

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR KUSUM LOTVALA

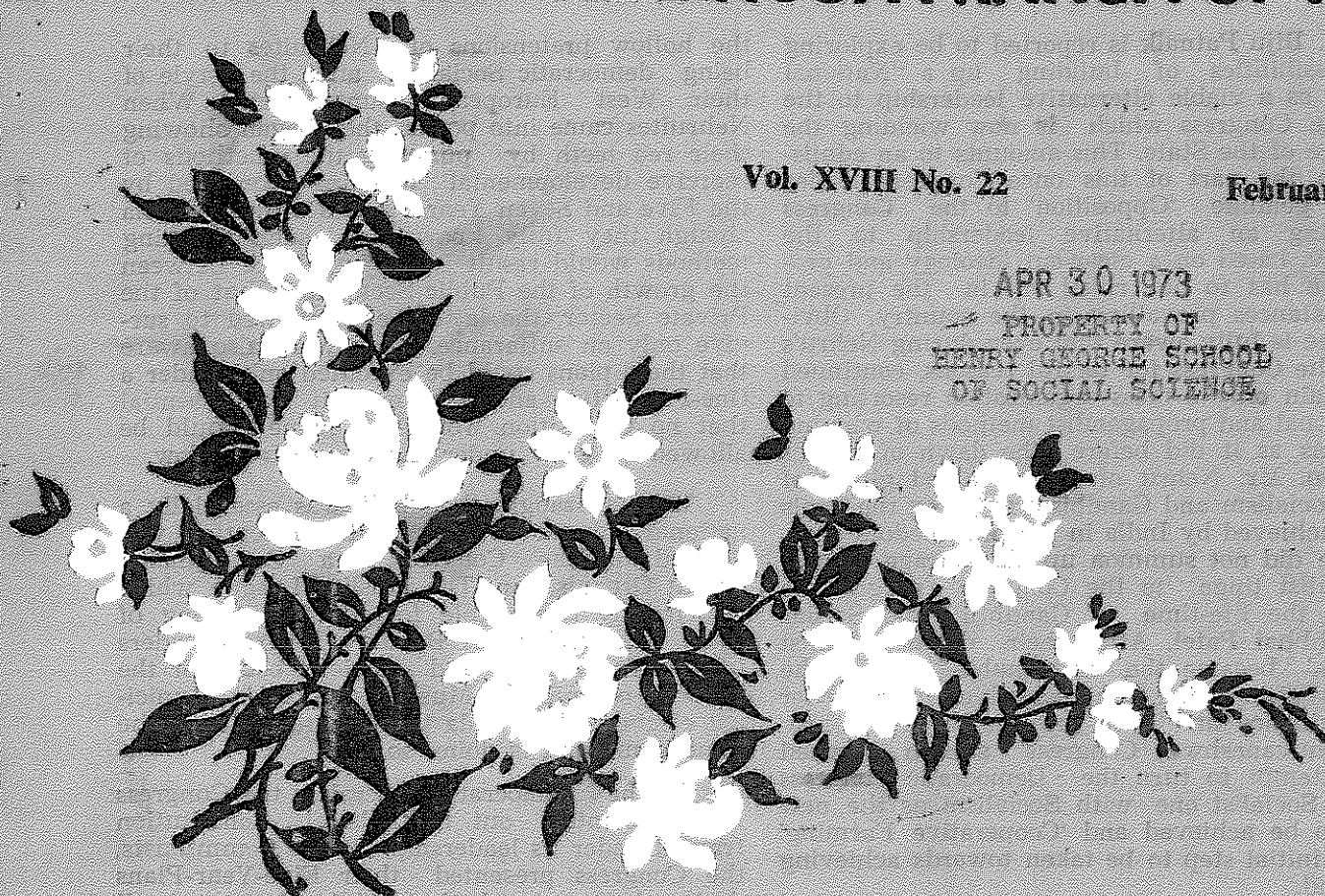
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	Page		Page
EDITORIAL			
United Front or Viable Opposition?	2	Education : Soviet and American Style	9
		<i>By Tibor R. Machan</i>	
Indo-American Relations	5	Meher Baba — A Modern Saint	14
<i>By A. Rangnathan</i>		<i>By Kumar Sekhar</i>	
'Savage' Bombing May Make for Peace	7	Begotry in Andhra Politics	16
<i>By M. N. Tholal</i>		<i>By Kumar Sekhar</i>	
DELHI LETTER			
Towards Personal Rule	8	Anti-Capitalism	18
		<i>By Eric Von-Leddihn</i>	

