

The Indian Libertarian

21

Price 25 Naye Paise



STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY

LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

Vol. VI No. 13

IN THIS ISSUE

September 15, 1958

	PAGE		PAGE
CEILINGS ON LANDHOLDINGS by M. A. VENKATA RAO	3	THE LEGACY OF THE LATE GLYN THOMAS by ANTONY ELENJIMITTAM	15
THE PAK MENACE by a Libertarian	5	NOON-NEHRU TALKS	16
NEHRU'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY by M. N. THOLAL	6	RUSSIA FACES FOOD CRISIS by LAWRENCE SULLIVAN	17
BRITAIN'S STAKE IN MIDDLE EAST by T. L. KANTAM	9	NEW DELHI LETTER	19
HOW THE RUSSIANS SEE IT by PEREGRENE WORSTHORNE	11	ON THE NEWS FRONT	20
SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	BOOK REVIEWS	21
ITT-BITS	13	LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	23

Editorial

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

THE Prime Minister has of late been realising the depth of and virulence of the hatred that the leading classes of Pakistan bear towards India. The psychology of Pakistan as revealed in her attitude to India ever since independence is indeed a matter deserving (and indeed requiring) a scientific study by Indians. The foundation of this psychology will be found largely in the religion of Pakistan itself which stresses conquest and power-lust. The effect of such a religion on the memories of past rule and glory in India and in the Islamic world generally (from Spain through north Africa to Baghdad in its great days from the eighth to the twelfth century) is a large ingredient in the current ambitions and hopes of Muslims generally and Pakistanis in particular. Scholars have to go more deeply into this mentality of Pakistanis not only for purposes of historical understanding as part of culture but also and more urgently as part of the foundation for a sane and effective foreign policy to be evolved by India. Today India's foreign policy especially towards Islamic countries and Pakistan is too largely a matter of false sentiment, a fatally easy acceptance of appearances and of incautious commitments in favour of Arabs and Muslim countries generally and a total absence of policy towards the realities of Pakistan vis-a-vis India.

The Prime Minister quoted the outburst of Mian Daultana, a League leader of Pakistan, who protested at the setting up of a Business Committee of the Assembly in imitation of India's Lok Sabha committee. He declared that Pakistanis should not imitate any measure from India. Far from doing so, they should

teach their nationals a whole-hearted attitude of *hatred* towards India and all her works. The Prime Minister had remarked on this sometime before and said that the only common motive animating all the doings and statements of Pakistan towards India seems to be a deep and wide hatred towards her. This is inexplicable in view of the uniformly friendly treatment that Indian leaders have accorded to their difficult neighbour. Mian Daultana said that even if his sister brought a Banarasi sari from India, he would repudiate her! For eleven years and more, Pakistanis have been suffering from such a soul-destroying hatred towards India. If hatred is not worked out in action, it will turn inwards and consume the hater. Especially in Pakistan such individual hatreds are intensified by crowd emotions. Pakistan leaders are doing little service to their country in evoking such destructive emotions in their people for their own party and individual interests. But it is their own affair.

But there is a counter-poise to this psychology in India which in its own way is abnormal and detrimental to national interests. In India, the national psychology is one of *non-hatred and non-violence even in the face of aggressive attacks*. Indian leaders may lay the flattering unction to their souls under the impression, conscious or subconscious, that such an attitude of non-injury and non-violence even to the enemy, is a trait of spiritual excellence. Even here there is need for a psychological study. The Indian trait of non-aggression and non-violence which secured world wide attention under the leadership of M. K. Gandhi is also largely the outward appearance of *lack of vitality and grip over the world*. The *will to live* and grow and survive against pressure and competition

from other groups needs to be sufficiently developed if a nation is to survive for long under the strenuous conditions of international life. In the jungle of international relations, the big fish swallow the small fish without any compunction whatsoever. History is full of instances of primitive peoples attacking and conquering more cultivated peoples at a higher stage of civilisation. The Turks and Mongols broke up the civilised society of the Baghdadi Caliphs and imposed their own ruder rule over Islam for centuries. They broke into the Indian Plains and established a predatory empire or succession of predatory kingdoms and empires here.

It is possible for a nation to become *too civilised* for survival. The ethics of non-injury and *panchsheel* were propounded in India primarily for world renouncers—*sanyasis*, whose goal in life was to escape from it as completely as possible for human beings. Their aim was *moksha* or liberation from the bondage, sorrows and miseries of this world—disease, hunger, pains of love and separation, the agony of death of beloved ones and so on. But today we find the astonishing spectacle of *wordly* politicians quite obviously in love with power and wealth and fame and other earthly goods (and breaking all the laws of traditional morality in quest of their wordly prosperity) proclaiming and laying down a code of *karma sanyas*, renunciation of action in place of a serious foreign policy! No wonder they are puzzled and profess not to understand the response of Pakistan to all their lofty advances characterised by sublime surrender of their own national interests in the cause of peace and friendship. The Prime Minister, even while recounting the hostile doings of Pakistan on the borders of the country in East and West, (shooting our people and occupying our villages and looting them etc.) does not forget to soothe his soul and that of his hearers in Parliament with the lofty declaration that he is still hopeful of the friendship of the Pakistani people, if not that of their leaders. The question is how long the long-suffering people of Hindusthan will tolerate

this sickly sentimentalism and acquiesce in the losses and dishonour and danger to national security entailed by their Prime Minister's other-worldly philosophy.

PAK TROOPS STILL IN INDIAN TERRITORY

The decent citizen is appalled at the coolness and lack of shock that the Prime Minister is displaying towards the *continuing aggression* on Indian soil in Assam and Tripura. He prides himself on the cease fire that he has secured as a preliminary to his forthcoming meeting with Sir Feroze Khan Noon in Delhi. But he forgets that Pakistanis are still in occupation of Indian territory. It is not a question of a mile or two as he mentions lightly. It is a grave injury to national security to speak thus lightly of foreign aggression on one's soil. The Prime Minister should remember that he is appointed to his august post by the people of India on account of the great lead he gave in the liberation of India from foreign rule. He will not be looked upon with similar honour *when he condones foreign aggression*. He should have been sent out of office long ago if the people of India were as politically conscious of their responsibilities as the people of Britain who dismissed their Great War Leader Winston Churchill in the hour of victory!

There may be a dispute about some villages or border line. But there is no justification whatever to allow Pakistani troops to *remain* in occupation of Indian territory which was in our possession from the day of Independence. They must be cleared out until negotiation or arbitration settles the dispute. If the result of the arbitration awards the villages to Pakistan, then we can honourably hand them over. But *till then* Pak troops should be driven out, if they do not go peaceably. The public should impress this natural view of the matter on the invertebrate Prime Minister of ours. Nations are not defended in this way.

THE REAL AMBITION OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan is not after a few villages from India. She wants to conquer Delhi, Lucknow and a Corridor to East Pakistan and Assam. This is the immediate aim. The whole of India will come into view after this first step is achieved. The final goal is world conquest by Pan-Islam. These aims are consciously taught to the masses in Islamic countries and Pakistanis have a deep ambition of contributing to the realisation of such a dream of Islamic world empire. The frog in the fable expanded her size to rival the ox with the result that she exploded and perished. This may or may not be the outcome of the Pakistani ambition but before such a contingency or outcome happens, India will have had upsetting experiences at Pakistan's hands, unless her leaders change their policies or they are displaced by more realistic statesmen. It is *not* a matter of *superior culture* to neglect defence and appease strong enemies. It is a sign of national disease, *national* because the people in general do not repudiate such sickly sentimentality and dereliction of duty on the part of their leaders who attain fame for other reasons and in other contexts and against humaner or wiser foes.

DESAI'S INTERPRETATION

Mr. C. C. Desai gave an explanation of Pakistan's mentality regarding India in a speech before the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi. He attributed the anti-Indian feelings of Pakistan largely
(Continued on Page 16)

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Economic
and Public Affairs

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month
Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3
Quarterly Rs. 1.50 (Post paid)
Foreign 12sh. | 3 dollars.

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25
One-eighth Page Rs. 15 One full column of a page Rs. 50
BACK COVER Rs. 150
SECOND COVER Rs. 125
THIRD COVER Rs. 125

* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.

* Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.

* Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

Write to the Manager for sample copy
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

CEILINGS ON LANDHOLDINGS

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THIS year (1958) is the year of destiny to agriculturists, for the so-called land reforms are on the anvil in the Southern States of Kerala, Andhra and Mysore. Bombay has already introduced them and Madras is about to do so.

It is of the utmost importance for the future of democracy and durable Government in India that these land reform proposals should be discussed adequately from all points of view, (economic and social, short range and long term, evolutionary and revolutionary), by people of relevant experience and writers in general. This is necessary so that any decisions arrived at may bear the imprint of the consent of informed and thoughtful people. For democracy is essentially government by consent and nothing is settled finally unless it is settled *right*.

It cannot be maintained by any show of reasonableness that the official proposals essentially as formulated in the Planning Commissions Reports I and II are fair and such as to win the assent of all the classes affected.

Even if the Government can win the vote of a majority of legislators in the States for these drastic and revolutionary proposals, they cannot claim to have observed and honoured the spirit of democracy, for their majority is a *dragooned* majority and not a spontaneous one. Many legislators have no lands and such of them as have some holdings hope to have more than the ceiling contemplated on the ground of their family numbering more than five in which case they can be allowed to hold additional acres. Many have already sold their lands and purchased city properties in real estate. Thus the inequitable 'reforms' are likely to be passed against a good deal of suppressed resentment and leave a trail of substantial discontent. Such discontent will add to the reservoir of disloyalty smouldering beneath the surface and expressing itself already in various anti-national explosions that occur from time to time.

A perusal of the Planning Commission's Reports I and II will reveal the clear *blue-print* of communist land reform (or rather revolution) to which they commit the country. Even the first Report of 1951 lays down unambiguously that the goal of land reforms is *village management* with all the lands of the area pooled into one operational unit and worked under the panchayat. The second report of 1956 reiterates the design in unmistakable terms. The goal is the abolition of intermediaries, converting the tenant into owner, application of ceilings on land holdings and distributing the lands so realised together with uncultivated lands available with Government to landless tillers and small holders. Compensation to owners and payment by tillers and tenants who benefit by the plunder are to be *nominal* and to be spread over 15 or 20 years. The owners are to have

not cash but 20 year Government bonds like the zamindars.

The first thing to realise clearly and in all its implications is that the case of the landowners in these Southern States is not on all fours with that of the unfortunate zamindars of the Permanent Settlement in the Northern States of U.P., Bihar, Bengal and the jahgirdars of Rajasthan. These latter held their lands by gift from the State and were primarily revenue collectors or contract farmers responsible for the payment of fixed amounts to the State while they were at liberty to regulate their relations with their numerous tenants in their own way without let or hindrance by the State. In Rajasthan they were full feudal officers exercising judicial and executive powers on behalf of the State in their jurisdiction. They were not owners in their right of the greater part of the lands allowed to them. They had *not earned* them by purchase in the open market. Hence it is arguable that theirs was no property right.

But the landowners of the Southern Ryotwari areas have acquired their properties by open purchase for hard cash in the free market at market rates. They have paid land revenue all these years, though most of them have let out most of their holdings to tenants at customary rates of sharing the harvests in cash or kind.

But the proposed reforms put the two classes of holders, the zamindari and the ryotwari landowner on the same footing and propose to liquidate the latter's property rights for a song in favour of landless labourers and small holders having less than a basic holding.

The Kerala Bill proposes to take away from landowners surplus land above a ceiling limit of 15 acres of wet land or their equivalent of dry lands. The Mysore and Andhra proposals state the permissible area under the ceiling limit in terms of net income as an area that will yield Rs. 5400 per year on an average. This amounts to 4½ family holdings in the terminology of the Planning Commission. The Commission had suggested only three family holdings yielding Rs. 3600 per annum as permissible limits above which lands are to be taken away for redistribution. The Jatti Committee of Mysore followed by the Andhra Committee have raised it to 4½ times the family holding.

On an average this income settlement will permit holdings from 30 to 50 acres depending on the nature of the soil in Mysore and Andhra States to be retained by the largest holders.

The thing to realise clearly is that if this proposal is carried out, the landed property above these limits in the hands of owners will be taken over by the State for distribution to landless labourers and tenants holding less than a basic holding. The ques-

tion is whether such seizure of legitimate property by the State even for a humanitarian purpose, as is claimed, can be regarded as permissible on legal, moral or constitutional grounds. Acquisition of property whether land or building in isolated and *rare* cases for official purposes in times of stress and emergency such as war or for nation-building purposes such as erection of railway lines or factories may be permitted. But this is liquidating a *whole class* of property holders engaged in a vital national business such as food production, so critically important in a time of under-production like the present. On what grounds can such a reform be justified?

The Libertarian Movement stands fairly on the rights of private property within legitimate limits such as fair competition. It has also inherited the "land use" views of Henry George. Today the net result of Georgian views has boiled down to the right relationship between tenant and landlord, so that the State could take from them as much of their unearned *capital gains* as possible. The periodical resettlement of the dues they have to pay to the State at intervals of 15 or 20 years are always made at higher levels to annex a part of the higher value accruing to the owner from land development, whether urban or rural, in the environs. Even supposing that landownership by individuals is to be abolished all round, there is no justification for acquiring land for a song as is proposed in these "reforms." Further, if Georgism is to be followed in any legitimate way, *all intermediaries* should be abolished. The annexed lands should not be given to tenants and labourers in terms of property. They should be holders on behalf of the State. But this is not the purpose of the present reforms. They destroy the property of large holders in order to vest small holders with their rights. This is liquidating one class in favour of others which cannot be justified on any ground.

This is the time when all thoughtful people should think about the meaning and limits of property rights.

The objectives of the American Revolution namely life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness involve necessarily the conditions implied in law and custom for their actual realisation in practice in daily life. No one can maintain life and liberty and pursue happiness in his own way unless he possesses property in some shape and degree and is protected in its use. The new beneficiaries of the proposed reforms, labourers, tenants and small holders too will need to have their new lands *protected* from the attacks of other citizens or even further liquidations by the State itself.

This is not a remote or unlikely contingency, for this is only the first stage of the so-called reforms. The tactics of the Planning Commission faithfully copied by the State Reform Committees in Mysore, Kerala and Andhra are substantially the same as those adopted by Russia, East European Satellites and China in their land revolutions. The rural population is divided by these tactics into a number of classes—landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and landless agricultural labourers. First they eliminate the landlords as capitalist or bourgeois exploiters in order to eliminate leading groups

capable of organised resistance to their expropriatory measures. This stage has been achieved in India with the abolition of the Zamindari system in 1948-49 before the zamindars could organise themselves and put up a resistance. The way in which lakhs of educated families of zamindars collapsed without any resistance worth the name and surrendered their lands is a social phenomenon that needs to be studied as symptomatic of the rotten nature of Indian society. It recalls to the student of history the collapse of Indian rajas before the onslaughts of Ghazni and Ghor.

