi—14. 1957. Pages 52.

One of the many lines of experimentation in social reconstruction attempted by Gandhiji is basic education called by him *Nayi Talim*. The characteristics of Basic Education are, according to the abstracts, "activity centredness, correlation, freedom to teachers, productive aspect, dignity of manual labour and ideal of democratic citizenship."

The government has decided to publish the **BASIC EDUCATION ABSTRACTS** twice a year. "...BEA is intended to be a record and not a collection of critical reviews of the literature in the field." The entire field of experiments in Basic Education comes under the purview of this publication. It may be covered under thirteen heads: Philosophy and theory; Curriculum; Teaching techniques; Craft; Teachers and their training; Health and hygiene; Social service; Researches; Reports of State Departments, insti-

tutions etc.; Reports of conferences, workshops etc.; History and surveys; Short notes, comments etc.; Abstracts of researches and other publications.

The brochure **EXHIBITIONS IN BASIC EDUCATION** is intended to give hints and suggestions to organisers of basic education exhibitions. It contains some photographs of arranged exhibits and a not-so-elegant Indian ink drawing of a 'Plan of the Exhibition'.

Since the contents of all these three booklets are addressed by educationists to the educationists, they are of no interest to the general reader. They serve the purpose of keeping all the workers in the field in touch with one another's work, which is what they are intended to be.

Judging by the various views of basic education and the general direction in which reforms are being suggested by the basic educationists, one sees no significant difference between any intelligent reform of our educational methods augmented by audio-visual methods like the film and the magic lantern, and the direction in which basic education is tending.

Craft centredness can only mean some attention paid to mechanical aptitude. To believe that tinkering

**GLIMPSES OF IQBAL'S MIND AND THOUGHT** by Dr. H. H. Bilgrami Published by Orientalia, Lahore. Pages 124. Price Rs. 4/2.

These are six lectures on Iqbal delivered by Dr. Bilgrami at Oxford, Cambridge and London on various occasions.

Dr. Iqbal has been to the Muslim world what Tagore and Aurobindo were to Hindu India and the Buddhist East. He was a mystic, philosopher and poet in one. Proud of his Brahman ancestry, Islamic, Hindu and Western streams of culture met in his personality. He became the mainspring of the Muslim renaissance in India and the maker of Pakistan, though he died in 1938 before the fulfilment of his dream. He was educated in Lahore and Cambridge, took a doctorate in philosophy from Munich University and was called to the bar at London.

The book gives a sketch of the role of Dr. Iqbal primarily as a prominent leader of the present Islamic renaissance. It shows him forging a new interpretation of Islamic scripture and tradition round the twin concepts of the oneness of God and the unique sufficiency of the Prophet Muhammad. Iqbal evolves a philosophy of knowledge making room for spiritual intuition illuminating both the mystic experience of religion and the message of beauty in art. He makes room both for the freedom of science and the progress of society in a vigorous reinterpretation of the Koran. He grafts a  
(Continued on page 24)

## THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

### SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES.

By J. Bronowski. Messner. 94 pp. \$3.00.

Modern Science is perhaps the most prolific single source of contemporary social change. It cannot be said, however, that the intellectual habits and the moral values which sustain the scientific enterprise are widely understood or have been absorbed into the social fabric. To be sure, scientific research is today heavily subsidized by public moneys. Nevertheless, the conception of science as a great liberalizing activity, one of whose most precious fruits is the—progressive emancipation of the human mind from ancestral ignorance and blind custom, is not the idea that wins the votes for the current public underwriting of scientific inquiry.

Indeed, even when men do not view science simply as the evil creator of instruments of mass destruction, but acknowledge the tangible benefits so frequently the consequences of basic research, they often have a deep-seated suspicion of the intellectual temper essential to the life of science. This temper is a singular combination of insatiable curiosity concerning the mechanisms of nature whether animate or inanimate, a passionate devotion to truth, a tireless persistence in seeking it, a receptivity to fresh ideas, and an uncompromising critical attitude toward claims that truth has been discovered. It is not a quality of mind that is easily acquired, and is a product of the discipline that the institutional organization of the scientific frater-

*(Continued from Page 23)*

dynamic ethics of individuality and a democratic sociology transcending race and geography on the spiritual trunk of Islam.