EDITORIAL

'United Front' or 'Viable Opposition'

Mr. Biju Patnaik is reported to be exploring the possibilities of building up a "National Front" as a viable alternative leadership to the Indicate Congress which is now wielding the spectre of the State. This amounts to an admission on the part of this once Congress leader that a genuine 'Opposition' to the Congress providing an alternative leadership to the Country, based on a clear-cut ideology and programme has to be ruled out in the present circumstances prevailing in the country. Obviously he is fully aware that even during Nehru's time, the Congress for tactful reasons, continued to remain only a mass organization resorting to agitational and propagandist methods of winning elections as it did before the dawn of India's freedom. Mr. Nehru of course talked glibly of both Socialism and Gandhism as being the goals to be achieved by India in the pre-freedom days. But he did not summon up his courage to give a socialist tinge to the Congress programme during the life-time of Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. After their death 'Socialist Pattern' became the fashionable talk of the Romanticists in the Congress which came under the guidance and even tutelage of Mr. Nehru. The Bhuvaneshwar Congress session crowned this attempt to turn the Democratic Congress into a Socialist one with Socialism as the new goal to be achieved and 'Cooperative Farming' as the initial step to be taken towards achieving this end.

The Second Five-Year-Plan framed under the direct guidance of Nehru, clearly exposed

the hollow pretensions of Nehruites to their being democratic Socialists after the style of their West European counter-parts. When Nehruites came into power, they began showing their red teeth by pursuing the methods of coercive developmental planning sponsored by the Five and Seven Year Plans of Soviet Russia though they fully knew that such planning methods would result in an imbalance between the growth of the Public Sector and that of the Private Sector, the latter being allowed to survive only on sufferance. They were also aware that these plans could be executed only under a One-Party-Rule and therefore it was essential that no Opposition worth the name should be allowed to grow under the Congress shadow.

The Janasangh, though it was essentially a national Liberal Party, in its inception was dubbed by the Congress as a Communalist Hindu Organisation. The Muslim League which was mainly responsible for the partitioning of India, was certified by Bombay Congress leaders to be a nationalistic and patriotic body for the purpose of enlisting Muslim support in Municipal elections. In Kerala the Congress played the same game and is doing so still.

To the Democratic Liberals, the Congress leaders pointed out the Liberal Constitution framed under its leadership. To the Communists, the Congress presented their Five-Year-Plans designed to expand the Public Sector at all costs. Thus the Congress was everything to everybody, sans an ideology, sans a practicable

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To the Democratic Liberals, the Congress leaders pointed out the Liberal Constitution framed under its leadership. To the Communists, the Congress presented their Five-Year-Plans designed to expand the Public Sector at all costs. Thus the Congress was everything to everybody, sans an ideology, sans a practicable

programme and sans any regard for truth. It was enough for Mr. Nehru and the Nehruites, if the Congress was in a position to exploit the political and economic power concentrated into its hands under the Five-Year-Plans for the purpose of beating down its opponents and winning elections in the end. To the Congress, power was more valuable and important than promoting industrial growth and national prosperity and what is more, saving and maintaining standards of democratic behaviour and conduct.

Getting expressly annoyed and distressed at this power-hunting game of the Congress, the eminent and veteran nationalist leader, the late Mr. Rajagopachari, started his Swatantra Party in 1960 with a clear-cut Democratic Liberal programme. For a while, it seemed that it would emerge as a genuine Opposition to the Congress. But the Congress left no stone unturned to nip it in the bud and carried on a systematic campaign against it as a reactionary party of the Upper classes, Rajas and Maharajas, though there was a surfeit of exactly these elements not only in its own ranks but in the Congress Ministry itself at the Centre.

The Permit — Licence Raj was a potent instrument in the hands of the Congress of collecting vast election funds from industrialists and businessmen, while opposition parties were actually short of funds to run the elections. Under the circumstances, no Opposition could grow during the last 25 years of Congress rule. The One Party-Rule is now sought to be made permanent by making inroads into the Fundamental Rights of the People and enabling the Parliament which can be easily captured by the Congress in such "rigged" elections, to ride roughshod over these basic rights. Our Republican Constitution itself is now in the doldrums and our basic human rights, in the danger of being eclipsed.

WANTED A LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.