Now the reforms aiming at the dispossession of landowners above a ceiling constitute the *second step* in the communist programme of liquidating the *rich* or large landlords. While the large landlords or zamindars were being eliminated, they were held up to the obloquy and hatred of the rest of the landholding class. They all were led to believe that they would get a share of loot from the holdings of the zamindar. Now the middle peasants most of whom are tenants in part and owners in part are tempted by the prospect of additions to their holdings and of the right of property for their lands, old and new, in place of the old proprietors for whom they worked on a sharing basis. The poor landlord and the landless labourer too are bemused with the prospect of getting lands free or almost free. At any rate they have nothing to pay just now. They have to pay 15 instalments to make up 15 years' rent minus land revenue. The losers will not be paid any cash now. They will be paid in Government Loan Bonds (non-negotiable) for the amount i.e. 15 years' rent minus land revenue payable 20 years hence! This is outrageous and if the country lets this pass into law, it will have dissolved the foundation of society.

Society is kept running in order with the needed amount of mutual trust on the unstated but actually operating understanding that each person *can keep what is his own and can look forward to the fruits of his own labour in free exchange with his neighbours*. But the Planning Commission and the Jatti Committee have already put on record that their ultimate goal is *cooperative village management*. In the transitional stage, they say that the village area will present three kinds of operations and holdings. A few single holdings in the hands of a few families will remain for some time. But many cooperative societies will hold the pooled lands of many families. The village panchayat will operate the rest on a single operational units basis. Ultimately the village panchayat will operate *all* the lands of the village *as a single farm unit*. This is communism pure and simple. That is why, already orders have been issued to State Governments to start 6000 cooperative farms (really collective farms under the less frightening name of cooperatives)! The Prime Minister has reiterated his fixed conviction that it is only cooperative farms that will solve the food problem in India. Small individual holdings cannot utilise the latest scientific technology which requires large scale farms. But individuals *cannot be allowed* to hold and operate large scale farms even if they contribute, (as they are sure to and as plantations are already contributing) to enhanced production.

(Continued on page 8)

THE PAK MENACE

By A Libertarian

WHILE we are wasting our time, energy and money in preaching Pancha Shila and all that to the whole world, Pakistan is preparing for a final showdown with India. The repeated violations of our frontiers, looting of our cargo boats plying on the Surma river, cold-blooded and perfidious murders on the Fazilka border, occupation of our villages on the Assam borders by Pak. forces, daily acts of loot, murder and arson by Pak troops on our borders, digging of trenches along our borders, increasing infiltration of Pak spies into Assam and other bordering districts and the military exercises that are being conducted in Pakistan are only a grand rehearsal for a final showdown with India at a later date, and foreshadows another invasion of India by Ghazni Noon and Ghori Mirza.

"Why should we give our enemy a preview of what is in store for them?" the Pak Commander-in-Chief had said once when questioned why India was not invited to witness the combined manoeuvres of Pakistan's army and American equipped Air Force held in Pakistan. Even reasonable leaders of Pakistan are demanding a war with India to achieve their dream of Greater Pakistan, which means Kashmir, East Punjab, West Bengal and a corridor to link the two wings of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been itching for a fight with India since the rampageous freebooting of the Baramulla valley a decade ago, especially after she received huge military aid from America. The Americans have provided Pakistan a large number of sabrejets of F-86 types comparable with the Russian MIGs, and latest weapons such as rockets and shells with Atomic heads. A number of Pakistani pilots are being trained in America, Britain and West Germany. The Pakistani defence forces are now completely remodelled on American pattern. Nearly 75,000 troops trained in latest weapons by British and American officers are waiting for the "Jehad" call from the Ghazni Noon and Ghori Mirza.

Approximately about 2500 Pakistanis are reported to be coming to India daily, remain here much longer than the period their visas permit, collect information here and send it over to a certain diplomatic source. They are also reported to be in regular contact with the Muslim leaguers in India to whom they pass on instructions received from Pakistan. The very object of reviving the Muslim League in India is to rouse the consciousness of the Indian Muslims regarding the need to "defend" Islam now "threatened" by the Hindu "Communalists" of Bharat so that they may function here as Pakistan's "shock-brigades" and actively support Pak invasion of India.

How long will our government tolerate the indignities daily heaped on us by Pakistan and how long can we afford to remain complacent in regard to our defences when Pakistan is making hectic preparations for a war with India?

In spite of several strong protests, Pakistan continues to violate our borders, occupy our villages and shoot down our innocent and defenceless villagers on the Assam borders. Our government which champions the cause of human liberty and security abroad seems to be content with mere paper protests. What is our army meant for? The Government of Assam must hand over the control of our borders to our army, and instruct our armed forces to shoot down all intruders, or take them captive and award them heavy sentences. We must give up our present policy of forbearance and resort to massive retaliation if we are not to go under and be submerged in an Islamic resurgence. Our sermons on Pancha Shila and Non-Violence can hardly be an effective answer to Pakistan's armed might. Pancha Shila at best can serve as an empty consolation to the ignorant and lazy, and at worst a menace to our freedom. Our policy of appeasement must give way to a firm and positive policy of massive retaliation towards Pakistan based on complete reciprocity.

In view of the threat of *Jehad* openly held out by the responsible leaders of Pakistan and the mounting threats of war from the two aggressive wings of Pakistan, we must give priority to our defence.

India's history is full of foreign invasions and conquests because of our internal feuds, disunity, woeful unpreparedness for war, and smug complacency. Indian history will repeat itself if we refuse to learn any lesson from past experience. If we fail in our duty to exercise perpetual vigilance over the enemies of our country whether across our borders or within our country and maintain an efficient intelligence department to discover the sources of disaffection and watch the hostile moves of our hostile neighbours and their efforts to plant fifth columns within our Nation, another era of slavery will dawn on us.

Militarisation of our Nation is the need of the hour. Our retired military officers must be called back for service and engaged to train our youths in colleges and schools. We must completely modernise our defence forces. We must engage foreign experts to train our defence forces in the use of latest weapons. We must accept foreign military aid without strings, equip our defence forces with latest modern weapons and accept Pakistan's challenge. Let us not allow the neo-Ghazni and Ghori of Pakistan to succeed again. Let us at least now avenge the historical defeat we suffered at the hands of Ghazni, Ghori and innumerable other muslim invaders, the insults and indignities heaped on us by them.

India must make it clear to Pakistan that any attack on Kashmir or any other part of India will mean war with India. While nobody in India wants to undo the Partition, war with India will undoubtedly annul the partition and result in the reunion of India and Pakistan again. Let this be made clear to Pakistani war-mongers.

NEHRU'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By M. N. Tholal

WHATEVER Mr. Nehru says or does is bound to remain incomprehensible to those who do not visualise the mainsprings embedded in his heart, even as the (so-called) follies of Mahatma Gandhi were incomprehensible to those who did not understand what he was after. Indians, like people outside India, thought that Gandhi was working for Swaraj and therefore failed to understand his emphasis on non-violence in thought, word and deed and on the spinning wheel. If they had realised that he was simply working for his own supremacy in the world as another Jesus or Buddha, or both rolled into one—after suspending the movement following the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura in 1922 he retorted to a questioner: Who is remembered better, Jesus or Julius?—if they had realised that he was only pretending to be working for Swaraj—"I do not work for freedom of the country; I work for nonviolence," he told Paul Richard, a French Philosopher about the time he suspended the movement in 1922 (vide "Young India" of Feb. 1922)—there would have been no difficulty in understanding the sayings and the contradictory doings of Mahatma Gandhi and that understanding would have simplified all the apparent contradictions in his self-centered philosophy of life that so befogged the average Indian that he put him down as inscrutable.

Those who want to understand Mr. Nehru must likewise realise what he is after. Gandhi forgot his poor enslaved motherland as soon as he became the unquestioned dictator of the Congress and in trying to extend the sphere of his dictatorship he divided the country in two and brought about the holocaust of 1947. Mr. Nehru, having reached the summit in India, wants to reach the summit of the world. That is only natural. Did not Napoleon aspire for the dictatorship of the World becoming Dictator of France? Did not Hitler want to become Dictator of the world after becoming Dictator of Germany. Lack of political sense in France a hundred and fifty years ago and in Germany a quarter of a century ago paved the way for their ruination. Lack of political sense among Hindus paved the way for their ruination under the leadership of Gandhi. God forbid that its persistence under his true disciple—Jawaharlal Nehru is intrinsically the truest disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, having moulded himself after his Master—land the country in another disaster of a magnitude greater than that of 1947, the greatest in our history as it undoubtedly was!

SECRET OBJECTIVE

When a man has but one objective which he does not want people even to guess—which in fact he wants to keep a closely-guarded secret—he is apt to talk a lot and draw many a red herring across the scent and in doing so necessarily indulge in self-contradiction.

That is what Gandhi did in his time (and got away with it) and that is what Nehru is doing today. A confidential note circulated by him sometimes ago, has been reproduced by the All-India Congress Committee's "Economic Review" and contains the usual contradictory platitudes in which he is now, like his late lamented Master, himself a past master. Here again, in order to understand Mr. Nehru, his "one aim, one goal, one business, one desire" (i.e. the Summit) must be kept as steadily in view as he keeps it himself. It is necessary to do so, if we are not to conclude with the Americans or Europeans "Oh, you can't expect Indians to be logical or reasonable" or, in the alternative, accuse our great leader of being foolish enough to contradict himself again and again in the course of the selfsame note, reproduced with much pride by the A-I.C.C.. "Economic Review".

If you do not lose sight of the Summit, the equation of the Devil with the Archangel—the foundation of Mr. Nehru's political and moral philosophy will become intelligible. Where is the need of an arbitrator unless both the sides are in the wrong? If both the sides in the present case—the USA and the USSR—are not in the wrong and you want to be the arbitrator between them, you have got to put them in the wrong. That is exactly what Mr. Nehru has been trying to do. "Communists as well as anti-Communists," he observes in the note referred to above, "both seem to imagine that a principle can only be stoutly defended by the language of violence and by condemning those who do not accept it. For both of them there are no shades, there is only black and white. That is the old approach of the bigoted aspects of some religions. It is not the approach of tolerance, of feeling that, perhaps, others might have some share of the truth also."

AFRAID OF FANATICS

Presuming, obviously legitimately, that by Communists he was referring primarily to USSR and by anti-Communists primarily to USA, is Mr. Nehru's equation of Communists with anti-Communists justified in view of only one of the most salient facts of recent times—the economic and military assistance (given obviously without strings attached) by the United States to Yugoslavia to preserve the latter's independence, knowing that Yugoslavia was Communist and intended to remain Communist. And Mr. Nehru says: "For both of them there are no shades, there is only black and white." Can any statement be farther from the truth?

Mr. Nehru has always been afraid of fanatics—a strange trait in an atheist—and his softness towards the Communists everywhere is born of that fear. "Communism," he says, "has definitely allied itself with the approach of violence." "Even if it does not normally indulge in physical violence," he proceeds to

observe, "its language is of violence, its thought is violent, and it does not seek change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressure but by coercion and, indeed, by destruction and extermination" and "all these evil aspects of violence and extermination"—to quote Mr. Nehru again—with the help of which Communist ends are gained, constitute only an "alliance with the approach of violence"—not violence itself! This is indeed euphemism with a vengeance.

Mr. Nehru may have some doubt about Communism being based on violence, he seems to have none where capitalism is concerned. "Essentially correct," according to him, is the Communist charge that the capitalist structure of society is based on violence and class conflict—with which of course, by implication, the Communists have entirely done away. But he admits in the same breath that the capitalist structure itself has undergone and is continually undergoing a change because of democratic and other struggle against inequality—struggles which, it may be added, are simply not allowed in Communist countries. Insofar as capitalism permits and encourages democracy—and every capitalist country in the world is doing so—it proclaims itself far superior to Communist countries and gives the lie direct to all charges of being based on violence. How can the capitalist structure of society be said to be based on violence, if it permits change—the most radical change—through democratic processes?

APOTHEOSIS OF SELF

If Mr. Nehru is sincere in his observation that he prefers the "old pagan approach of tolerance" he should know on which side he definitely stands. I refuse to believe that he is such a fool that he does not know it. He pretends not to know it for the good and sufficient reason of equating the two for his own personal and selfish reason, but this reason has obviously nothing to do with "any political or social theory" which "enables the individual to rise above his petty self and think in terms of the good of all". It has in fact everything to do with apotheosis of self which he learnt from his Master along with the methods, which again have no relation to purity of the means, emphasis on which enabled that great man to keep the apotheosis of self a closely-guarded secret. There was no limit to Gandhi's ambition: there is none to Nehru's. Like Gandhi, Nehru has also become used to scratching where it itches. The greater the guilt, the greater the conscientious stinging and therefore the greater the scratching. It is only natural. It was not for nothing that Gandhi talked incessantly of Swaraj, of non-violence, of purity of the means. And it is not for nothing that Nehru is doing likewise. Has any one ever seen a man of principles talking incessantly of his principles? It is the man devoid of them who does so.

We do need therefore feel surprised—remembering what Gandhi used to *say* and what he used to *do*, to damn his sayings, as it were—to hear Mr. Nehru refer to "the general lack of purpose today"—convincing stuff for all office-seeking Congressmen—for which "the remedy is to revive some philosophy of life and give, in a wider sense of the word, a spiritual background to our thinking." The sort of spiritual background, he might have added, which enables a man

to do exactly the contrary of what he professes to believe in and, to give just one example, hand over the most spiritual country in the world—Tibet—for "coercion" and "destruction and extermination"—to use his own words: What a glorious spectacle for a man who claims to be the greatest enemy of imperialism in the world and the greatest anti-colonialist of modern times!

LACK OF MORAL FIBRE

"In the final analysis," he says, "it is the quality of man that counts." Every one now knows what quality of men he chooses for responsible jobs in the land, despite the fact that scandals are a recurring feature of the administration under him. He emphasises the need of evolving "a new type of humanity" but is loth to begin the evolution with himself. Those who have eyes to see are seeing for themselves that it is the same old devoted type which Gandhi loved and which has been the bane of the country through the centuries, directly responsible for its record-breaking thousand-year old slavery!

No wonder he has, almost introspectively, to deplore "the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole" and "the mental exhaustion" of civilisation. It has been well-said that man sees the universe in his own image.

Mr. Nehru truly says that "wrong means will not lead to right results" and that this is no longer an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition. We saw this truth illustrated in the holocaust of 1947. Then what of those, like him, whose means as well as ends are wrong?

AVATAR MEHER BABA

MEHER BABA'S message has two distinct elements. First, he recommends that each of us ought to develop into the Harmonious Man. Secondly, he claims that he is a messiah.

There is nothing wrong in recommending the ideal of the harmonious man. But it is doubtful if he can achieve anything by declaring that he is a messiah or avatar, and that too, the last one of the present cycle of time. Perhaps he would interpret that the present cycle of time ends with him; in which case the word 'cycle' loses its meaning. And perhaps he is stretching too far the use of the metaphysical principle that all of us are manifestation of the One Absolute.

If all this is a part of the game which is a kind of religious racket, that is the Baba's private affair. He might have succeeded in fooling some people for making his livelihood. He is, then, only enjoying the fruits of his private enterprise. True, if all of us are equally divine, one need not levy taxes on one's followers who seem less divine: One ought to withdraw from natural and social life into the wilderness. One may however return and make a living by peddling one's wisdom if there are buyers. This vocation is at least morally superior to the vocation of politicians who would levy enormous taxes and feed fat on them.