Iqbal like Tagore condemned western materialism, racialism and nationalism. The book shows how Muslim thinkers are using the inspiration of Iqbal, at once interpretative and creative, to rebuild Islamic society. But the retention of the intolerant basis of the infallibility and self-sufficiency of the Prophet vitiates at source the modernism and liberalism which are sought to be engrafted on to the old trunk of Islam.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

nity imposes on its members. Nor is it a habit that is readily practiced even by great scientists when they turn from the fields of their special competence to other subjects. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why the scientific temper is not domiciled throughout society, or why its extension to matters outside conventionally limited areas is viewed with something less than enthusiasm by so many men.

Distinguished scientists have repeatedly tried to convey to lay readers a sense of the intellectual adventure and the moral commitments inherent in the pursuit of science. Dr. Bronowski's little book is another such attempt, and is to be welcomed as an excellent addition to the literature of this genre. He has high qualifications for this task. He is director of research of the National Coal Board in England; but he also writes attractively, and is the author of several books on literature as well as science, among them *William Blake: A Man Without a Mask* and *The Common Sense of Science*. His present book is an eloquent and often moving essay, born out of reflections and emotions stimulated by the sight of the wasted city of Nagasaki late in 1945. It is his answer to the challenge which that sight presented to him to make evident the implications of modern science for human weal, and to exhibit the intellectual and moral pre-requisites for a flourishing science.

In the first of his three chapters, Dr. Bronowski sets out to show that science is not a bag of special tricks or an industrious but unimaginative grubbing into facts. Science is a search for unity in what at first blush appears to be unrelated diversity. However, the hidden likenesses science is after can be discovered only through the exercise of a creative imagination not unlike the imagination required in great literature and great art, a point Dr. Bronowski drives home with the help of several happy illustrations from poetry as well as from the history of science.

Nevertheless, as his second chapter seeks to establish, scientific imagination must be controlled by subjecting the logical consequences of the scientist's ideas to the test of observation and experiment. Neither the alleged self-evidence of ideas

nor their plausibility nor faith in them supplies a warrant for ideas; and Dr. Bronowski argues vigorously that the testing of ideas by their consequences in experience is as imperative in moral questions as it is in natural science. It is this habit of testing and correcting ideas that he regards as distinctive of our civilization, and that in his judgment differentiates the later from the dominant temper of medieval and oriental thought. On the other hand, the indispensability of such controls for scientific speculation does not mean, as he carefully points out, that scientific concepts are simply compact summaries of what is observable; and he takes issue with those thinkers who, in their anxiety to eliminate obscurantist notions from science, would in effect reject all theories that involve imaginative constructions going far beyond anything directly observable.

In his third chapter, finally Dr. Bronowski attempts to show that the values often thought to be basic to Western civilization are—themselves the outgrowths of, and the prerequisites for, the practice of scientific inquiry. Chief among these values are: independence and originality in thought and observation, freedom to differ from accepted beliefs, and a vigorous tolerance for dissenting views based on respect for other men's judgments. The scientific community is thus a democracy of men "seeking the truth together with dignity and humanity," and not tenet in the unwritten but universally binding code of this republic is more fundamental than the principle that "there is no distinction between means and ends."

In Dr. Bronowski's judgment, science is to be prized not primarily for its contributions to men's control over the physical and biological potentialities of nature, but for the values, derived from its own method, which have enabled those who are members of the scientific community to form "a living, stable and incorruptible society". Accordingly, he believes that the technological products of science threaten us because we are trying to use those products without being informed by the spirit of science:

"We are hag-ridden by the power of nature which we should command because we think its command needs less devotion and understanding than its discovery. And

because we know how gunpowder works, we sigh for the days before atomic bombs. But massacre is not prevented by sticking to gunpowder; the Thirty Years' War is proof of that. Massacre is prevented by the scientist's ethic, and the poet's, and every creator's: That the end for which we work exists and is judged only by the means which we use to reach it. This is the human sum of the values of science."