United Fronts could be built only for some specific issue of the day and not as permanent Opposition to the Ruling Party. The present Ruling Party has no intention of encouraging the rise of an opposition, since its aims and ideals are socialistic. In fact, India and most Asian countries have learnt their Socialism from the Communist experiments carried out in Russia and China. Nationalisation of industry both heavy and light, is the corner-stone of Asian Socialism, as testified by the plans chalked out by India, Ceylon, Indonesia and other countries. Western Liberalism has yet to be sincerely practised by Asian countries. Japan which has made such headway in industrial development is perhaps the pioneer in this field and India might usefully learn from this Asian country as to how best to combine freedom with prosperity. All these facts suggest that an alternative leadership to the Congress more or less wedded to the

methods of economic development employed by countries having One-Party-Rule, could arise only out of a political organization which is unequivocally opposed to dictatorial Socialism as practised in Russia and China and which looks for guidance and inspiration to Great Britain, France, Switzerland, France Sweden and Norway West Germany as also U.S. which are the most industrially advanced and affluent countries of the world.

These countries are all democratic in spirit and outlook and are known to have successfully pursued Welfarist industrial planning methods. As such, they can be held by India as models rather than the Communist countries in the matter of promoting material and spiritual welfare of the Indian people. India needs, at this juncture, a party which will keep before it the democratic and economic goals, more or less reached by these democratic countries. Among the countries mentioned above, are included Sweden and Norway and the U.S. which have reached the highest living standards without having to abridge individual liberty and freedom and without having to build up a colonial empire, Great Britain West Germany and France could no longer be considered to be imperialist. Imperialism has in fact, travelled to China and Russia which have extended their sway over other countries miscalled and misnamed. 'People's Democracies.' It therefore follows that any Opposition which could be characterised as 'viable' as desired by Jayaprakash Narayan must consist of a Party or Parties which commonly agree on the necessity of fighting totalitarian trends of the Indicate Congress and Communists whether Yellow or Red, Leftist, Rightist or Centrist. Such an Opposition must not compete with these totalitarian reactionary parties in slogan-mongering and pointing to 'the pie in the Sky', when people are demanding it here and now. It will not indulge in preparing grandiose plans for five or seven years. Its first concern will be to devise ways and means of giving immediate relief to the famishing millions and then it will lay down a line of economic development which could be implemented without entailing undue hardship on the people and industrialists, in the form of heavy taxation and corroding the real income of the common man by creating inflationary trends through government controls over usual channels of trade and commerce. Such a Party, while promoting public welfare, will not infringe on the spheres of private and free trade and enterprise.

As Prof. Balraj Madhok has rightly put it, what India needs today is a well-organised Liberal Democratic Party loyal to Liberal-Democratic ideals and principles as practised in the Western Democracies. He hit the nail on the head when he said that the time has now come for Democrats to realise that they cannot be 'Socialists' and "Democrats" in one and the same breath and they have to make a choice

between the two systems of economic development, the socialistic and Liberal-democratic.

The Swatantra Government of Orissa has shown what such a Liberal Party could achieve in promoting social good without having to sacrifice people's Liberties and Freedoms. It was most unfortunate that some of the members of the Party fell a prey to the tempting offers made by the Indicate Party though one could very well understand that the former Praja-Socialists who at any rate prize socialism above Democratism should have openly embraced Indicate Socialism in their bid for power.

It is only such groups and parties like Swatantra, the Jana Sangh and others which, in fact, must properly belong to the worldwide Free-Alliance and which are uncompromisingly opposed to One-Party-Rule and are wedded to a Pluralistic Society, with its party system, free enterprise and limited Government, that could come together under the present circumstances and form a solid block of Opposition to the Congress party in power. The creation of cadres of selfless workers carrying this message of freedom to the people is the prerequisite for the rise of such an Opposition. Only with the conversion of public opinion to its ideals and programmes will it be possible for such an Opposition to make any impact on the political and economic life of the country. Socialism had its chance in our democratic country. The experiment has failed since Socialism as understood in India, has been found to be incompatible with Democratic Freedom without which life would not be worth living. Let Liberal Democratism have a chance of proving its ability to remove India's colossal poverty through democratic ways and means. People must be clearly shown an alternative method of prosperity through freedom. This task could be undertaken and fulfilled only by a Liberal-Democratic League or Alliance. A mere conglomeration of groups and parties, not broad-based on fundamental aims and ideals but motivated only by anti-congressism must and will go the way such United Fronts have gone over all these years of post-freedom era. The Swatantra Party has already done the field work. The time is not lost yet for the Jana Sangh to clarify its democratic aims and ideals. The Congress Organisation is least expected to outgrow its former-Leftist stances and yet there are some elements in it which can help this democratic alliance. They can also make a common cause with the Swatantra and the Jana Sangha, the latter of which will also have to shed some of its recent leftist stances and assumed poses that ill fit it. In one word Indian Democracy will come into its own only when a Liberal Democratic Alliance or League comes into being and wins over to its point of view public opinion through patient labour and incessant endeavour made in a peaceful and democratic way to fight back the Congress totalitarian trends so clearly reflected in the Govern-