Besides, if people are willing to maintain about a million mendicants and *Babas* so that one true saint may emerge, we need not gudge some of them turning out frauds. Without further investigation, we cannot say that Meher Baba is a fraud.

(Continued from page 4)

For that would be capitalism which is excluded in Nehru's philosophy!

The Jatti Committee is therefore of opinion, following high authority, that if two-thirds of farmers in any village agree to join the cooperative to be established by the village panchayat, the remaining *one-third can legitimately be coerced by the State to join, even if they dislike and oppose it!*

What to speak of legislators who have surrendered to Nehru, even Acharya Vinoba Bhave said recently that he is agreeable to such *coercion* of the minority, for the sake of *gramraj*, collective government by *gram sabhal*! This constitutes a strange self-contradictory *surrender* by the leading Gandhian of the day to the tactics of *violent revolution!*

Thus the new beneficiaries who may rejoice in their elevation to the ranks of landholders in their own right enjoying property rights, will be asked before long to surrender them in favour of village collective farm! Since they will have got land free or almost free, they will not be in a position to refuse. The middle and rich peasants who could be expected to afford the leadership and knowledge necessary to organise an opposition will by then have been reduced in property and influence.

Hence the time for the middle and large peasants to resist is *now before* the States' reforms are passed into law. They should point out the dire consequences of the liquidation of private property for all including the new beneficiaries.

If private property is violated in the agricultural sector, it will be idle to think that the urban sector of commerce and industry will escape a similar onslaught on them. Already in 1954, the question of imposing limits on incomes was raised. Dr. John Matthai, knowing that it is useless to oppose the official trend, bent before the storm and suggested a ceiling of Rs. 3,500 per month to save his wealthy friends. The Jana Sangh Party has yielded to the fashion and suggested Rs. 2,000 per month as the expendible maximum for any class of persons—whether salary-earning or profit-earning or dividend receiving. But it holds that citizens may own any amount subject to expenditure tax on consumption above Rs. 2,000/- but investment will not be taxed. The PSP holds that only Rs. 1,000/- per month are enough for all classes.

Thus the trend in favour of ceilings on urban incomes too will become irresistible. Industrialists and commercial magnates have therefore to join in the propaganda battle and fight against ceilings on land along with agriculturists. High taxation on incomes should be enough contribution to social welfare without limitations on capital holdings whether of land or of industrial and commercial property.

It should be remembered that property subject to legitimate regulations is the cement of society and should be beyond the purview of democratic legislatures. It should be discussed whether the government has any right to alter the foundations of society like property by pushing through their pet notions of socialist pattern of society, even if they happen to have a large majority in the legislatures on account of

the immaturity of the democracy in being, its ignorance, illiteracy and disorganised condition.

If the present ceilings are passed into law, it will be a discrimination against rural people. They will not be able to compete with the urban rich in the education of children and in elections. Political power will pass into urban hands. The peasants will become hewers of wood and drawers of water to urbanites. Further, the end aimed at in the short period namely increased production will not be realised since redistribution to the poorest on the land will increase the number of uneconomic holdings by millions. Those with capital and know-how will be rendered incapable of developing their estimates and those coming in their place will be too poor and ignorant to develop the lands they get. The finance required to assist all poor peasants is so enormous and astronomical that it will be beyond the reach of Government's resources to provide. The result will be a vast disorganisation of production in the near future. The grandiose edifice of plan industrialisation will collapse. All these misfortunes can be avoided if Government accepts realistic advice.

In Lighter Vein

"I am afraid some one very near to you is going to be disappointed over money" said a crystal gazer.

"You are very good," smiled the client. "And very right. I have come here without any money today."

A Congress leader was getting tired of being heckled. "We seem to have a great many fools here tonight," he said. "Would it not be advisable to hear one at a time?"

"Yes, get on with your speech" said a voice.

"How do you account for your defeat at the polls?" asked a person to his Congress friend.

"I was a victim" he replied.

"A victim of what?"

"Of accurate counting."

The General Manager of a Soap factory told a minister when the latter visited the factory that there was no demand for the product though there was demand for the by-product.

"Why don't you stop manufacturing the product and start manufacturing the by-product?" advised the minister.

"Are you sure that I am suffering from typhoid? I have heard of a case where a doctor had treated a patient for typhoid who later on died of pneumonia" said a patient to his doctor.

"Don't worry. When I treat a person for typhoid, he dies of typhoid" said the doctor.

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

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

BRITAIN'S STAKE IN MIDDLE EAST

By T. L. Kantam

B RITAIN was comparatively a late comer to the Middle East. It was the need to defend the position which she had attained in India that first brought British imperialism to this region. British policy was to encircle India with a ring of buffer states. Nearest to India was Persia (now Iran) and the integrity of Persia became "a cardinal principle of our imperial creed." By the treaty of 1814, Persia was granted an annual subsidy and a guarantee against aggression while she on her part undertook to prevent the passage of any European forces through Persia to India.

OIL-RICH SHEIKHDOMS

In the Persian Gulf, however, there was not one country but a host of petty sheikhdoms, whose chief pursuits were piracy, slave-trading and arms-running. In the latter part of the 19th century, Britain steadily increased her authority over these sheikhdoms through treaties until she had established exclusive control. The first was the Bahrein in 1880. The treaty with Kuwait was concluded in 1890 and with Qatar in 1916. Under these and later treaties, Britain guaranteed protection to the states and in return, the states accepted British advice on administration and agreed not to cede their territories to foreign powers or to grant oil concessions without the consent of Britain.

Similar treaties were made with Oman, Aden, Trucial Oman and Dhofar creating a British sphere of interest on the periphery of the Arabian Peninsula.

KUWAIT, QATAR AND BAHREIN

In the present highly fluid situation in the Middle East, the three tiny sheikhdoms of Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrein have assumed an importance little dreamt of when they came under British protection. These three alone could meet all the oil requirements of Britain and the Western European countries, eliminating the dependence on Iran or Iraq oil. The gross oil imports of Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, West Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland amount to about 2,800,000 barrels a day. The latest available production figures are: Kuwait, 1,98,000 barrels, Qatar, 187,000 barrels, Bahrein, 40,000; Neutral Zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, 70,000 barrels, giving a total of 2,591,000 barrels a day. Kuwait adjoins Saudi Arabia's Eastern province of Al-Hasa in which are concentrated the vast majority of the oil wells of Saudi Arabia, whose production is 928,000 barrels a day.

It has been conceded by those working the oil concessions that "the genius of Arabian oil is that there is so much of it that it can be produced very cheaply when in large demand."

Reference should be made, however, to the develop-

ment of the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), the co-operative effort of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, for the development and use of atomic power. The proposal to create this community antedated the Suez Canal crisis of November 1916 but its early realization had not a little to do with the urgent need for a greater degree of freedom from dependence on Middle East oil.

CLASH OF EMPIRES

Except for a small section with Yemen, no boundaries have been established for the entire border from Yemen through the Protectorates of Aden, Sultanate of Muscat and Oman and the Trucial Coast on the Persian Gulf and this has been a source of constant friction. The concept of having definite boundaries did not seem important when the Arabian Peninsula was regarded as nothing more than empty sands and salt wastes.

But the unification of the peninsula under the late Ibn Saud, the discovery of oil and the grant of the first oil concession by Saudi Arabia in 1933 to the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco) made the determination of boundaries a necessity. Accordingly throughout the 1930s the Saudis and the British (acting on behalf of their Arab wards) made determined efforts to negotiate the boundaries between Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf States but without success.

As sole concessionaries in Saudi Arabia, Armaed naturally took a lively interest in King Saud's efforts to extend his kingdom. It was equally natural for the Iraq Petroleum Company, which holds all the concession rights in the Persian Gulf States South of Bahrein, to oppose such efforts.

Aramco is wholly American. Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard of California and the Texas Company own 30 per cent each and Secony Mobil 10 per cent. Iraq Petroleum Company is British-managed and controlled but internationally owned. Ninety-five per cent of its capital is divided into four equal blocks each of 23½ per cent. One block is held by the British Petroleum Co., another by Royal Dutch Shell, the third by the Compagnie Française des Pétroles in which the French governments has large interests and the fourth by the Near East Development Corporation controlled by the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Mobil Oil. The remaining five per cent is owned by the Trust of that remarkable Armenian entrepreneur C. S. Gulbenkian.

By 1953, Saudi-British relations had taken a turn for the worse. The boundary negotiations that had been in progress off and on broke down in January 1912. As a result Saudi Arabia "occupied" the Buraimi Oasis villages in August and the British replied

by "blockading" Buraimi and resuming oil operation in the disputed area. The British seemed to have felt that they could settle the dispute only by force and not by negotiation but they had no troops in the area. They therefore re-formed the Trucial Oman scouts (disbanded earlier), equipped them and trained them under British officers. In October 1955 the British occupied not only Buraimi but also the Imamate of Oman in which a revolt had broken out. Thanks to the long respite and the funds of the Iraq Petroleum Company, they were able to complete this operation with only the locally-raised and British-officered troops.

Last August, in less than two years, Oman was again in revolt. This time it was necessary to bring in British troops and planes to restore order or rather to re-establish the *status quo ante*. The nominal adversaries were the Sultan of Muscat and Oman, ruler of the sparsely populated coast stretching from the Persian Gulf to Aden Protectorate and the rebellious Imam of Oman, a religious leader, who claims the mountain lands lying just inland from the coast. The British maintain that Oman comes under the suzerainty of Muscat while the Arab countries consider it an independent state. In fact, on August 20, 1957 the Security Council debated the charge by eleven Arab nations that Britain had violated the United Nations Charter by helping the Sultan of Muscat to put down a rebellion by the followers of the Imam of Oman. The complaint was rejected by the Security Council.

Ostensibly the fighting was the latest explosion of the long-standing boundary disputes between Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Persian Gulf States but in the background was the more important struggle between American and British oil interests.

ADEN PROTECTORATE

As stated earlier Britain has entered into treaty relationship with the Persian Gulf Sheikdoms. These treaties are regarded by many as "archaic survivals from a period when European imperialism was at its peak and oil was undiscovered" and that in most cases Britain has no conceivable interest in maintaining these rights and obligations.

The London *Times* pointed out that the Oman vest-pocket war "proved again that the use of British troops against Arabs — no matter on what grounds — is viewed by members of the Arab League as imperialist aggression. . . . It can be argued that we are jeopardising our long-term interests in the developed Sheikdoms, such as Kuwait by intervening with force in the backward territories." Britain has therefore to decide now what is to be her future relationship with the 23 Arab states surrounding the colony of Aden, stretching 600 miles up the coast to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman and covering an area of about 110,000 square miles.

There has long been friction over the borders of Yemen and the Aden Protectorate. The Imam of Yemen has persistently refused to admit the existence of any frontier between his country and the Aden territory (in fact he looks upon the latter as his long-lost Southern province) and any amount of diplomatic activity has not been able to clear the way for a settlement of the dispute.

The entry of Yemen into the United Arab Republic on March 9 this year portended more trouble for Britain. A month later, the Sultan of Lahej, the biggest of the Aden Protectorate states, was reported to be contemplating contracting out of the Aden Protectorate to join the United Arab Republic. A day or two later a state of emergency was declared at Aden, troops were flown in and an attempt was made to arrest three members of the Al Jifri family, persons of influence in Lahej, who were alleged to be engaged in anti-British activities. Two of the brothers escaped, the third was caught.

The next act in this desert drama was the desertion on June 26 of the Commandant of the Lahej State forces, with a number of men and some of the state funds. The British were convinced that all these did not take place without the condonation, if not the active connivance of the Sultan. They have now withdrawn recognition from him and banned him from entering Lahej. (He was in Italy at the time this was announced).

Britain can no doubt provide the protection required to make these friendly states feel secure but she will find it hard to come to terms with the Arab nationalism that is seeping through this area. Can this growing sentiment be provided for within the present protectorate framework?

A federation of the states seems to be the only possible solution. Some of the rulers are agreeable to a federation but they expect from Britain guarantees of future defensive and economic aid. It is to Britain's interest to see that a federation comes into being. She will have to do her best to retain friendly relations with the Arab people of this region. It will also be to the advantage of the states of the Protectorate, as otherwise they will not have the strength to play their rightful role in the modern world.

Telephone No. 23-4311

„ 23-2529

- * FOR TRENCHANT VIEWS
- * FOR FEARLESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM
- * FOR ESTABLISHING REAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Read

“NEETEE”

AN INDEPENDENT & NON-COMMUNAL
ENGLISH WEEKLY

Advertise in

“NEETEE”

BECAUSE IT REACHES THE CLASS OF PEOPLE
WHOM YOU WANT TO CATER.
WANTED REPRESENTATIVES

Apply for particulars to the Manager

“NEETEE”

35, Stephen House,
4, Dalhousie Square East,
CALCUTTA—1.

HOW THE RUSSIANS SEE IT

Peregrine Worsthorpe

(The first portion of this article appeared in the 1st September issue. This is the concluding part.)

So not only are they free from the stultifying belief that the next war must be thermonuclear (because they possess the means to fight conventional war as well), but they are also spared the despairing conviction that if thermonuclear war does come it means the end of everything. It is possible, of course, that both these assumptions are illusory. If the West is really serious when it says that it intends to make any war thermonuclear a outrage, then perhaps the Soviet Union is wasting time and money on maintaining mass land armies. Again, it may be wrong to imagine that thermonuclear war is in any way comparable to anything that has gone before, however horrible. Yet, in reading Soviet military writings, the suspicion constantly intrudes that perhaps they see the future more clearly than we do ourselves.

What, then, is the Soviet image of thermonuclear war? Here is Mr. Gathoff's brief summary:

"The initial strategic strikes by modern jet bombers, inter-continental and intermediate range rockets and missiles, will wreak devastation upon both the United States, and upon their chief allies. But does mutual devastation spell mutual defeat? The Soviets answer: No. The priority strikes will destroy the enemy's strategic air and missile bases in so far as these are known. Major cities and industrial centres, on a lower level of priority, will also suffer heavily. Radiological weapons may also be used. But this enormous mutual destruction will probably consume the major proportion of the respective air and long-range missile forces. Thus the effort of these forces would in a sense cancel each other out. This is a crucial phase of the war, one which a weak or ill-prepared power could lose. But it is not the decisive stage of a war between well-prepared major powers; it does not determine the final outcome of the war between them.

"Tactical air power and rockets, those forces designated to attack the enemy's military force up to roughly a 1,000-mile range from the starting borders, would similarly engage in mutual nuclear strikes. But here the Soviets do not see a mutual stalemate. The heart of such a capability is the ground forces—trained for nuclear war, armed with nuclear weapons—and here the war would begin with serious unbalance: a preponderance of Soviet forces. Moreover, in the Soviet view, their mobilisation and despatch of ground forces would be much less critically disrupted than would ours by the nuclear exchange, due to their larger force in being and to its deployment. The surviving Soviet land armies are thus expected to be capable of defeating the proportionately weakened enemy forces on the ground. Thus the Soviets would strive to achieve at least a favourable draw by occupying the Eurasian continent and exploiting such resources as might still be available to restore some of the Soviet Union's losses. The shrunken and devastated free world would be entirely relegated to the Western hemisphere.