Dr. Bronowski's fine book expresses noble ideas in a noble way. But as often happens, it is usually far easier to formulate what is desirable than to indicate how one is to bell the cat. Dr. Bronowski supplies no such instruction, though it is only fair to add that it has not been his intention to do so. Nor would it be difficult, moreover, to find fault with details in his argument, where he has permitted an enthusiasm for the vision that absorbs him to be less than accurate in his analysis.

For example, scientific discovery does indeed require the exercise of great powers of imagination, as do

the arts and literature. But it is at least misleading to claim, as he does, that "truth is no different in science and the arts." Again, it is hard to see in his account of logical empiricism anything but a gratuitous criticism of this philosophy of science, when he asserts this philosophy to be so steeped in the individualistic traditions of British empiricism that it ignores completely the role played in establishing scientific hypotheses by an entire society of investigators. Certainly such a criticism is not borne out by reading either Ernst Mach, one of the founders of this philosophy, or most of his more recent followers.

But such fault finding would be largely besides the point, since the main burden of Dr. Bronowski's book is to exhibit science as a powerful agent in the moral education of mankind. On this fundamental matter what he has to say is substantially sound. His book deserves to be placed into the hands of teachers of science, as well as of those who are contemplating a scientific career.

—The New Leader

## THE ROOTS OF DJILAS

**LAND WITHOUT JUSTICE.** By Milovan Djilas. Harcourt, Brace. 365 pp.\$5.75.

This Book springs from the very flesh and blood of Milovan Djilas. It is the vivid story of his childhood, his family and the people around him, the clans and tribes of legendary Montenegro. It is a penetrating social, anthropological and psychological portrait of the Montenegrin national character, drawn by one of the most ardent sons and the best literary talent Montenegro has produced in years.

This is not a dry, abstract political treatise or a series of random, unpolished journalistic notes, but the dramatic overture of a major work—the multi-volumed personal history whose continuation was interrupted by Djilas's imprisonment in 1956. It is a book which Djilas obviously was writing for posterity and shows the marks of careful reflection, writing and re-writing, and the structural craft of a man who has been a poet and literary critic as well as political pamphleteer. As a result, the book has genuine style. Not since Prince-Bishop Petar Petrovic Nyegosh

wrote the Montenegrin national epic, *The Mountain Wealth*, in the middle of the last century has a Serbian writer expressed in so astonishing and original a manner the way of life of one of the Balkans' proudest and bravest peoples.

Hidden among the huge and inaccessible Back Mountains, the Montenegrins lived free and independent for centuries. Divided into clans and tribes, they fought among themselves and against the "foreigners", bringing all their fanaticism and taste for revenge to the merciless struggle for freedom and for the Cross against the Crescent and the Turk. Ethically Serbs, the Montenegrins differ from the valley Serbs in that, after the Turkish invasion, they escaped to the mountains and remained independent, refusing to conform to any outside power.

In the course of this guerrilla struggle, which embraced more than 500 years, the Montenegrins became convinced that law and justice were identical with purity of blood and with the defense of individual and clan honour. Survival was possible only through the preservation of Christian blood in

the family and the clan. Whoever offended the mores, the honour, the blood of the clan by intermarrying with the Turk or embracing Islam must be killed, since such infidelity destroyed the only justified value on which the common law was established.

Djilas's approach to Montenegro is as passionate as its people and land. Born in Kolashin, near Albania, he goes to great length to establish the origin of his family on both sides as Serbian and Montenegrin, making it clear that there has never been any blood-mixing with the Turk. The Djilasi remained pure and killed those who were not so.