mental policies, and programmes. Not "United National Front" but "Viable Liberal Democratic Opposition" must be the goal before the Indian Democrats, if they are sincere about giving alternative leadership to the country now fed up with high sounding but hollow and futile leftist slogans of the Indicate Congress.

MEMORIALS

National heroes, who strove and suffered for the freedom of India, deserve Memorials to remind generations of Indians of the gratitude they owe to them. Many Memorials to many such heroes have already been established or are under contemplation. For instance, the Government of India proposed to build Bharat Bhavan in Delhi, Kisan Bhavans in State Capitals and several Memorial Pillars in block-development centres and a massive sculptural monument to Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, who disapproved of statues, proposed an Institute to propagate the ideas and ideals of Rajaji, perhaps in or near Madras. Mr. K. Hanumanthaiah proposed a VEERA SOUDHA in Bangalore, like the VIDHANA SOUDHA, to commemorate the Freedom Fighters at an estimated cost of Rs. 3 crores. Of Universities and Research Institutes and Bhavans there are already more than needed; and they cater to a few. Most of these are being located in State Capitals.

Memorials located in cities like Delhi, Madras and Bangalore are not likely to be visited by millions of Indians because they cannot afford to travel from the ends of India to these cities. The few that visit them are not likely to spend days admiring the Memorials. Even the local people are not likely to pause as they rush to and from their places of work every day to admire them.

A Memorial will not be less of it if it served some essential service to those most in need of it and within the same cost. For instance, wells for drinking water in villages who do not have them at present and which have affixed to their parapet walls tablets inscribed with the names of the heroes will, for the same cost, as, say, a statue, serve the essential need of a great many people, particularly if they be located in areas inhabited by the weaker sections of the community, such as Harijans and Girijans. Three crores of rupees, which Mr. Hanumanthaiah budgeted for his VEERA SOUDHA, may finance some thousands of wells where they are most needed. Similarly, the cost of a statue to Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi will finance some hundreds of wells in rural areas.

Other forms of Memorials may include schools in villages, clearance of slums in cities, which will serve better as Memorials as well as

(Continued on Page 6)

INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[the Silver jubilee of the American Library in South India.]

by

A. RANGANATHAN.

What Rudyard Kipling said of Calcutta, "chance directed, chance erected," is perhaps more appropriate to Madras than to Calcutta. The selection of site on which Madras is built was motivated by chance rather than by deliberate foresight. Madras has been built more or less on a storm-tossed sea-coast, the second to be thrown up by the sea. One of the buildings is St Mary's Church constructed within Fort St George which was built in 1650 (the second and third being constructed in 1667 and 1787 respectively) when Francis Day of the East India Company obtained the historic concession of a strip of land at Madraspatnam from the Raja of Chandragiri. St Mary's Church is famous for its historical associations. The marriage of Elihu Yale, the New England colonist who became Governor of Madras was solemnized in St Mary's. It was in Madras that Elihu Yale collected a gift of books, worth over 500 pounds — a considerable sum of money at a time when aggregate propensities a la Keynes (in a world of deficit financing and galloping inflation) were not regulated through purely fiscal means! This gift was despatched to an institution at New Haven in Connecticut which later developed into Yale University. And it was peculiarly appropriate that Mr Chester Bowles, an old alumnus of Yale University and the then American Ambassador to India, dedicated the new American Consulate General building on January 3, 1969.

Mr Chester Bowles correctly stressed that the dedication of the American Consulate General building in Mount Road — an attractive structure set in a neatly landscaped plot to harmonize with the general setting in the heart of Madras — "is one more high point in the continuing friendship and close relations between India and the United States." And one of the manifestations of this friendship is the American Consulate General building in Madras.