"In the major theatre, central-western Europe, the Soviets would expect to defeat the NATO forces and to occupy the territory at least to the Channel and the Pyrenees. Soviet intermediate and long-range air and missile forces would not only strive to knock out SAC and British Bomber Command strength in the U.K., Spain, and North Africa, and Turkey, but also effectively to interdict (with submarine action) any supply of men and material from the United States, Scandinavia and the Balkans would fall.

"In the Middle East and Far East those countries allied with the West would be seized by exploiting local Soviet and Chinese superiorities in a situation where the mutual strategic exchange would have denied the U.S. the ability to bring in sufficient additional strength to prevent their advance. The neutrals would be left, at least for a time, on sufferance; local Communists would probably ride to power on the swell of victory."

It is clear from the above sketch, as Mr. Garthoff goes on to point out, that the Soviets now fully recognise, as during Stalin's day they did not, the vital importance of tremendous inter-continental striking power, and its corollary of home defence to weaken the enemy's long-range attack. Here they are at one with the Americans. But it is also clear that they consider as equally important the maintenance of large, nuclear-equipped land armies, with supporting air, missile, and naval forces. They continue, in other words, to believe in protracted land campaigns, even in a thermonuclear war. Here they are by no means at one with the West which, although continuing to talk of "brokenbacked" warfare, is now in no position to implement such a strategy.

It would be comforting to believe that this Soviet image of future war reflected a time lag, a harking back to a period when nuclear and thermonuclear weapons were far less destructive than they are to-day. Some Western commentators have indeed dismissed this Soviet picture as being little more than a slightly modernised but still fantastically out-of-date version of Stalin's strategic straitjacket, which imposed on Soviet generals, as a matter of faith, belief in the five "constant" causes of victory—home-front stability, army morale, quantity and quality of divisions, armament of the armed forces, and ability of the army commanders—in all five of which, according to the doctrine, a Communist state must be superior to a capitalist state. But nobody reading Soviet military journals today can believe that the revolution of fire-power wrought by nuclear weapons has not been taken into consideration. The same prominent general, for example, who in one sentence declares that atomic and thermonuclear weapons "only supplement the fire-power of the old forms of armament... which remain the basic fire-power of the army," goes on to say in another sentence that "in contemporary major wars atomic and thermo-

nuclear weapons may be employed in quantities of hundreds, thousands, or even tens of thousands."

One may dispute the realistic compatibility of these two statements, but in the context of Soviet military doctrine they are not at all contradictory. Mr. Garthoff poses the issue squarely. Can the West be certain, he asks, that, under conditions of reciprocal and mutual nuclear saturation, the "decisive role of the old classical light armaments" will not be preserved? And is it but a symptom of backwardness to stress the need for large reserves to replace units destroyed by hostile atomic strikes? Mutual thermonuclear destruction may be the last thing we care to contemplate—but is it only a lag, to face up to this and say, as the Russians do: mutual nuclear strikes "may indeed result in equal losses to both combatants. But from such equality it still does not follow that the war balances out and ends without victory. . . . Operational balance or equality achieved by reciprocal atomic blows will be broken to the advantage of one side or another." A future war might be won in days; but if it were not, would the side which had planned on a long war be guilty of lagging behind?

Western commentators used to find it easy to evade answering these queries by dwelling on the total absence in Soviet strategy of any emphasis on the element of surprise, a lacuna dating back to Stalin's idealisation of the five "constant factors." It is perfectly true that in Stalin's day the Soviet Union did emphasise the importance of land armies and minimise the importance of surprise, because they were strong in the former and weak in the latter. But this is no longer the case. If they believed in the initial surprise attack being decisive they could easily build their strategy around it. Indeed, lacking the moral scruples which inhibit the West from launching surprise attacks, they could exploit this element—if they believed in it. But the unquestionable fact is they do not believe in surprise as a decisive element. They do not believe that reliance on surprise is any substitute for maintaining mass land armies, or that getting the first blow in from the air constitutes a decisive advantage. After the most extensive reappraisal, their considered verdict is that surprise can gain a battle but not win a war.

The implications of this conclusion are far-reaching, and constitute the second basic cause of Soviet confidence. Just as the Soviet Union is convinced that it cannot hope to knock out the West by a super-Pearl Harbour, so it is equally convinced that the United States cannot knock out the U.S.S.R. by similar means. In other words, this basic strategic conclusion allows them to risk launching a major war with conventional weapons, in which they have a decisive superiority. If they are lucky, and the gamble succeeds, their known parity in thermonuclear weapons will deter the U.S. from retaliating with an H-bomb strike. But if they are unlucky and the gamble fails, the fact that the United States unleashes the first H-bomb strike will not prove a decisive set-back, in their opinion, only a marginal advantage.

It would, of course, be quite wrong to conclude from the Soviets' confidence in victory, even in a thermonuclear war, that they would lightly embark on such a struggle. As I pointed out earlier, their strategy is governed by a political—rather than a mere military—aid: namely, the triumph of Communism. With such an objective in mind, no Soviet leader in his senses

would lightly choose to initiate a war which, even at the most conservative estimate, would involve the risk of crippling destruction. Having convinced themselves that little is to be gained by a sudden and devastating thermonuclear attack, the Soviets would, according to their present strategic thinking, only initiate thermonuclear war if convinced that the enemy were themselves about to do likewise. In these circumstances—and these alone—the Soviets might well seek to get their H-bomb strike in first, but it is clear from everything they write that this would be fundamentally against the grain of their current strategic preference.

But should the West draw comfort from this? In one sense, it would seem to justify their present policy of thermonuclear deterrence. So long as the West makes it technically impossible for Russia to launch a decisive first blow, and at the same time declares its unswerving determination to resist any major attack—even if it is only with conventional weapons—by retaliating with an H-bomb, then surely the Soviet Union, in spite of its belief in the possibility of thermonuclear victory, will not think it worthwhile to commit aggression. In other words, by remaining absolutely rigid, capable of fighting any major war with nuclear weapons, the West, it is hoped, has checkmated the Soviet Union's preference for flexibility. The essence of checkmate, however, is that it should allow the opponent no loopholes. Yet, seen from the Soviet side, thermonuclear deterrence is riddled with loopholes.

First, the Soviet Union does not necessarily believe that the U.S. will use the H-bomb, especially now that New York, Boston, and San Francisco would be the certain victims of such a policy. This element of doubt about American intentions is strengthened by a consideration which is scarcely ever noticed in Western writings on this question. One of the corollaries of Russia's immense emphasis on land armies is that her leaders have been forced to recognise their inability, in present circumstances, to conquer the United States. This is an objective outside the range of their present strategic compass. If they placed greater reliance on the decisive nature of air power, then conquest of the United States might seem possible. But, on the record of their current thinking, there is nothing that the Russians could do which would constitute a mortal, deceive challenge to the United States. This, at any rate, is what they believe. It is, in their opinion, the one major weakness of their current military posture. But, ironically enough, this Russian assessment of their particular weakness strikes a deadly blow at what the West likes to regard as its own particular strength. For if the Russians do not believe that there is anything they can do which constitutes a mortal threat to the United States, is it likely that they would believe the American threat to have recourse to weapons which, according to American thinking, would involve irrecoverable damage to the United States itself?

In other words, the whole mood of Russian strategic tends to undermine the efficacy of the West's policy of thermonuclear deterrence. Faced by what, in Soviet thinking, are merely limited losses (the American continent, at the very least, being unassailable by Soviet conventional weapons) the temptation for the American leaders to refrain from dropping H-bombs might well appear, to the Russian leaders, as irresistible. This reaction would be all the more likely since

(Continued on Page 14)

Notes And Comments

Montreal Conference

ON the 14th of this month a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference will be held at Montreal where our country will be represented by Shri Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, and though it is too early to say of its outcome, yet it is hoped that it will consider the American recession and assess its effect upon the economic activity of other countries especially underdeveloped countries.

In 1932 similar Conference was held at Ottawa and the outcome was the infamous Ottawa Agreement which had caused more harm than good to the Commonwealth countries and especially to India in the field of International Trade. This Agreement has benefitted U.K. It was assumed that Ottawa Agreement would facilitate "the flow of trade between various countries of the Empire and by consequent increase of purchasing power of the people the trade of the world would be stimulated and increased". But the experience in the interwar period shows very clearly that trade was dwindling due to tariff barriers. The Commonwealth countries did not receive any real economic benefit from British preference as they could not dispose of the entire output to U.K. and they were compelled to find out alternative markets with the result that they had to sell at the low price. Many countries had suffered in the interwar period due to preference Arrangements.

For the last 28 years the share of the world trade of semi-industrialised countries has been dwindling. It is doubtful whether in the long run they will gain by rapid industrialisation. There is a great demand for primary products from the industrialised countries and if both these factors are taken into consideration, then there is a strong case for free trade, and abolition of the preferential system, within the Commonwealth countries, because this alone will lead to world prosperity. The retention of the preferential system will not only endanger the prosperity of U.K. but also it will retard the economic progress of the other countries. It is to be hoped that the Conference at Montreal will ponder over the problem of tariff in a proper perspective and come to a realistic conclusion. So far as our country is concerned Free Trade alone will lead her to prosperity.

Export Promotion

IN spite of stringent import policy, the foreign exchange crisis has become a thorny problem before the Government and only way according to the official version to fill the gap is to export more. During the last twelve months the foreign exchange balances have fallen to a very low level and this fall was largely attributed to the large imports of the capital goods to meet the requirements of the Second Five Year Plan. In order to go through the Plan in the remaining period our government requires at least 560 crores of rupees and if this is obtained, then the core of the Plan can be fulfilled.

In order to increase exports Government has

recently offered rebates of Customs and Central Excise Duties on number of commodities and now in order to simplify the procedure Government has now decided to put over two hundred articles in the free list. It is to be hoped that these measures will stimulate the exports. These measures should have been taken long ago and the present decision to free number of commodities as a last resort shows the urgency of the problem. But this policy is like digging a well when the house is on fire. Anyway better late than never.

This year our exports have fallen by 50 crores. This was mainly due to high cost of production and the poor quality of goods. These measures by themselves will not promote exports unless our manufacturers are able to compete in the international markets. It is reported that Chinese goods are sold at a low price and the South Asian Markets have already been captured by China. Even Japan and U.K. are not able to compete with her. Under these circumstances how far these measures will solve the problem of foreign exchange is to be seen. As it is, one will not be wrong if he becomes pessimistic about the outcome of these measures.

In order to export more our productive capacity must be increased. What we find today is that due to stringent import policy, raw materials and other appliances necessary for production are not available. This has resulted in closing down many firms and increasing unemployment in the country. The racketeering in import licences cannot be stopped unless strict measures are adopted by the Government. So far the government has failed miserably in this field. In order to export more import licences must be given to the genuine importers freely on condition that they should export 3 to 4 times more than the imports that they wish to have. By this method the existing industries at least will be able to operate and employment will be maintained at a high level. This alone will solve the problem of foreign exchange in the long run. The stringent import policy has caused more harm than good and now government should realise the fact and adopt a policy of free trade. Loans from foreign countries will not solve our problem permanently. They will aggravate the situation and at last make us bankrupt. Our leaders without understanding the economic consequences of these loans have mortgaged our country. In order to export more private enterprise should be given free scope and it should not be treated as criminal. To achieve greater productivity the present integrated confiscatory form of taxation must be abolished. Mere slogans will not solve the problem.

Nehru And Food Problem

THE most serious problem that our country faces today is the food crisis. In many parts of the country people are dying of starvation and the shops are looted. The Food Minister Shri Jain was not able to give a satisfactory answer to this problem and when the Opposition Members criticised his food policy he made a dramatic offer of resignation to Prime Minister. Mr. Nehru as usual came to the

rescue of Mr. Jain and put the entire blame on the Cabinet. He told the Opposition Members that it was wrong to blame a particular person for a particular policy. It was a joint responsibility of the Cabinet. If that is the case, then is it not fair and just to ask Mr. Nehru to dissolve the Cabinet. In a democratic country like ours (if at all it is democracy) this is the only course open to him and take the verdict of the people on the food problem. In a democracy people are ultimately sovereign. This alone will show whether Mr. Nehru is a democrat or autocrat.

Mr. Nehru confesses that he had no idea of the food situation till a year ago and at the same time he says that there is plenty of food in the country. If that is so, then why should people resort to looting the shops? Why do the people starve? There is no answer to this. Did the people elect these inefficient leaders to starve them?

It has become a common fashion among the leaders to blame the people for their bunglings. It is said that the food crisis is due to increase in population. Did the people assure these leaders that they will remain bachelors till the Second Five Year Plan? Certainly not. If so, then is it not fair to accept failure?

The Prime Minister and Food Minister are under wrong impression that party politics are getting mixed up with food, but the main cause of food crisis is that the distribution system is corrupt and that the Congress governments have entrusted this important function to a few chosen merchants who are notorious for their anti-social activities and they do not lose any opportunity to mint money. All of us do agree with Prime Minister that food should be above party politics, but at the same time we insist that it should not be the monopoly of political sychopants.

The Rupee And The Foreign Exchange Crisis

IN order to solve the foreign exchange crisis which our country faces at present, some economists especially Dr. B. R. Shenoy have advocated the devaluation of the rupee in order to achieve the equilibrium in the balance of payments, but both Finance Minister and Prime Minister have condemned this loose talk but the speculation which has been current for some time has not been ended.

Devaluation instead of solving the problem of foreign exchange crisis will aggravate the situation within the country as it will lead to inflation. The main object of devaluation is to boost the exports and to curtail the imports. The demand for imports is highly inelastic in our country and so we cannot afford to raise the price of the imports under the present circumstances as it will increase the cost of the imports which will be harmful for the rapid economic development of the country. What we need at present is expansion of exports and that can be achieved only by reducing the prices of our exports and by improving the quality of our goods. We are in need of capital goods at the lowest costs and if we resort to devaluation the cost of the Plan would be higher which can be met only either by higher taxation or by deficit financing which is very harmful from the economic point of view.

The only solution lies in creating a proper climate

at home and abroad which alone can secure the necessary loans, aids and credits. Secondly all these loans should be used to increase the production at home but for that the fiscal policy as well as industrial policy must be completely reorientated. Unless this is done there is no bright prospect for solving the present crisis.