Educated on the folk epics, on *The Mountain Wreath* which is the source of inspiration for all Montenegrins literate and illiterate, Djilas left his village in his early years to go to a small town for his grammar and high-school education. He left the backward peasant proletariat of Montenegro to become part of the broader South Slav intelligentsia when he entered the University of Belgrade in 1929. In him there was the call to write and an enthusiasm for whatever could be done to change the world from which he came.

The history of Montenegro, as Djilas tells it, is a series of upheavals in which the Montenegrins rose first against the Ottoman Empire, then against their own rulers, finally against those who tried to subjugate them in the new Yugoslavia after World War I. Djilas starts where Nyegosh left off, in the Montenegro after the Berlin Congress of 1878. Already, the idea had matured of chasing the Turks from the Balkans, dissociating the South Slavs from Austria and uniting all the Slavs—with the aid, of course, of Mother Russia, the great protector of all—Orthodox Christians.

After Montenegro had launched the first Balkan War against the Turks, however, it found itself betrayed in World War I by its dynasty, its ruling families, and the unfriendly policy of the Serb monarchy. The latter, in its own devious Balkan way, eliminated not only Montenegrin dynasty but the independence of the kingdom and established Belgrade's Kara-georgevich dynasty on the throne of Yugoslavia. Montenegro's resistance to Austria at the battle of Mojkovac in World War I assumes

great importance to Djilas. It marks the end of the old Montenegro—the end of its pride, its glory, its heroism—and the rise of shame among the chieftains. "Worn out with itself," Djilas writes, "Montenegro fourished, groaned, gasped and perished."

From then on, Montenegro was split between those who favoured unification with Serbia and those who remained loyal to the old kingdom which King Nikola had betrayed. The Belgrade regime bestowed pensions and jobs in the state administration (principally in the gendarmerie) on its collaborators. Before long, corruption took over a land that had been honest and pure, though primitive, before then. The last act of this period before Djilas goes on to the University was symbolic: the assassination in the Belgrade Parliament in June 1928 of the Croatian Peasant leader Stjepan Radich, whom Djilas here calls "the vigilant conscience of the entire country." Shamefully, Djilas reports that the trigger was pulled by a Montenegrin clansman, Punisha Rachich, one of those who worked with the Belgrade reactionaries and terrorized dissident Montenegrins. His shots, Djilas says, "rang out in Parliament, mortally wounding an already frail and unripe freedom."

Along with this history of rebellions, Djilas describes the clans' struggle against those Montenegrins who had been converted to Islam. In these sections of the Book, he confirms the deep fanaticism the Montenegrins showed a century ago in exterminating (as Nyegosh put it) the "leper" from their blood. While the Moslem Montenegrin is ethnically the same as the Christian, he ceases to be Serb in accepting an alien faith—this was the

view which, at the birth of Yugoslavia, impelled Montenegrins and Serlis to massacre their Moslem brethren in one of the most cruel extermination campaigns that ever took place. This type of slaughter was repeated on other occasions, including World War II.

In this book, Djilas emerges in his full integrity. We see his beginnings in a country of limited culture, reduced to epic poetry and Nyegosh's hatred for everything not Orthodox, Byzantine or Slav. Djilas tells us that neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin brought him to Communism. Rather, it was his religious instructor in the high school at Berane, Archpriest Bojovic, who taught that the proof of God's existence lay not in the church's dogmas but in the mercy that is in man. Moved by a yearning for justice and equality, influenced by Dostoyevsky as well as other titans of 19th century Russian literature, Djilas and some of his teachers—dreamed that Communism could help them. After all, Mother Russia had tried it first. "To Dostoyevsky and to Archpriest Bojovic," Djilas feels "an unpaid Communist debt."

The Djilas drama does not spring only from the lack of culture and law in his early environment, but also from the intellectual limitations of his teachers. They were unprepared for the 20th century, could not adjust themselves to the books they read and did not really understand, could not find a compromise between their dreams and reality. This is not only true of Djilas's youth; it was true also of Nyegosh, who was split between Western pluralism and Byzantine monolithism and who failed to establish the cultural harmony that makes for the success of happier societies.