The silver jubilee of the American Library in South India was celebrated on December 11, 1972. Commenting on this significant celebration Mr Stephen E Palmer, Jr, American Consul General in Madras, made the following observations: "While we have desisted from bringing out the band and decking the halls with ivy and all that sort of thing, (the present writer feels that they need not have desisted!) we do believe we are entitled to look back with a legitimate sense of fulfilment, and to look forward with confidence to further service to the intellectual community of this part of India. A silver jubilee is matter for self-congratulation, if only for having survived for 25 years in this

uncertain world. Not unnaturally, this anniversary happily coincides with the Silver Jubilee of independent India. In the latter regard, most of you will recall that the United States Senate approved a Resolution which reads in part: 'The diverse cultures of India and the United States are naturally bound by the bridge of democracy, by which both countries guarantee free debate, free elections and free worship'. Indeed this friendship is derived from America's romantic heritage of a perceptive insight into the nature of different civilizations. In fact Prof Commanger set out the thesis that "America could be romantic and democratic romantic and equalitarian, romantic and progressive". If then the American concept of the nation as generally understood was born of a romantic tradition, America's interest in India was part of American romanticism drawn from Coleridge, Schelling and Oriental writings, especially Indian philosophy. And the leader of this new movement was Emerson, who stimulated a new literature and explored newer horizons of thought.

America has always had a deep and abiding interest in India's economic destiny. Indeed Mr Bowles reminded his audience in 1969 that America "was honoured to have a small part in the gigantic and impressive modernization process now taking place throughout this country." One of the concrete instances of this interest is the chain of Indo-American cooperative ventures in the South such as Madras Fertilizer, Madras Refinery, Cochin Refinery, Mysore Lamp Works in Bangalore, the Coromandel Fertilizer Project in Andhra Pradesh, the huge hydroelectric and irrigation projects at Sharavati, Sabarigiri and Nagarjunasagar which were once described by the late Prime Minister Nehru as the "new temples" of India and the agricultural universities at Bangalore and Hyderabad which are partly staffed by expert teams from the Universities of Tennessee and Kansas.

Just as the Greeks appealed to the Western sense of history, so did the concept of Indian freedom captivate the romantic imagination of American statesmen like Wilson and Roosevelt. The nation which could organize the Boston Tea Party could easily grasp the significance of Mahatma Gandhi's salt campaign. Here it would be relevant to note that Gandhi was deeply influenced by Thoreau's celebrated essay on "Civil Disobedience". Looking back, Wilson's sympathetic gaze over the Eastern horizon and Franklin Roosevelt's contribution to Indian freedom evoke memories of Lafayette's contribution to American freedom, Byron's contribution to

Greek freedom when he died at Missolonghi and Napoleon III's impact on Italian freedom. And this great tradition was continued by the late President Johnson who rushed food to starving Bihar. For his memorable message on the theme that "a sister democracy shall not suffer" ended with the inspiring words: "An India free from want and deprivation will" as Mahatma Gandhi himself predicted that, "be a mighty force for the good of mankind" — this was an era in which the Indian people led a ship-to-mouth existence; in fact President Johnson's generous programme of administering wheat aid to India not only solved the food problem of the country but also had a stabilizing effect on the Indian economy.

As the Indian economy is one of shortages, the question of priorities is one of vital significance. For the current emphasis seems to be on heavy industries, steel plants and small cars rather than on fertilizers, hospitals and schools. It is precisely due to this scale of priorities that the present writer is inclined to believe that the most abiding contribution that the United States has made to India is in the realm of education. And it is the Indian middle class that really benefits from the American Library. For students and professors of science and technology in the local colleges — they simply cannot afford to buy them — have access to some of the latest scientific and technological text books, treatises and periodicals. Similarly the students of the humanities also make use of the library. Again the intelligent citizen is also enabled to keep himself or herself abreast of the times — indeed a collection of poems by a Ransom or a volume of literary criticism by a Trilling can open up unexpected possibilities of a continuing cultural dialogue with the liberal West. Here it is necessary to review the achievements of the American Library in South India. As Mr. Palmer put it, "it is no exaggeration to say that there is at least one person in every town of some size in South India who borrows books from the library by post. In addition, people outside Madras City have access to the books of this library through their own people or college libraries, for we make available to many Indian libraries collections of books on long-term loan. This library (which houses 30,000 books and 250 periodicals) also assists other libraries professionally." Apart from "an extraordinary variety of people, quite literally from Maharajas to mechanics," who make use of this library, it "is obviously a favourite of movie producers also — when they want to shoot a scene involving an intellectual hero and heroine they infrequently use our library as the location". . . . A thousand citizens of Madras, on an average, visit the library daily."