—Summarised from "Thought"

Gold Loan And Its Necessity

IN order to solve the foreign exchange crisis Government of India had curtailed the imports but the situation instead of improving has worsened and it has become the burning problem of the day. Last year Mr. T. T. K. ex-Finance Minister and Prime Minister Pandit Nehru appealed to the public to give their hoarded gold in order to solve the difficulties of the Government, but it seems from the Press reports that only one lady had come forward with a pair of bangles. Unfortunately the name of the lady was not published. Recently Reserve Bank Bulletin has taken a survey of the gold in the country and according to that survey there is a large amount of gold in the country. If proper steps are taken it would not be difficult to get a substantial amount of gold. One such step is to nationalise all gods and goddesses. This suggestion may appear to be fantastic and revolutionary on the surface of it but if one probes deeply into the matter one can realize the fact that a large amount of gold is lying idle in the temples and if the gods and goddesses are nationalised instead of industries they would not feel unhappy but at least they would feel proud of being some use to the country. If this suggestion is not feasible, then the other alternative is to float gold loan. To make the people part with gold what is required is proper and reassuring approach. Unless this is done people will not come forward to part with their "liquidity". Public must be assured that the gold borrowed by the Government would be returned in gold only and for that according to Shri Chunilal B. Mehta, Government should bring out Gold Mohur of fine gold. This would kill the two birds with one stone. In the first place the price of gold which is higher in our country would come down and Government would be able to finance the Plans without confiscatory pattern of taxation which has caused much harm in this country.

The subscribers to this Loan should be assured that their gold would be exempted from the Wealth and Gift Tax. This method was followed in Western Countries especially in France and the French Government was able to collect gold to the tune of 125 lakhs.

By this method Government would be able to get enough to implement the Plan. In order to induce the people to part with their gold the gold loan should carry a reasonable rate of interest free of income tax. Before floating gold loan Income Tax authorities must be given proper instructions not to make any inquiry regarding the source of accumulation of gold. This alone will enable many people to come forward and subscribe to the loan. At present what is happening is that people buy gold in order to avoid income tax and other taxes, which are causing great headache to the people. This is a penny wise and pound foolish policy.

A Judge On Tax Justice

Statement Submitted to the Texas Tax Study Commission by the Hon. JOHN R. FUCHS.

OF all the powers that the government wields there is none of greater importance and of more far reaching consequences than the power of taxation. No other exercise of power has a greater "impact upon the residents, business and economy of the State."

We all know what it is we are after. First of all we are all after the same thing the one great thing—and that is to establish Justice. "Equal Justice Under Law" is graven over the entrance to the U.S. Supreme Court. This is the goal towards which we must all eternally keep striving, no matter in what department of government we may for the time being be functioning.

He who thinks of taxation as merely the means of raising revenue for the purpose of paying the expenses of government, does not know the half of it. It is as true today as it was when Chief Justice Marshall uttered it: "The power to tax is the power to destroy," but let us not forget that he also said, "it is the power to keep alive." What is it that we want to destroy and what should be kept alive? In the imposition of every tax these factors should be borne in mind: what effect will the tax have on the production and distribution of wealth?

It was Alexander Hamilton who stated the axiomatic fact, that there are only two things that can be taxed, Land Values or Commerce.

Certainly if we want to destroy something it should be that which is evil, and we should at the same time keep alive that which promotes the general welfare.

I maintain that this can be accomplished. Let us not beat around the bush, but get right down to the facts. I submit that there is one tax, or rather it is not a tax at all but is rather the collection of that which belongs to all the people, whereby we can destroy special privileges and at the same time encourage and reward thrift, energy, initiative, and in the process, or by the process, bring about a more equitable, mind you not "equal", distribution of wealth—a real "Free Enterprise."

What is this thing, this value, this fund, or intangible asset that is created by the people and by the government, the people's agency, which belongs to all the people? Is it not the annual value of land ground rent—or the "economic rent" as the economist calls it?

By the term "land," I do not mean "real estate," which is a mere legal term and includes the improvements. By land I mean the earth, with all the natural resources above and below, as created by nature, and by Nature's God; not by labour or capital. But as population increases as the people through their government, build streets and roads, erect schools, establish and maintain fire departments, water and light systems and establish law and order, and perform other public services the value of land increases. Adam Smith was correct when he called this "the unearned increment" as far as the individual title holder of the land is concerned. But is it not an

earned increment so far as the people—the people are concerned? Do they not pay for all the public services mentioned and many more? And having paid for them by the sweat of their faces, are they not entitled to their reward?

Here I could cite an unlimited number of statistics showing how land values have increased and are continually increasing. However these facts are matter of common knowledge. For instance I know of one city where lots which only a few years ago sold for \$100 are now selling for \$1,000; and lots heretofore selling for \$500 to \$1,000 are selling for \$10,000 and more. This holds true to the same extent, and in some cases to smaller or larger extent, in every village, town or city in the State of Texas. To some degree this is also true of agricultural and mineral lands.

In the production of wealth there are three elements, and three only: *Land, Labour and Capital*. *Land* I have already defined. By *Labour* is meant not only manual labour, but management as well. All executives, engineers and architects and all professional men are labourers. *Capital* is that part of wealth which is applied to land in the production of more wealth. Therefore *Land is the static element* while *Labour and Capital are the dynamic elements*. Under our present tax system the burden of taxation falls heaviest on the dynamic elements. Land values pay a relatively small proportion. By taxing the products of labour and capital we stifle the articles of commerce and increase their prices to the ultimate consumer, who pays the tax. However, the tax on land values cannot be shifted. All economists are agreed on this. And the Supreme Court of the United States so held when passing on the first Income Tax Law.

Our present tax system has thrown the whole economic structure out of gear, as it were. The glaring iniquities of this system have caused the government to pass wage laws, price regulation and many other paternalistic palliatives. These in the long run cure nothing but add to the unfairness in the distribution of wealth. Government has the power to pass laws fixing wages and prices, but can no more do so fairly than it can regulate the weather by law. Palliatives are never a cure for social injustice.

The great mass of the common people are deprived of their heritage through no fault of their own, but because of the great wrong whereby the natural source of public revenue—the community created rental value of land—is treated as if it were private property. It is a matter of simple economic arithmetic that if a privileged few get something for nothing, the rest get nothing for something.

As peculiarly applicable, I quote from the great American economist:

The advantages that would be gained by substituting, for the numerous taxes by which the public re-

venues are now raised, a tax levied upon the value of land, will appear more and more important the more they are considered. To abolish the taxation, which acting and reacting now hampers every wheel of exchange and presses upon every form of industry, would be like removing an immense weight from a powerful spring.

If you improve your land—your site—with a house, with flowers and trees, while I leave a hovel of mine with tin cans and dead cats, you are mulct while I am giving a premium.

You will ask me the question that I have been asked many, many times during the past 50 years: "Will this system produce enough revenue to satisfy all the needs of government?" I answer this by asking a question in turn: "Do you not believe that over 9 million sturdy Texans will pay enough, and will gladly do so, for the privileges of sojourning on a part of this earth, known as Texas?" Moreover the sum needed will for many reasons be less: Governmental affairs and administration will be greatly simplified; more people will have an opportunity to make their own living, Labour will get better wages and real capital higher interest. But let us assume that the system I propose will not provide enough revenue for legitimate governmental expenses, and that we might have to resort to other taxes, should we not in any event first take that which belongs to the people before we resort to a tax on that which the individual has produced by his "talent and virtue?" And again I ask a question: *What would you think of me, if I finding your purse that you had lost, would not return it on the specious ground that after all it contains not enough to satisfy your wants?*

All I have tried to do today is to give you a bare outline of what I consider a just tax. Far be it from me to think that I have all the answers, but I do believe with all my heart and mind that what I propose will meet all the tests of what a just tax system should be. It is not only a tax measure, but it will free labour and capital from the unjust burdens, and the ultimate consumer from the innumerable "hidden taxes," as Benjamin Fairless, vice-president of U.S. Steel, called them. It will leave to the individual what belongs to him and to the public what belongs to them. It will not help one group at the expense of another.

I do not claim that it is a panacea for all ills, but due to its many obvious beneficial ramifications it will bring order out of chaos. It is the one first great step toward justice, and will make the solution of all other problems easier. Such is the power of Justice.

Finally the proposed step is in harmony with natural law, yes with the Divine Law. In the atheistic totalitarian states the people have only such rights as are granted by the state, while herein the United States, where we believe in the laws of God, man has certain inalienable rights recognised and protected by our Great Bill of Rights. While we, the people, are secure in our civil rights, there is still one basic God-given right which we have not fully recognised, It is the right of the people to the use of a part of the earth given to them—the children of man—from which, and by which alone they can live. In all humility, I submit that the proposal made here today will give to

the people an Economic Bill of Rights, which is long overdue.
—*Land and Liberty*

Payments Crisis

LOOMING over this week's London meeting of the Commonwealth officials preparing for the Montreal Conference there has been increasing realisation of a fast approaching external payments crisis in India. India's payments difficulties have recently been heightened partly by a loss of export income and partly by an acceleration of deliveries of capital goods. This last is a product of change in world economic climate and of the increasing slack in the economies of industrial countries. The deficit which India has to meet over the remaining period of the second five-year plan—that is, up to April, 1961—is of the order of £420 million. Of this rather more than half has to be found before April of next year. These sums are arrived at after allowing for all promises of credits.

India has in hand £177 million of sterling balances which obviously cannot be drawn down to zero. In addition there is about £80 million of gold in the Reserve Bank which must be regarded as a last ditch reserve. The need for a massive credit operation is therefore desperately urgent. India has recently obtained an Export-Import Bank credit of \$150 million, but this is tied to future purchases of capital goods (in the United States and at prices at which are now between 20 and 30 per cent higher than the prices at which these goods could be purchased in Germany or Britain). This Export-Import credit is therefore useless to meet the urgent problem of filling the payments gap. The debts owing by India in respect of capital goods ordered under the second five-year plan amount to some 880 crores of rupees—say £670 million sterling—of which it is probable that half is owing to the United Kingdom, with Germany and Japan next in order of importance. The bulk of the amount owing to the United Kingdom is covered by the Export Credits Guarantee Department. The efforts that must be made by India to meet the payments due over the next few months will quite clearly occupy the attention of London, Washington and perhaps Frankfurt over the next few weeks.

—"THE ECONOMIST"

R E A D

Indian Libertarian

A NATIONAL FORTNIGHTLY WITH AN INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

- * CRITICAL REVIEW OF NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL EVENTS,
- * EXPOSITION OF LIBERTARIAN PHILOSOPHY,
- * ILLUMINATING ARTICLES ON PAKISTAN, COMMUNISM & FREE ECONOMY,
- * BOOK REVIEWS
- * HUMOUR

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 6/- (Post Paid)
Foreign U.K. 12sh. U.S.A. \$2
Single Copy: 25 nP.

TIT - BITS

ISRAEL AND ARABS

The Arab countries under the leadership of Nasser talk of liquidating Jews and Zionism. The war of nerves is still going on between the two contending races and the Arabs have not yet reconciled to the plain fact that Israel has come to stay as a state in their midst.

It is very regrettable indeed that Nasser who subscribes to the principles of Panch Shila wholeheartedly, does not want to coexist with Israelites who after many centuries of wandering from one part of the world to the other, have at last got a home of their own to live and settle down. Israel has as much right as the Arab nations to exist. It is a stark reality.

Civilization demands that the Arabs should come to peace with Israel and both of them live as good neighbours. Although India has recognised Israel, it has not established diplomatic relations with it so far. This is against our practice of Pancha Shila. Exchanging representatives between the two might earn some displeasure from the Arabs but we must recognise facts. Are we not advising the Americans to recognise Red China?

PAK RAIDS

The daily news of forcible Pak occupation of our villages on our borders is very distressing. How long is this trouble to continue?

Our strong protest notes are being lightly treated by the Pak authorities who are themselves conniving at these incidents. The lives of the border people have become insecure. They have to leave their houses and stop agricultural operations. These raids have become a regular business for the Pakistanis and it is profitable for them too. Every time they carry away something or the other. Why then should they care for our protests? They do not know how to honour the protests of a neighbour. They must be given treatment befitting them. The protests have become outdated. The recent statement of the Union Home Minister was encouraging but it should not become an empty statement. The Pakistani authorities should know that our Home Minister means what he says.

PAK-NAGA CONSPIRACY

Mr. Nehru has revealed that the Naga rebel leader, Mr. Phuzo, has been in Dacca for some time. There is no doubt that much of the Naga trouble along the Assam borders is kept alive with active support from across the border. In June last, the Assam C.I.D. arrested one Dally Namo who was suspected of being the main link in a chain of contact between Naga rebel leaders and the authorities in Pakistan, and the correspondence in his possession seemed to indicate *an offer of help from Pakistan and a joint plan of action against India*. His confession of contacts established with two top officials of the Pakistani mission at Shillong and of his activities in relaying their instructions to Naga rebel leaders only confirmed the long suspected Pakistani complicity in the matter. In

the circumstances, Phizo's presence in Dacca would carry a sinister connotation.

BORDER RESISTANCE GROUPS

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha recently that he was not in favour of armed resistance groups of citizens being organised along the border with Pakistan. Mr. Nehru's reason for not favouring such resistance groups was that these Pak attacks were rather of the thieving and dacoity type and that such resistance groups, if organised, might lead to similar organisations on the other side and all types of conflicts.

Is it not the duty of our government to protect the lives and property of our people? If it cannot do so, should it not at least permit the people to organise resistance groups to defend themselves against Pakistani dacoits and goondas committing murders, loot, arson and depredations on our side of the border? What does it matter whether the Pak attacks are of aggression type or of dacoity type? Should not our citizens organise resistance groups and defend themselves if they are attacked by Pakistani goondas, especially when our impotent government fails to protect the lives and property of our people?

Resistance groups, even if formed, might not succeed in checking the Pakistani attacks along our borders. It is high time the Government of Assam handed over the control of its borders to our military.

OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES

The recent Pak plan on the Canal water dispute recently submitted to the World Bank in London is nothing but the old wine in a new bottle.

India has been contending that once the division of the waters of the Indus basin as envisaged in the Bank proposals of 1954 was accepted, other issues, such as the quantum of water to be supplied by India to Pakistan till her Link Canals were ready, and the cost of construction of these canals, could be settled by negotiation under the auspices of the World Bank. But Pakistan has not accepted even these reasonable proposals.

With regard to the cost of construction of the Link-Canals, Pakistan has now come down from her previous figures of Rs. 600 crores to Rs. 360 crores. Even this modified figure is highly fantastic. India's share of the cost of these link canals and a storage cannot exceed Rs. 40 crores. The entire network of canals in pre-partition Punjab cost only Rs. 40 crores. The Link canals and the storage which Pakistan has now to build is only a fraction of that vast network in pre-partition Punjab. Even after allowing a margin for the present increase cost of construction it could not exceed Rs. 40 crores. Moreover, there is no reason why India should pay Pakistan even this Rs. 40 crores for the construction of link canals when Pakistan owes to India about Rs. 300 crores as her share of the public debt of undivided India. Neither the first instalment, nor even the interest has so far been paid by Pakistan to India!

(Continued from page 12)

the Soviet Union, by initial non-use, would have shown an alternative—albeit one that involved limited defeat—to the vastly more unpalatable prospect of mutual destruction by thermonuclear assaults.