More than *The New Class*, *Land Without Justice* shows Djilas's despair and the yearning for justice, freedom and truth that brought him to Communism, a new and more desperate monolithism. It thus expresses the essential experience of the Slav semi-intelligentsia that never grew and matured. When they seized power, they brought with them bitter feeling that Communism, ideal of absolute justice and equality, was further from their reach than any other effort of mankind toward those goals.

The stature of Djilas as a man springs from his genuine sincerity

In power, he saw that the Leninist idea did not work and found the strength to speak and rebel. Tito the organization man of the Communist apparatus, lacked the character or intellectual integrity to embark on a thorough re-evaluation of communist premises. Djilas was able to do so because, as a Montenegrin, he was a man in whom the desire for justice was greater than his own life.

*Land Without Justice* is a great contribution to the understanding of peoples who are anxiously trying to reach their maturity in a world transformed by industry and ideologies. It places Djilas at the side of Nyegosh as one of the truly great Serbian writers. Even though it deals with the present situation only by implication, it has been forbidden in Yugoslavia—presumably because its popularity would enhance the political prestige of its jailed author.

This American edition has been well and powerfully translated and honestly edited. (Having read the original, I can appreciate the effort made in the translation to grasp Djilas's thoughts and style, which are not always easy to render in (English). Helpful and accurate foot-notes explain every arcane reference, and the informative introduction by William Jovanovich, President of Harcourt, Brace and the Coloradoborn son of a Montenegrin miner, places the story in historical perspective for the average reader. Throughout, this edition shows (and this must be said after other recent experiences) the great understanding and professional pride of the publisher. The translator, the editors and the publisher must be congratulated for the splendid job they have done. The reader—and, doubtless, the author—will be grateful for their care.

—The New Leader

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# Letters To The Editor

## THIRD PAK CAMPAIGN

Dear Madam,

Three hundred years ago, in 1658, Aurangzeb became the Emperor of the Great Mughal Empire by putting his father Shah Jahan in the prison-hole of the Agra Fort and killing his brothers. He deputed his commander-in-Chief Mirjumla of Bengal to invade Assam, and Lahit Borphukan, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Ahom Kingdom, drove, them away from the Assam boundary in the battle of Saraighat. This is the first campaign against Assam for inclusion of Assam in the Great Mughal Empire.

Muslim League leader, the late Sir Saddula, became the Chief Minister of Assam and during his time, "Grow more Food Campaign" was launched and to give effect to this campaign hundreds and thousands of Muslim immigrants came who were permanently settled in Assam. This was the second campaign against Assam.

At the time of grouping, the Muslim Leaguers tried their best to include Assam within the four walls of East Pakistan. This "Grow more food campaign" was detected then. Due to the efforts made by the late Gopinath Bordoloi and others, Assam was saved for the second time, in 1947.

After partition, the Assam Muslim League Party was in fact dissolved but many of their followers came under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Those who are indigenous Muslims living in Assam from times immemorial and those who are loyal to the Indian Union and her Constitution, there is nothing to say against them.

The third campaign came into being recently in the name of "Hills Problems" in Assam. The cat is out of the bag now. In the name of solving the so called "Hills Problems" hundreds of Pakistanis are entering Assam and forcibly occupying lands situated on the banks of Brahmaputra and Suroma. The very entrance of those unauthorised persons in the State indicates the intention of increasing the Muslim

population of Assam to a large scale, and this increase shall one day decide the fate of Assam by a plebiscite within a planned period of 5/10 years.  
Assam Nabin Ch. Kath

## TALL TALK

Dear Mr. Editor,

"We are delighted when the colonial powers rise up and cast off their chains". Thus exultingly exclaims KHRUSCHEV, the apostle of peace, and the whole world would certainly share his joy, if he had freed the colonial police states of Hungary and 9 others in East Europe, groaning under that odious status which he condemns with such righteous indignation, most theatrically assumed.