It may seem a far cry from Colombo to Boston. However, it is well known that Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's migration to Boston in 1917 marked a beginning of an era of sustained

interest in Indian art in the United States of America. It is thrilling, indeed, to find a number of outstanding works on Indian art and culture by Indian, European and American scholars. Heinrich Zimmer's monumental work entitled *The Art of Indian Asia* (in two volumes), Dr. Stella Kramrisch's *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Fine Art*, Prof. Benjamin Rowland's *The Art and Architecture of India* reveal the ageless beauty and aesthetic appeal of Indian art in its varied manifestations. Incidentally, it is not well known that Professor J. K. Galbraith, formerly American Ambassador to India, has a wide spectrum of interests ranging from the affluent society of America to the art heritage of India. Frankly, the present writer was not particularly impressed by Prof. Galbraith's Olympian pronouncements on the Indian economy. In fact his pontifications on socialism in America earned him a reputation as some sort of an American gadfly in the academic scene of the United States. But his plea for an ever-increasing role of the public sector in the Indian economy, while serving as America's Ambassador to India, did not enhance his reputation among discerning Indians. Small wonder that President Kennedy and the then Secretary of State did not take him seriously! However, this American gadfly must be given his due. For he had a deep insight into the nature of Indian art. And he deserves the gratitude of the students of Indian art for collaborating with M. S. Randhawa in producing an excellent book on *Indian Painting*.

The natural backwaters of India — the backwaters of Kerala, for example — are lovely. Equally attractive is the idea of sailing on the River Cooum in Madras. But the idea of floating in intellectual backwaters is not exactly a lovely thought! At this point it is well to reflect on the relevance of a modern library in our society. For the American Library in South India helps the intelligentsia of our state to be aware of the intellectual and cultural trends in the modern world.

(Continued from Page 4)

render most useful services for the most needy people. These alternative forms of Memorials will also provide employment for a much larger number of workers than a statue, a *Veera Sou-dha*, a University, an Institute of higher learning or pillars, or Bhavans and such others.

Besides honouring the heroes, Memorials should, for the same investment, render maximum essential services to the maximum number of the needy people.

— P. KODANDA RAO

"SAVAGE" BOMBING MAY MAKE FOR PEACE

By M. N. Tholal

The war in Vietnam is over. It is to be followed by an uneasy peace as President Thieu has clearly pointed out. The Agreement provides "the right to determine their own future without outside interference". Why then is the presence of the North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam permitted? The question rises again and again and provides the answer to the 12-day "savage" bombing of North Vietnam by American planes. That was a warning to North Vietnam of what they are likely to face if their troops take to warfare in South Vietnam on behalf of the National Liberation Front. If that is so — otherwise the savage bombing had no meaning — it was perhaps one of the shrewdest acts of the Nixon Government, not likely to be forgotten by the Communists in a hurry.

President Nixon's broadcast and the terms of the peace agreement announced leave many questions unanswered. What would be the status of the demilitarised zone? And of the large North Vietnamese forces at present in South Vietnam? While President Thieu's Government has been recognised, there is a provision in the agreement describing the military demarcation line between the North and South Vietnams as only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary.

The source of continued tension, if not fighting, in South Vietnam is considered to be the standstill provision in the ceasefire agreement which leaves North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong forces controlling large areas, some of them of strategic importance. There can be no doubt that Hanoi's aim is to reunite Vietnam and it has not been ended by the ceasefire. It may be pursued politically now but as relentlessly as before. Inasmuch as the Thieu Government remains, it may be considered "peace with honour".

Among the main points of the agreement are that the armed forces of the South Vietnamese Government and the National Liberation Front will remain in place. Yes, but what about the 140,000 troops of the North Vietnamese Government in South Vietnam? But the fact that the parties have agreed that the South Vietnamese people's fight to self-determination is sacred and inalienable and shall be respected by all countries and the South Vietnamese shall decide their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision, surely means, if it means anything, that the North Vietnamese forces shall remain nonviolent and neutral in the tug of war between President Thieu and Madame Binh.