The second loophole is even more serious. The Soviet generals are not only sceptical about the likelihood of the Americans implementing their thermonuclear threat. They are also unconvinced of the efficacy of the threat even if implemented. Even if the dread eventuality of a mutual thermonuclear exchange does take place, the Soviets clearly believe that their subsequent gains in Europe and the Middle and Far East, assured by superior land and sea forces, will make good the losses suffered in Russia itself. This confidence would not, of course, encourage them to initiate thermonuclear war. But it might encourage them to initiate conventional war, because the risk of defaulting to American initiative in thermonuclear weapons is not regarded in Moscow as wholly unacceptable. The gains of non-use might seem so great, the possibility of mutual deterrence so large, and the price of the gamble failing so relatively bearable, as to make this strategy attractive.

It would, therefore, seem highly dangerous for the West to place too much reliance on the certainty of thermonuclear deterrence. Nor does the alternative doctrine of limited nuclear war seem a satisfactory answer to the challenge of Soviet strategic thinking. For in spite of Soviet refusal to admit the feasibility of limited nuclear warfare, their armed forces appear to be fully adaptable to these tactics. Clearly, so long as there is a chance of limiting warfare exclusively to conventional weapons, in which they have a clear superiority, the Russians will not even consider the possibility of limited nuclear war. But the fact remains that they are already in a position to fight

such a war, and is difficult to see how their superiority on the ground would not make victory for them quite as certain in limited nuclear war as in conventional war—so long as the balance of military man-power still remains as greatly in their favour as it is today.

None of this, as I say, should lead to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is likely to commit aggression. As Mr. Khrushchev is fond of pointing out, Communism is winning anyhow, through subversion, economic penetration, and the momentum of its—to them—obviously superior social system. All I have been attempting to show is that they believe they have evolved a military strategy that can win, not that they are eager to put it into operation.

Yet even if the basic pacific intentions are granted, the fact that the West's potential enemy believes itself to possess the secret of victory, is itself a cause for grave concern. It must surely vastly affect the buoyancy of their diplomacy, the degree of risks they are prepared to take, and the tone of voice with which they feel it safe to address the world. In gambling, the rich man who feels he can afford to raise the stakes is always at an advantage over the poor man who knows he cannot afford to take the risk. From a reading of Soviet military journals, one dominant conclusion emerges: they still believe that, even in the thermonuclear era, mass land armies are the key to successful strategy. They have this key; the West does not.

Whether or not the Soviet Union is right, the West cannot afford to overlook this basic belief. For thermonuclear deterrence, on which the West entirely relies, is a psychological weapon. If it is irrelevant to the climate of Soviet strategic thought, it is no more effective than the bow and arrow.

—Encounter

DID YOU KNOW...

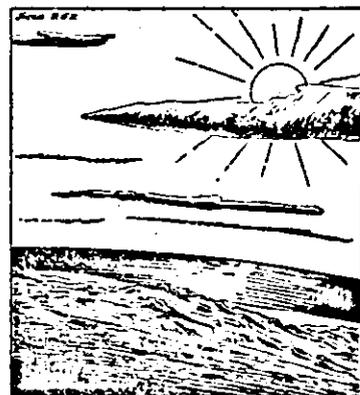
By Scio



Experts say Hawaii's Mount Waialeale is probably the world's rainiest spot. Waialeale's annual rainfall averages 489 inches. In a recent year, 624 inches poured down. Strangely, only 20 inches a year fall on Waimea, a coastal town just 15 miles away.



Among the top U.S. scientists responsible for the launching of the American earth satellite "Explorer" are Dr. James Van Allen of Iowa, U.S.A., Dr. William Pickering, born in New Zealand, and Dr. Wernher von Braun, born in Germany. As part of its contribution to the International Geophysical Year program, the U.S. will share with other nations of the world whatever information it learns from its satellite.



Our sun is not only a star, but is the nearest star to the earth. Light from the most distant star yet photographed takes about 500,000,000 years to reach earth. Light from the sun reaches us in slightly more than eight minutes.

The Legacy Of The Late Glyn Thomas

By Anthony Elenjittam

ECONOMICS, that modern science of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of wealth, have divided the world into two warring camps: Capitalism and Communism. Capital reduced to its simplest terms, means wealth to produce more wealth. Communism hinges on the doctrine of violent revolution to bring about the collectivisation of means of production and distribution of wealth from private ownership to State ownership. Capitalism believes in free enterprise and individual freedom to make or mar one's own destiny. Communism immolates individual freedom to the moloch of an omnipotent super-militarized state.

But, the world little knows of the pioneers of a third economic ideology which emancipates individuals and nations from the Scylla of Capitalism and the Charbydis of Communism. That may be called—for want of a better term—Libertarian Socialism, or Free Economy. Kropotkin, Bakunin and their likes are known to the world as champions of libertarian ideology in economics and political science. But there are a number of individuals who have hardly entered the sunshine of History, and, yet, they are the prophets of a new World Order based on an economy which, besides merely being a corrective to the evils of both Capitalism and Communism, is also the strongest bulwork of human values and natural ethics, without which society and state cannot have sure foundations.

Among such unknown prophets of a new Economic Order was Glyn Thomas who passed away on May 24th, 1958 at the age of 82 at Hirst House, Saltaire, Shipley, Yorkshire, England. His economic theories have been published in a number of articles he published in England, Japan, India and other countries, in his booklets and the wide range of correspondence he maintained to like-minded persons in different parts of the world. For the last seven years the present writer kept up his contact with Glyn through correspondence. In these letters we have the outpourings of a prophet of a new world order based on naturalist ethics and libertarian philosophy of life. Although a prophet is without honour in his own country, the seeds which Glyn Thomas has sown will germinate in far-off lands where there are independent minds which refuse to fall in line with the trends of the world uncritically.

The legacy of such a pioneer in libertarian philosophy of life and naturalistic economics may be summed up in a few aphorisms culled from the writings of Glyn Thomas himself. They are:

(1) "The Currency of the world consists of its exchangeable services in every form—not money of any kind." This proposition which Glyn Thomas repeats in his writings and letters reduces money to its natural use as a sheer means of exchange and a store of value, subservient to that naturalistic currency which is exchangeable services. Man, being a social animal, needs cooperation. This cooperative society exists

on the basis of services that could be exchanged. Money, at its best, is merely means of that exchange. Currency intended by Nature is not gold or silver or bank notes, but exchangeability of services between man and man.

(2) The exploitation of labour by capital, of the poor by the rich, of the weaker by the stronger has been made possible through the power of money-finance and the power money-mammon weilds. Glyn says:

"The entire structure of parasitic "finance" (whereby people obtain service without giving service) is erected on words designed to confuse and extinguish Truth. The nobility and gentry first got service without service by straight slavery, but after getting too lazy to catch and maintain their slaves, invented "finance" to do the job on a greater, firmer, and more permanent scale so that they could bequeath their slaves and privileges from generation to generation indefinitely. As I said in my article printed in Japan: 'Its criminal character is seen in the pyramid of debt, it has imposed on *Unborn Posterity*. If this process continues, the parasites of the world will hold claims to all the production of workers.' The same in India I expect."

India, through imitating big finance of the West, takes heavy loans which means mortgaging our country and posterity. We are with our begging bowls before the monetary potentates of the world asking for gifts, donations and food. Indian economics has largely deviated from naturalistic ethics which will spell doomsday to our people.

(3) Money to Glyn Thomas is not gold and silver, but "Time spent in productive work and exchangeable services." Time is money is axiomatic to any businessman. But its ethical depths were fathomed and propounded by Glyn Thomas. When world gets tired of the present-day blind money—economics and state totalitarianism of the Fascists and Communists, the philosophy of Glyn Thomas will prove to be a soothing balm to this suffering mankind.

WHEAT BUYING QUOTA DOUBLED FOR INDIA

The U.S. has doubled the amount of wheat India can purchase in the United States for local currency under a previous Public Law 480 agreement between the two countries.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has announced that it has amended the accord to authorize India to purchase \$13,687,000 worth of U.S. wheat, an increase of \$6,843,500 over the original authorization.

Under the amended accord, India will be able to buy about 200,000 metric tons of U.S. reserve wheat with rupees, thus saving its foreign exchange.

The Agriculture Department has also extended the contracting period for the wheat purchases from September 30 to October 31, and the delivery period from October 31 to December 31.

—The American Reporter

Noon-Nehru Talks

By VARAHAMIRA

THE history of the Indian National Congress has been a history of consistent surrender to Muslim Communalism since the Khilafat days. It should not be hence surprising if Pandit Nehru yields to Mr. Noon's demands and sacrifices our national interests once again to appease the muslim communalism. No spectacular gains are likely to be achieved by these high-level parleys, especially because Mr. Noon has accepted Nehru's offer for a meeting between them *only after making India face the "fait accompli" of the occupation of Lakhimpur by Pakistani troops.*

At the forthcoming meeting between Mr. Noon and Nehru, no tangible results will be secured except some verbal exchanges — containing deliberate distortions on one side and dignified replies about the "correct position" on the other.

What needs to be done is to pin down Mr. Noon to a definite explanation of the hectic war-preparations going on in Pakistan especially after the American military aid to her in the light of the threats of *Jehad* against India openly held out even by responsible leaders of Pakistan. India should have gathered all possible evidence by taking actual photographs of disposition of Pakistani troops and of villages on the Indian side of the border mutilated by ruthless and indiscriminate fire from Pakistani machine-guns, large-scale preparations going on in Pakistan near our borders, obviously for further attacks on Indian territory. massing of troops, digging trenches and constructing bunkers near our borders. Who can accept Pakistan's puerile explanation that all these war-like preparations are only in "self-defence?"

What astonishes and distresses us is that whether we have a strong or a weak case, difficult or an easy one, whether it is Kashmir or the Canal Waters dispute or the Indo-Pak border clashes, it is always Pakistan that gets in the first blow, so far as publicity in the foreign press is concerned!

While we were burning ourselves to cinders with self-righteous indignation at the unprovoked Pakistani outrages committed on our territory from across the border, Pakistan's loud lament against "Indian aggression" on Pakistani territory was spread all over the columns of the British and American press in which India was already in the dock, painted as the big bully baiting an innocent and helpless Pakistan! Even where our case is so simple and straight, Pakistan manages to make India look the villain, while not even many Indians know the details of our case. The reason is the smug attitude of our government's self-righteousness in which state of mind it is so convinced that it is right that it is convinced that it need not convince any one else about it!

For want of proper publicity, on every issue, however good our case may be, Pakistan becomes the complainant and India—the defendant! Should it not be the duty of our external publicity to get in the first blow in the columns of foreign press? What is our External Affairs Ministry meant for? "Always get in your own date-line on a controversy" is an axiom of modern publicity and this is exactly what Pakistan

follows strictly. What we have to learn is quick thinking and quick action.

(Continued from page 2)

to her *civil servants*. He said that these civil servants in Pakistan suffered from a sense of frustration at the failure of their country to make good and were jealous of the progress and great name of India in the international world. He continued that he had never seen such bitterness even in the press of Pakistan. There is something in this interpretation, for national sentiment is largely the product of middle class people and of the attitude of public servants. The general public, particularly the poorer classes, follow and absorb national sentiment as a kind of substitute for religion. But in traditional societies, it may act as a *reinforcement* to religion. But we cannot find any comfort in the idea that the general public or common man in Pakistan is indifferent to the hate campaign and hate sentiment of the leaders, whether politicians or civil servants or teachers. They share them to the full as members of the Islamic republic. The common man and leaders are both involved in a vicious circle, each class strengthening the other in the cycle of jealousy, hatred and destructive fury, for any success in action against India will enable them both to come back to India as conquerors! The geographical feeling for their ancestral homes and cities and fields is an integral part of nationalism and religion. Their feeling for the Moghul buildings in Delhi—the Red Fort and Jumma Masjid, and for Taj Mahal is part of their "*patriotism*" excluding the Hindus. They long to come back and politicians exploit this feeling not on a basis of aloofness but on a basis of sharing in it. There is more *rapprochement* and accord in sentiment and aims between leaders and people in Pakistan than in India. Mr. Desai was clear that appeasement is not the way to meet the problem. It has not paid in the past and will not pay in the end.

Mr. Ashok Mehta the PSP leader sank back to the neurotic attitude typical of Congress leadership in his Presidential remarks when he called for "mature sense of responsibility and an attitude of genuine *goodness*" in dealing with Pakistan! What does he mean by these exhortations? Is it not time to make a change in our '*goodness*' to Pakistan after all these years of total failure? It is time to begin to be a little "*good*" towards ourselves!

Mr. Desai also revealed that Pakistan has given extensive military bases to America, "where installations are erected which cannot be used for any local war or limited operations with facilities for missiles"! When will India wake up?

WHY NOT TAKE MILITARY AID FROM AMERICA

It is time to recognise that the *only answer* to the aggressive danger from Pakistan is to take military aid from America, not as part of her anti-Russian campaign but *for defence of the home country*. We can agree that we will use such aid solely to defend our borders if attacked. On this basis, it is certain that America will give us free military aid enough to neutralise the danger from Pakistan and in times of war, to defend the neutrality of India and deny its human and natural resources to *both the belligerents*. There is no other sensible way out of the military crisis created by our Prime Minister in his exalted policies which are more suitable to the Secretary General of UNO than to a country like India.

RUSSIA FACES FOOD CRISIS

SOCIALISM'S OFFERING — AND WARNING — TO THOSE WHO WOULD EAT

By Lawrence Sullivan

WHY is Moscow so frantic for an immediate summit conference? Chiefly because the Communist food crisis is critical. A gaudy conference with top leaders from the lands of plenty is demanded urgently to restore the staggering prestige of the Kremlin planners in the eyes of their own people.

Unless Moscow can do something spectacular before winter to improve Russian nutritional standards, an explosive food situation will confront the entire communist world, in both Europe and Asia. Diplomats currently are watching the communist food supply more closely than at any time since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Communist agriculture has failed for forty years to keep abreast of Russian population growth.

In Russian money today, the average Soviet factory hand must work three hours to earn one dozen eggs. Translated into American wages, this means that eggs in Moscow are selling at \$6.30 a dozen in New York equivalent.

Slovenly tailored woolen suits in Moscow sell for fourteen-hundred hours of labour at current Russian wages. Translated into American wages, the shoddy woolen suit in Moscow costs the New York equivalent of \$2.90.

A pair of shoes in Moscow requires 62 hours of factory wages, which is the same as shoes at \$130.20 a pair in Chicago!

These examples, from a U.S. Department of Agriculture study published in November 1957, on the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, summarize the acute crisis in Russian farm production.

Upon his return from a Russian tour last November, Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana reported: "Many Russian people today have only black bread, cabbage, potatoes, beets, and a pot of tea."

Reporting on his 10 years in Russian slave labour camps a returned American prisoner, John Noble, declared: "The Soviet Union is a land of shortages and hungers. The country is insufficient in all respects, in food and industry. There simply isn't enough of anything to go around."

Prisoners in the Arctic slave labor camps have denuded the countryside even of its dog population, Noble reported: "Dog meat, I found, has a taste all its own, but if anything, it is softer and tastier than beef. In all, the doctor and I ate up two dogs. The pieces, kept hidden in the snow, fed us for months."

Noble reported between 25 and 28 million men and women in the Russian slave camps as of mid 1954. The weight of some 100,000 slaves in the infamous Vorkuta camp ranged from 75 to 115 pounds per man. (Normal Europeans would average 168 pounds.) "Our teeth rotted from lack of vitamins."