Independent India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines, Indonesia etc. convincingly demonstrate to the world the enlightened and civilised policy of the Western Powers. Revolts in Hungary, East Germany and Poland suppressed by savage butchery, brand Russia as a colonial power PAR EXCELLENCE, maintaining a jack-boot regime over the poor satellite states.

RUSSIA MAINTAINS IN EAST GERMANY AN OCCUPATION ARMY OF 4,00,000 AND IN HUNGARY AN ESTIMATED FORCE OF 1,20,000 TO 1,40,000. COMPARED TO THIS, SOME 7 TO 9 THOUSAND SOLDIERS, IN BOTH THE LEBANON AND JORDAN, SEEMS INSIGNIFICANT.

By the recent cold-blooded murder of IMRE NAGY and his associates, after solemn pledges given for personal safety of these men, Soviet Russia forfeits all claim to its being a civilized state. On the subject of Russian promises, the words rise to the mind: "RUSSIAN PROMISES ARE LIKE PRECRUSTS, MADE TO BE BROKEN."

The U.S. and Britain have landed troops in Lebanon and Jordan at the express request of the Governments in authority, and they should firmly declare that they are prepared to withdraw only when Russia withdraws bag and baggage from the satellite states.

By indulging in tall talks of peace, Khrushchev is merely wasting his vaunted reasonableness on the desert air of an incredulous world which has had enough of hypocrisy.

Poona

J. H. Pestonji

## R. L. TRUST LIBRARY

The following new books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Lawrence, T. E.: *Seven Pillars of Wisdom.*

Bone, Edith: *Seven Years Solitary.*

Gamus, Albert: *Outsider.*

Carrel, Alexis: *Man, the unknown.*

Growther, J. G.: *Six Great Inventors.*

Herrmann, Paul: *World Unveiled.*

Taylor, A. J. P.: *Trouble Makers; Dissent over Foreign Policy.* 1992-1939.

Jayakar, M. R.: *Story of My Life. Vol. I* 1873-1922.

Prasad, Rajendra: *Rajendra Prasad; Autobiography.*

Myers, Charles A.: *Industrial Relations in India.*

Clements, R. V.: *Managers, Study of their careers in Industry. . .*

Hulyalkar, S. G. and others: *Outlines of Social Psychology.*

Walker, Gilbert: *Economic Planning by Programme and control in Great Britain.*

Fuchs, Stephen: *Social Origins.*

Churchill, Winston S.: *History of the English-speaking peoples Vol. IV Great Democracies.*

Callard, Keith: *Pakistan; Political Study.*

Dube, S. C.: *India's Changing Villages; Human Factors in Community Development.*

Gillman, Joseph M.: *Falling Rate of Profit; Marx's Law and Its significance To Twentieth Century Capitalism.*

Rajan, M. S.: *United Nations and domestic Jurisdiction.*

Smith, Donald Eugene: *Nehru and Democracy.*

Goswami, A. (Comp): *Art of Rashtrakutas.*

Commissariat, M. S.: *History of Gujarat.*

Allen, R. G. D.: *On the Decline in the Value of Money.*

Brade-Birks, S. Graham: *Encyclopedia of General Knowledge.*

Acheson, Dean: *Citizen Looks at Congress.*

Pryce-Jones, Alan. (Ed): *New Outline of Modern Knowledge.*

Ischvoldin, Boris: *Economic Synthesis.*

Bhatnagar, K. B.: *General Knowledge Encyclopaedia.*

Roy M. N.: *Historical Role of Islam.*

Datta, Amlan: *Way to Co-operative Socialism.*

Maud, John & Finer, E. E.: *Local Government in England and Wales.*

Edwards, Paul & Pap, Arthus (Eds): *Modern Introduction to Philosophy.*

Grosse, Edmund: *Father and Son: Study of Two Temperments.*

Bacchelli, Riccardo: *Son of Stalin.*

Edwards, Michael: *Necessary Hell.*

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