The Saigon Government and the National Liberation Front have pledged that they will

achieve in national reconciliation and concord and prohibit all acts of reprisal and ensure democratic liberties, including freedom of speech and the Press and freedom of political activity. This seems too good to be true. But if true, it clearly implies that the National Liberation Front has given up all thoughts of reunion with North Vietnam where there are no democratic liberties, no freedom of speech, no freedom of the Press and no freedom of political activity. If the Americans have brought about this conversion to the democratic way of life among the leaders and members of the National Liberation Front, they have performed a miracle. But have they?

The future alone will show. The Saigon Government and the National Liberation Front have also agreed to set up a National Council of Reconciliation of three equal segments, presumably composed of representatives of President Thieu, the National Liberation Front and neutralists. This National Council, operating on the basis of unanimity, is to organise free and democratic general elections and decide the procedures and the modalities for the elections. It is this section which is a strain on the credulity of newspaper readers and is likely to belie all the hopes of the peace-makers.

The South Vietnamese President himself has warned his people that the truce will not "give us a 100 per cent guarantee for a lasting peace" and that the political struggle following the cease-fire "will be as difficult and dangerous as the military fight." As he said, the Communists have been forced to recognise that South and North Vietnam are two countries, two separate countries among the four in Indo-China and he asserted that "North Vietnam will have to recognise the sovereignty of our nation." It can hardly be that it is to that end that North Vietnam has insisted on its troops remaining in South Vietnam.

President Thieu also said that there would be no recognition of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. "There will never be the recognition of two Governments in the South. There will be only one, that is, the legal government of the Republic of South Vietnam". But he conceded that "the political future of South Vietnam will be decided by the South Vietnamese people through negotiations with the NLF after the cease-fire has been appropriately carried out."

The President declared that "the Saigon Government stands firm on our position that the North Vietnamese troops, being an invasion army, must be withdrawn and that will be solved

(Continued on Page 13)

TOWARDS PERSONAL RULE

(From Our Correspondent)

The way the Government is run is revealed by a story in the Indian Express of January 23, 1973. Says an Express News Service Message datelined New Delhi, Jan. 22:

"A drama was enacted late last evening to bring about a sudden change in the gloomy position about the strike of the power engineers of Uttar Pradesh. The Minister of Irrigation and power, Dr. K. L. Rao, sat the whole of yesterday with the representatives of the striking engineers, urging them to keep national interests supreme, although he assured them he was fully in sympathy with some of the points raised by the engineers. Mr. B. S. Sharma, Secretary General of the organisation of engineers, however had one reservation about going back to Lucknow. What was the guarantee that the State Government would not clap them in jail?

"The answer to their question came soon. Even as Mr. Sharma and his colleagues were about to agree to leave for Lucknow, All India Radio came out with the news at 9 p.m. that the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh said he was not aware of any talks going on in Delhi. This was totally contrary to the truth since his Minister of Power, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, was present throughout the talks and he had in fact contacted Mr. Tripathi on the telephone several times.

"The engineers promptly asked what they could do with a Chief Minister whose attitude to the strike was one of maintaining law and order. Dr. Rao was taken aback while Mr. Tiwari also looked on helplessly.

"There was a sudden round about after Dr. Rao returned home. He conveyed the entire story to the Prime Minister through Mr. Yash Kapoor. The Union Minister could not do anything more since it would have been construed as "intervention". It was a different matter when Mrs Gandhi came to know all the facts. A quiet telephone call to Lucknow did the trick. All of a sudden Mr. Tripathi admitted that he was aware of the talks and was only glad to meet the engineers."

So it comes to this that even a senior minister of the standing of Dr. K. L. Rao has to seek the good offices of a favourite of the Prime Minister to approach her. In other words, we are marching steadily towards personal rule. Reminds me of the Maharaja of Bikaner when I was his Publicity Officer in 1942-43. The ministers were just nobodies in the hierarchy and they had to kowtow to the Maharaja's Secretary and even to his Assistant Secretary.

No wonder the Union Government has decided to introduce a Bill for setting up a Newspaper Finance Corporation in the Budget session

of the Parliament. The Corporation is intended to finance small and medium newspapers, thus fulfilling an old commitment of the Government. As if explaining the way the Finance Corporation will work, Orissa's Chief Minister at Sambalpur on January 27 hit out at big newspapers who, she said, were divorced from the people and did not feel the pulse of the masses. Perhaps by "people" and the "masses" she meant the Prime Minister whose pulse she has been feeling oftener than by any one else in the land.