AN ABUNDANCE OF NEEDS

The Department of Agriculture's World Feed Survey for January 1958 estimated food production per capita this year in the free world at 4 per cent greater than the 1935-39 average, but the communist nations are still 8 per cent below their per capita prewar averages. Thus, failure to feed a steadily expanding population continues as the first challenge to world communism.

The National Industrial Conference Board confirms this picture with its own conclusion from a Russian tour by stating that "the emphasis given to heavy industry has left the bulk of the population of Russia with living standards that are woefully inadequate." Steadily mounting pressures for better living standards, both within Russia and all the satellite states, raise grave doubts concerning the survival of communism.

Before the communist revolution, Russia was a principal world exporter of wheat, but in 1956 the Soviets imported 15 million bushels of wheat from Canada and additional tonnages from Argentina and Australia.

Our own Department of Agriculture emphasizes that all the temperate zones in Russia already are under collectivist cultivation. There are no new lands available for corn and feed grains, as a basis for more meat and dairy products. Russia also is totally lacking in quality breeding stock. There is a great shortage and backwardness in refrigeration and processing equipment. Transportation is inadequate everywhere.

Russia's hunger crisis would have developed ten years ago, save for tremendous lend-lease shipments of food, farm machinery, and fertilizers during the war years. After the war, food shipments from UNRRA sustained Russian nutritional standards at the bare subsistence level through 1948. For the years 1952-53 Russia, on her own for the first time since 1940, produced annually on 86 per cent of her 1935-39 average farm yield, as measured on a per capita basis. By 1957 this per capita food production had been advanced slightly to 92 per cent of the prewar average.

HUNGRY PEOPLE REBEL

Hary Schwarts, Soviet affairs specialist for the New York Times, attributed the Polish and Hungarian uprisings of 1956 primarily to food shortages. "There also has been the smaller scale, but still interesting, armed revolt in Northern Vietnam," he told the Congressional Joint-Committee on the Economic Report (page 37). "All of these are resentment of the people at the sacrifices they have been forced to undergo....."

The urgency of the food crisis inside Russia was again underscored by Khrushchev's order last October which abandoned the old Stalinist collectivist tractor stations in favour of direct ownership of tractors by the state farms. In his address before the Supreme Soviet accepting the premiership, on March 27 of this year, Khrushchev devoted more than two hours of his three-hour speech to agricultural production and food distribution. But even here communism still was unable to grasp the core of the problem—lack of incentive under collectivism.

THE SOLUTION IS CLEAR

All the world sees clearly that the solution of Russia's chronic food crisis lies in a return to private ownership of land and production machinery, with production-for-profit as the powerful incentive to expansion. But that solution, of course, would entail complete abandonment and repudiation of all communism.

Even Khrushchev now recognizes that communism cannot deliver the goods. But nobody in the Kremlin yet has even suggested a practical solution within the terms of doctrinaire communist theory. Hence, a current political and social crisis of the first magnitude. Gnawing stomachs do not wait on refinements of Marxist theory. Clocking sputnik in its orbit, all the communist world still queries, "When do we eat?"

Moscow's successive five-year plans have emphasized industrial development at the expense of agriculture. Many city populations have multiplied by ten since the 1917 revolution, but supporting farm acreage around the mushrooming cities has scarcely doubled. Baku had 150,000 population in 1917 and 1,000,000 in 1957. Novosibirsk had 60,000 in 1917 and 800,000 in 1957. Omsk had 160,000 in 1939 and 560,000 in 1957. Kuibyshev had 390,000 in 1939 and 800,000 in 1957.

In part, these new city masses have been supported recently by commandeered crops from the satellites of Eastern Europe. The great Danube Valley, for centuries the breadbasket of Central Europe, is today a land of rigorously collectivized hunger and want.

As Harry Schwartz told the Economic Joint Committee of Congress in December 1956: "The chief characteristic of economic management this past decade in Poland has been that men sent to run a particular field knew nothing about that field. This was particularly true in agriculture.

"The second reason is, of course, that the peasantry of Eastern Europe has, by and large, been opposed to collectivism. . . . The peasant's only possible resistance has been passive resistance. He simply did not do his job as well as he might have. So the really fundamental answer to what has happened to the Great Danube Granary is that the ills of communist management have so deprived peasants of incentive, and have so mismanaged agricultural affairs in Eastern Europe, that the countries like Rumania, Hungary, and Poland are today countries which badly need imported grain to feed their own people."

COLLECTIVISED FAMINE

On the other side of the world the same tragic story is told in China. "It is abundantly clear that the Chinese peasants hate the very idea of collectivization," the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported in De-

ember 1957. "They showed their contempt by such measures as slaughtering their livestock before they were taken away at ridiculously low prices or were confiscated outright. The very few who could, have fled to other countries. The hundreds of millions who remain know that if they produce more, the State will take more; that it is dangerous to have wealth and safer, if not more comfortable, to be poor. . . . For a country with limited agricultural resources, negligible surplus stocks and a rapidly growing population of 600 million, this could have the most serious implications.

"Moreover, floods and drought occur frequently, so with a population already living near the brink of famine, mismanagement of resources might bring about unparalleled disaster. Regardless, the Chinese communists are determined to build industry, and they intend to make the peasants pay the bill."

Nor does Khrushchev blink at the disaster now confronting the whole communist world. J. Edgar Hoover reports in *Masters of Deceit*, published in March 1958, that Khrushchev remarked flamboyantly at a Moscow diplomatic fete late in 1957: "Those who expect us to abandon communism will have to wait until a shrimp learns to whistle."

In an earlier epoch of cataclysmic catastrophe in Europe, this sentiment was rendered: "After me, the deluge."
—*The Freeman*

KANDAHAR WAS PART OF ASOKA'S EMPIRE NEW SENSATIONAL DISCOVERY

Dr. Raghu Vira M.P., Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, writes:

AN inscription of Asoka has been discovered in Afghanistan. As far as Indian history is concerned, it is one of the most important discoveries. So far the western-most inscriptions of Asoka were located in the region of Rawalpindi, namely Shahbaz Garhi and Mansehra. It was considered on their basis that Asoka's empire extended upto the Rawalpindi region.

A few years ago a fragmentary inscription in Aramaic translation was discovered in the village Lampak near Jalalabad. And now comes the discovery of a full inscription engraved on the lower block of a mountain at the entrance of the city of Kandahar. It also contains the edict of Asoka not in the usual Pali language but by translation into two languages, Greek the language of the local governor and Aramaic the commercial lingua franca of the Middle East.

It is a pity that the stone block bearing the inscription has been cut away from the parent rock.

Asoka's Pali name, Piyadassi has been rendered into Greek as Piodasses. He is described as the ruler of all things over the whole earth and in this capacity the emperor prescribes that as he himself does no harm to living-beings, so shall hunters and fishermen cease their sinful activity. At the end of the inscription the Emperor asks his subjects to comply with the rules of morality and to be obedient to their parents and elders.

It is clear from the opening lines that Kandahar was a part of the Asokan empire.

DECIPHERING DESAI

(From Our Own Correspondent)

SINCE the "personalities" part of politics is the most interesting and amusing part of it, interest in the Capital has been centred on the interview given by Finance Minister Morarji Desai to a representative of the American magazine *Time* on the eve of his visit to the United States. The parallel with the interview given a year or so ago by Finance Minister Krishnamachari (also, be it noted, on the eve of his visit to the United States on the identical mission of securing financial aid from Uncle Sam) will not fail to strike the reader. Nor will perhaps the confirmation-cum-denial now forthcoming from Morarji Desai, as it did then from the then Finance Minister. The gusto with which the interview has been discussed here leaves nothing to be desired except of course that the poor journalists are not in a position to reproduce in their papers even the gist of what they consider to be the truth of the matter.

But howsoever clever our journalists may be in underlining the offensive words or deducing implications therefrom, they are not able to place the incident in what may be called its historical setting. If you want money from a nation, you have got to induce a generous frame of mind among its inhabitants, particularly if it happens to be a democracy, and more particularly if you have been foolish enough to offend it in order to please some one else. So it cannot be considered unpardonable if you go out of your way to please them. That is why it was not considered unpardonable on the part of Finance Minister Krishnamachari to have said something offensive to the co-signatories of our Panchashila; neither would it have been considered unpardonable for Finance Minister Desai if he had condemned his Prime Minister indirectly, as his predecessor had done. But, unfortunately for him, he has equated the Prime Minister with "foibles", and the only silver lining in the dark cloud surrounding him at the moment is that he is far away from Mr. Nehru and that the wrath engendered by the Finance Minister's foible will not wait for his return, for Mr. Nehru's wrath has a way of finding an immediate victim in the person of the man who happens to come his way at the moment, irrespective of whether he has anything to do with the offence. And since flashes of temper cannot last long and it is unjust to punish two persons for the same offence, the guilty one generally escapes unhurt.

FOLLOWING A TRADITION

Besides, Morarji Desai is following a tradition set by the august Prime Minister himself, presumably in pursuance of what he calls the "moral approach". On the eve of his visit to Soviet Russia, he condemned in the strongest terms the American declaration that a Chinese invasion of the off-shore islands will be considered an attack on Formosa and dealt with accord-

ingly and declared that the East European states cannot be called colonies of Soviet Russia. Unkind critics suggested that these on-the-eve-of-the-visit sayings were meant to ensure a right royal welcome for Mr. Nehru in Soviet Russia, just as they now say that our Finance Ministers' words are purposeful. All three, in any case, cannot deny that they were intended to be helpful. If it is at the same time remembered that the Prime Minister himself made some anti-Russian observations on the eve of his visit to the United States, it will be readily conceded that the tradition Morarji Desai is following was set by Mr. Nehru himself, and, that being the case, it is no use cavilling at it.

The London Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* confronted Morarji Desai with the *Time* interview and cabled here that on the first sentence of his references to Nehru—"Human foibles are hard to remove"—Morarji Desai had no comment to offer. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the word "foible" thus: Weak point, weakness of character, quality on which one mistakenly prides oneself. The use of the word in plural with reference to the singular Mr. Nehru suggests that Mr. Morarji Desai's knowledge of the English language is considerable and his summing up of his chief in his own mind has not been very complimentary to the Chief. It may well be that what he meant to say was that human foibles are as hard to remove as Mr. Nehru. People, according to the Finance Minister, are now beginning to speak out courageously. He certainly is. Let us hope it will not prove to be a disastrous beginning.

CONGRESS TACTICS

The City has been plastered with posters containing an amazing report from the *Hindustan Standard* (New Delhi edition) of August 20. "Delhi people," says the report, "must be wondering why not a word had been said about the breakdown in water supply till after the polling for the Electoral College (for the Rajya Sabha) was over. . . . By Saturday evening the authorities had been fully aware of the river having changed its course. . . . Proposal for giving warning to Delhi citizens about the breakdown, was almost agreed upon, it is learnt. Then someone high up in the Congress immediately asked the Congress authorities to keep the fact a well-guarded secret till 4 p.m. on Sunday by which time the polling for the electoral college elections would be over. It was feared that the news of the suspension of water supply could materially affect the elections, and the Congress in that event would lose certain seats. The authorities were told, it is learnt, that the water supply in the city must be continued at all cost till at least the polling was over on Sunday."

(Continued on Page 20)

ON THE NEWS FRONT

PAK AIR HOSTESS HELD IN BOMBAY

A smart work on the part of Bombay C.I.D. enabled detection of a gold smuggling racket allegedly being conducted by the crew members of the Pakistan International Airlines, at the Santacruz airport.

The C.I.D. officers were keeping a watch on the movement of an air hostess, Miss Khairun N. H. Kassim, of an aircraft when it landed there and shadowed her to the first floor at the airport after she had passed the customs enclosure. Three persons were waiting for her. Along with them she entered a toilet room.

Later, when the party, Tarabai Kurban Hussein and two others, were about to enter a taxi, the police apprehended them and seized 250 tolas of gold in their possession. The air hostess was immediately summoned and a search revealed that she was carrying with her Indian currency valued at Rs. 2,600.

Miss Kassim and the three alleged accomplices were detained by police. The P.I.A. aircraft took off on its return journey without the air hostess.

—Free Press Journal

PAKISTANIS ASKED TO HATE EVERYTHING INDIAN

Mr. Mumtaz Daultana, Muslim League leader, told the West Pakistan Assembly that the people of Pakistan should not only hate India, but have a contempt towards everything "Indian."

He said it was a shameful attitude to refer to Indian practices as an example to be followed in Pakistan.

"There are people who go to India and bring back articles from there and be proud of it. Even if my sister goes to India and brings back a Banarsi saree I will be ashamed to call her my sister" he said.

The hatred against India, he added, was so keen that when the Prime Minister had said that Pakistan was not going to wage a war against India over canal waters or Kashmir, "he was looked down upon by everyone. He has been lowered in the estimate of the people to such an extent that I am ashamed to call him our Prime Minister."

—Hindustan Times

U.P. OFFICIALS ABSCOND TO PAKISTAN WITH RS. 50 LAKHS

Blitz learns from highly placed sources that officials and others have absconded to Pakistan with over 50 lakhs belonging to the government of Uttar Pradesh in the last few years.

Some of misappropriation of Government money has been registered against a district official of revenue administration who collected Rs. 14,015/- as land revenue from kisans and migrated to Pakistan in 1955 without depositing the money.

The government suffered a loss of Rs. 6. lakhs when a contractor absconded to Pakistan after drawing over seven lakhs rupees as advance for the execution of works relating to a dam and power-house.

Rs. 74,632/- are stated to have been misappropriated by a tahsildar of a sub-treasury by the issue of im-

proper receipts: The fact came to light in 1956, when the man was no longer in India. In another sub-treasury, a sum of Rs. 13,264/- was misappropriated by a naib-nazir and a tahsildar, both of whom have gone to Pakistan.

A stamp vendor, no longer in India, misappropriated Rs. 1,69,000/- of Government money by manipulation of entries and the closing balances in the stock register. The misappropriation was detected in 1955.

A loss of Rs. 50,000/- in the Agriculture Department was found in 1951. A supervisor suspected of the embezzlement had left India for Pakistan before the detection of the fraud.

—Blitz

CENTRAL MINISTER'S NEFARIOUS BUSINESS

Here is disgrace abounding the story of a Union Minister surreptitiously and shamelessly making money by renting out Government building to outsiders.

A Minister of State residing on Jan Path has been allegedly renting out five of his servants' quarters to outsiders. He collects from each tenant Rs. 22 per month.

This nefarious business of the Central Minister came to light when he ejected a tenant who was in arrears of rent for two or three months. This happened because he got married recently and was in financial difficulties. Nevertheless, the Minister rejected his plea to bear with him for a shortwhile in a moment of utter shortsightedness.

Thereupon the helpless tenant who was turned out on the street with his newly-wed wife went to the Parliament Police Station and filed a complaint against the Minister for illegal ejection.

Here is a Minister of State drawing a salary of Rs. 2500 per month. Here is one who gets a furnished house on a nominal rent on which flies the Union flag.

He is allowed to keep chaprasis at his residence. And above all, here is an elderly Congressman who is not a creature of post-Independence opportunism, but one who had gone through the baptism of Gandhian revolution.

—Blitz

(Continued from page 19)

Supply of contaminated water was continued, resulting in an epidemic of cholera. The report says it was decided that the (Jan Sangh) chairman of the Water and Sewage Committee should not be taken into confidence in the matter. (He has since resigned as a protest.) A Deputy Minister has been appointed to inquire into the matter but it is unfortunate that the Jan Sangh has decided to boycott the inquiry, unsatisfactory as it certainly was. The continuance of the (contaminated) water supply upto 4 p.m. on Sunday, synchronising with the end of the elections, makes out a prima facie case against the Corporation authorities and it remains to be seen whether the inquiry will try to find out the truth about this most amazing coincidence. A local weekly gave the following heading to the incident: "Congress Poisoned Delhi to Win a Small Election".

Book Reviews

THE INCOME TAX -- Root of All Evil

THE INCOME-TAX—ROOT OF ALL EVIL by Frank Chodorov published by Messrs Devin Adair & Company New York. Price \$2.

As the title of the book suggests, the author tries to analyse in a forceful manner the root cause of all evil and he has rightly kept his finger on income tax. When the American Constitution was framed in 1776, income tax was not included as it was against the spirit and principles of private enterprise. But in 1913 when the Seventeenth Amendment Act was passed and which became part of the Constitution, income tax was included and since then it has increased at a progressive rate. It is this Amendment Act that is the root cause of all evil. It reads as follows.—“The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes or incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states and without regard to any census or enumeration” The Amendment puts no limit on government. It has given to the Federal Government the first claim upon the income of the individuals. It can take away everything that individual earns even to the extent of depriving him of all above subsistence. As a consequence of this the fundamental right of the individuals on which the American Constitution was based was violated. “It has corroded the American concept of natural rights, ultimately reduced the American citizen to a state of subject, so much so, that he is not aware of it; enhanced Executive power to the point of reducing

TAXATION IS ROBBERY

By
FRANK CHODOROV

A FORTHRIGHT CONDEMNATION OF THE TRUE CHARACTER OF TAXATION

Price Rs. 1-40

Available at the

LIBERTARIAN BOOK HOUSE
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4.

Congress to innocuity; and enabled the central government to bribe the states, once independent units, into subservience. No kingship in the history of the world ever exercised more power than our Presidency, or had more of the people's wealth at its disposal. We have retained the forms and phrases of a republic, but in reality we are living under an oligarchy not of courtesans, but of bureaucrats”. It is this Amendment that has increased the power of the government and reduced the liberty of the individuals. It has corrupted the minds of the people and made them slaves. Under the Amendment it is possible for the government to confiscate any amount of money from the individuals under the law of Income tax and deny them the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Freedom of the individuals to own and spend their wealth as they like has been suppressed. This Amendment has not only reduced the freedom of the individuals but the States which were independent units in 1776 lost their independence and they have to be at the mercy of the Federal government. The immunities of property, body and mind have been undermined by the Seventeenth Amendment. The freedoms won by Americans in 1776 were lost in the Revolution of 1913. It is this Amendment that affects production and causes unemployment. It has not only affected the wage earner but it has also affected the capital structure of the country. It is the cause of corruption and bribery that are rampant in the Income Tax Offices. “The income tax, by attacking the dignity of the individual at the very base, has led to the practice of perjury, fraud, deception and bribery. Avoidance or evasion of levies has become the great American game and talents of the highest order are employed in the effort to save something from the clutches of the State. People who in their private lives are above reproach will resort to the meanest devices to effect some saving, and will even brag their ingenuity. The necessity of

trying to get along under the income tax has made us a corrupt people”.

The only remedy to mitigate the evil is to repeal this Amendment. It would not be a reform but a revolution in the history of America. The repeal would amount to recession of 48 states from Washington and restoration of the Union. The author earnestly appeals to the Americans to try their best to get this Amendment repealed in the name of freedom, integrity and honesty. The arguments advanced by the author are very convincing and powerful. The general welfare of the people cannot be increased by excessive doses of taxation. On the contrary it will undermine the capacity of the individuals to produce more and it will affect the propensity to consume “The upward climb of civilization is retarded in exact proportion to the levies and when they reach the point of discouraging production, the parabola of civilisation turns downward”. If this income tax is abolished, the people would be better off, but this can take place only when the Americans put their tradition of freedom above everything else. The movement cannot be based on economic grounds alone.

It is the book which must be read by every freedom loving person. It is a most important book to Indians because in our country income tax and other taxes under the guise of integrated taxation are causing more harm than good. These taxes have increased the needs of our government. Unless they are reduced, if not abolished, economic development of our country would not be very rapid. So it is the book which must be read by every Indian. G.N.L.

THE INCOME TAX — root of all evil

By
FRANK CHODOROV

Most powerfully reasoned book exposing the immoral nature of the Income Tax

Price Rs. 9-8-0

Available at the

LIBERTARIAN BOOK HOUSE,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4.

"THE HINDU TIMES"

THE HINDU TIMES, Vol. 1, No. 1, Savarkar Number. Price Rs. 1.50, edited by Devendra Nath Karnik, Raopura, Baroda.

India happens to be a nation state and also a cultural system. As a cultural system it is mainly Hindu, hemmed, of course, in non-Hindu cultural congeries. The main body of Muslims or Communists, Christians or Buddhists, is outside India. The Parsees, the Sikhs, the Jains and the many groups of aborigines are wholly in India and form small cultural systems.

Indianism thus means two things. To the members of the various cultural congeries, it means only politico-legal community. To the Hindus, it means community of many kinds of cultural traits among themselves and of only one kind, viz. politico-legal citizenship, with the members of the congeries.

Bare politico-legal unity does not inspire the members of any such cultural congeries to die for the preservation and development of the Hindu cultural system, and hence, for the existence of the Indian nation state. And if the invader happens to belong to their own cultural system, then their duty is to act as the Trojan Horse. For example, Pakistan attacking India, as she is doing now, the Muslims of India may not feel inspired to fight against the invaders. During the peaceful invasion of Goa by Indian satyagrahis, many Indian Christians felt ill at ease. And the Communists are far from defending India against the expanding communist empire. They have been subverting the democratic republic and the Hindu cultural system and thus paving the way for a communist invasion and occupation of India.

Our rulers and many otherwise well-intentioned people have undermined Hindu nationalism and culture. They have exaggerated the communal and totalitarian character of Hinduism. This weakens the defence of India. Why, this has weakened even the consciousness of the existence of enemies. The Muslims seem to have already won victory on the psychological and political fronts. And the Communists have won victories in these

two as well as on the economic fronts.

We therefore welcome the publication of a journal which devotes itself to the problems of defence of the Indian State and the survival of the Hindu Culture. In the words of the editor:

"The Hindu Times will try its best to develop the consciousness of unity among different sections of the Hindu society and at large a sense of attachment to the greater whole, whereby Hindus, Mohamedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews would feel as Indians first and every other thing afterwards."

"We wish to consolidate and strengthen Hindu Nationality not to give wanton offence to any of

our non-Hindu compatriots but in urgent self-defence of our race."

Veer Savarkar being the leader of such historical movement, the editor thought it fit to issue the first number as Savarkar Number to commemorate his services to Hindudom. There are four sections in it—English, Marathi, Gujerati and Hindi. The distinguished contributors have among themselves covered the various phases of Savarkar's life and facets of his ideology. Mention may be made of Guy Aldred, N. C. Chatterji, N. B. Khare, Gokulchand Narang Asutosh Lahiry, Omprakash Kahol, and N. G. Joshi.

The issue is dedicated to Raja Narayanlalji Pitty and Shri Anandapriya Pandit—who have been the pioneers of the Hindu movement in Gujerat. B.S.S.

Social Ethics in Modern Times

SOCIAL ETHICS IN MODERN HINDUISM by Ronald W. Scott Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta.

This work on social ethics in modern Hinduism by Mr. Scott was originally a dissertation submitted to Columbia University in 1948. It is now published by the Calcutta Y.M.C.A. in The Religious Quest of India Series.

It is a fine study of the manner in which Hindu thought has been responding to the demands of the modern world from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The challenge came from India's many-faceted contact with the West. The urge for national freedom, the example of social service set by the Christian Missions, the new desire for social equality and for the emancipation of under-privileged classes like the untouchables and the recovery of national prosperity inaugurated a veritable renaissance. Mr. Scott traces the many phases of this movement for recovery of the national soul on the part of Hinduism, led by religious inspiration for the most part till recently. He presents the work of the Brahma Samaj and Aryasamaj in the North and Prarthana Samaj and Deva Samaj in the West in laying new foundations for religion in the reinterpretation of the Vedas and Upanishads. He shows how

later Swami Vivekananda gave Swami Ramakrishna's mysticism a turn in the direction of social service and dedicated action. He gives an account of the work of M. K. Gandhi as part of the same movement of purifying religion and extending it to cover modern universalist and democratic ideals. He shows how the ancient doctrines of That art Thou, dharma and karma were reinterpreted to offer a basis for the new morality. The work of Tagore, Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak as well as M. K. Gandhi is reviewed with insight. Later thinkers like Radhakrishnan are also referred to. Mr. Scott concludes that the work is incomplete as evidenced by the emergence of secular outlooks led by such outstanding leaders as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Narendra Deva who have no use for the religious inspiration. Hinduism is shown as putting forth a vast effort of re-interpretation and re-building to house the national mind in a single undivided inner mansion. But it has yet to evolve social institutions suited to the new conscience, particularly in relation to backward classes and women.

The book is a remarkable effort of sympathetic understanding on part of a Christian national and deserves to be widely read.

M. A. Venkata Rao

Letters

To The Editor

AGA KHAN'S INCOME TAX DUES

Dear Madam,

The Notice under Section 46 (5A) under Income-tax Act, issued by Shri T. S. Kasturi, Income Tax Officer, AJ Ward, on 12-7-58 to the tenants of the Late Aga Khan's properties that they should pay their rent under Challan issued by the department to State Bank of India till arrears of Rs. 1,08,55,587.82 due from him is recovered raises some very pertinent and important issues. The Estate Agent of the Late Aga Khan, it is alleged, was also not recovering rent from the tenants for the last 15 months.

It is incomprehensible why it was not recovered from his heir and main beneficiary, Karimkhan, when he was here in March, this year? The late Aga Khan has sold or gifted away most of properties since Independence and it will require years' to recover these arrears.

This sum represents about a year

and a half's income of the Late Aga Khan as a religious Head of the Ismaili Khojas. Why could it not be recovered in cash? It is pertinent to recall in this connection that in reply to Shri M. P. Mishra's interpellation in the Budget session of 1951 in Lok Sabha the then Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, had replied that no part of Aga Khan's income was allowed to leave this country—and yet for this paltry amount he is a defaulter!

Will the authorities of the Finance Ministry and Reserve Bank of India inquire how he withdrew his assets and who is responsible for this drain on India's Foreign Exchange?

The Tax-Payers would like to see culprits herein to be suitably dealt with.

Bombay.

I. K. Dhanani

KERALA

Dear Madam,

Kerala, the South-most part of our sub-continent, looms large in today's news. It should, for the main reason that it is Communist. A tug-of-war of nerves, is on, between the Communist and the Congress Camps.

Politics, the national game in Kerala, is becoming an eye-sore to

many, including Delhi, for Delhi today, is busy over the Constitution of Kerala, for no reason other than political murders! Years back, when Warren Hastings ruled, we had, as justified by Sir Elija Impey, the judicial murder of Nandkumar, and today we have the imaginary political murders of Kerala, in the opinion of the Congress, because it is ruled by the Communist!

Our rulers in India, as also the ruled, are aware of the pitfalls of the Congress regime—corruption, nepotism, red-tapism, being the rule and routine in our political hierarchy. True, Communism, in the administrative role, has followed suit—but as termed by the Congress Camp, it smells gondalism! For, as everybody knows, Congress inefficiency is Traditional, as is evident everywhere!

It can be said without exaggeration that Communist regime in Kerala is highly disciplined. Non-Communists, of whatever rank, wish people to believe that the present discontent should be exploited, so that Congress may step to power! Communist regime, so far, has been highly telling of steady progress, in the interest of the State.

Though there are these agitations in the State, students' agitation at Alleppey, Sitaram Mill Satyagraha at Trichur, and the Hindustan Cashew Factory dispute in Quilon, they are under judicial investigation and it is doubtful if the Communist regime is responsible for these.

Viewed from the Delhi angle, the Communists should quit office. But will they do so? They will not, for they have their own reasons, and Communist leaders throughout India will see that their stand against the Congress antics will succeed and that, by their combination and goodwill, they will ensure that they are returned to power in the next elections.

Bombay

J. Nilkantan

ATTENTION SUBSCRIBERS

We would be glad if subscribers of "The Indian Libertarian" inform us of change of address and also whether they are getting "The Indian Libertarian" regularly. A post-card to this effect will suffice.

—Editor

What Kind of Reading Do You Like?

Are you interested only in the headlines or do you want to read the news which will explain the headlines of tomorrow?

Would you like to have front-page coverage on the events which really make the history of human progress, instead of trivialities which entertain for the moment rather than inform?

Do you read to keep abreast of new trends, new discoveries, new ideas?

Do you like worthwhile information presented in lively stimulating style and covering a fresh variety of topics?

If so, then *The Indian Libertarian* is for you. You will see the range and importance of the articles; you will see how justifiably *The Indian Libertarian* claims to offer you a "window on the world" from which you can witness the panorama of our times and follow the quest for knowledge as a means to master man's environment and to build understanding between peoples.

The Indian Libertarian will take you, too, on a Fortnightly trip round India for less than the bus fare to the other end of the town.

The Indian Libertarian takes an interest in the lesser-known aspects of your traditions and reports on the tomorrow which has already begun today.

ASK FOR A SAMPLE COPY TODAY.

The Manager,

The Indian Libertarian
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to:

THE MANAGER
DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4

Telephone: 70205

Telegram: **LOTEWALLA**

Agents at Poona

LALDAS AMARSEE & SONS,
437, Raviwar Peth,
Poona—2.

Telegraph add: 'STELLATEA'

Telephone: 70205

For Agencies

Please inquire or write to:—

V. A. BADAMI Esq.

Inspector

The National Fire & General Insurance Co., Ltd.
204 Dr. Dadabhoy N. Road,
Fort, Bombay—1.
Telephone No. 261081 & 261082

India's Foreign Policy A Critique

By
OM PRAKASH KAHOL

Price 50 Naye Paise

This pamphlet will be given as a gift to the new subscribers of "The Indian Libertarian"

Published by
THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay—4.

BELTINGS

SPECIALIST IN

"Rupak," "Atlas" Hair-Beltings, Cotton Belting,
Cotton Hose, Rubber Coated Cotton Hose Pipe,
Ball Bearings, Sleeve Nuts Etc. Etc.

Enquiries Invited

SAURASHTRA MILL STORES

157/59, Narayan Dhuru Street, Lotus Chamber,
BOMBAY 3.

MILL STORES & MACHINERY MERCHANTS.