"Bereft of any policy of principle," she said, "the big newspapers and newspapers owned and controlled by individuals minimised the good done by Government and they usually highlighted its mistakes". This was against the interests of the country, according to her. The interests of the country demand that newspaper owners and editors should applaud whatever the Prime Minister says and forget the facts which are against the Prime Minister. They did so when Jawaharlal Nehru said "China will never attack India" and the country saw the result in the Chinese invasion of India in 1962. The present writer was the only journalist who predicted the Chinese invasion on the basis of the single fact that the Chinese Government was spending billions of dollars constructing roads on the northern frontier. In fact when Nehru said what he did China was already attacking India building a road across Aksai Chin' to connect Sinkiang with Tibet. Nehru himself said so after the invasion.

Mrs Satpathy seems to know much more about the ways newspaper offices work, much more than veteran journalists, for she went on to declare in her address to the Sambalpur District Journalists' Association that she was aware of the fact that in the prevailing situation a working journalist was handicapped in reporting news truthfully in its proper perspective as his reports were "twisted by newspaper owners must be sitting in newspaper offices and performing the functions of chief sub-editors, if Mrs Satpathy is to be believed. Currently she is busy rewarding the "leaders of other parties who brought the defections to the Congress and made it possible for her to become the Chief Minister of Orissa. They are all ministers now. And she is a leader of a party which is introducing the anti-defection in Parliament and locking the stables after the horses have fled to the Congress House. The Newspaper Finance Corporation Bill should have been appropriately called the Newspaper Corruption and Bribery Bill, for corruption and bribery alone will make it possible for the newspaper editors and pro-

(Continued on Page 13)

Education : Soviet and American Style

By Tiber R. Madan

Education, as so many other features of social culture, is frequently scrutinized comparatively. Only recently, however, have we been paying close attention to general theories are discussed throughout the pedagogical community — the journals, committees, and administrative chambers concerned with the decisions relevant to education. Most of the attention has, of course, focused upon two major world powers and their educational systems and endeavors, the United States and the Soviet Union.

In this article I want to consider some of the basic features of American and Soviet education. (It will be clear why I refrain from using the term Russia in my discussion.) What I want to focus on, specifically, are the theoretical underpinnings of the ordinary educational processes in the two countries. I must assume that theoretical considerations in both countries have enough influence over actual practice so as to offer some insights about the nature of that practice. Indeed, this might be viewed as wishful thinking when said by a theoretician. Nevertheless, in talking about education — theory matters greatly. Those who do the talking often attain positions of power. My assumption then is not very controversial.

EDUCATION : SOVIET AND AMERICAN

There are various ways to go about considering the two educational systems at hand. We can consult the influential documents in American and Soviet education and see the connection, if any, between what they contain and the field itself. Then again, in order to gain an insight into the fundamental aspects of the two educational systems, it appears to be sound methodology to examine the connection between the political philosophies which prevail and guide governmental policy, and education as a possible outgrowth of such political theory.

My project shall do both of these; i.e., I will consult educational authorities and documents, and I will consider the implications which the respective political theories of the two countries may have for education.

First, I will investigate the Soviet side of my project and attempt to answer such questions as, What are Soviet educators, administrators, and theorists saying about education? What is there about Soviet political theory — ethics, morals — that has relevance for education in the Soviet Union? I shall, later, proceed to ask similar questions about American education.

Since the elements of explicitness of purpose and means of attaining that purpose differ considerably in the two systems, minor varia-

tions in my examination of them will be evident. For instance, much of the discussion concerning the theoretical underpinnings of American education will have to be inferential, based on isolated, disjointed, views which may or may not form a coherent whole. Regarding of education are more explicit — as will be seen — which renders my investigation simpler.

Soviet-Style Education

In discussing the Soviet Union, the first procedural question that must be dealt with is whether anything that is said can be reliable. Clearly, the Soviet Union is not renowned for being consistently accurate in reporting aspects of its domestic condition. Also, very often Americans are unwilling to appraise elements of the Soviet system with an attitude of fair play and objectivity. Some people are so eager to criticize the U.S.S.R. that they blind themselves to the facts in order to provide themselves with critical ammunition; others are determined to make out a case for fantastic political and cultural changes at the expense of evading certain motivational factors underlying certain changes. Unfortunately, these obstacles make it difficult-impossible, at times—even to approximate an accurate, unbiased picture of Soviet society. As a result, an essay of this nature cannot consider all the relevant data. Still, by paying attention to the aforementioned difficulties, and all the available evidence, an investigation can be undertaken without its being necessarily suspect.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Soviet education is the fact that it is based explicitly on a certain ideology. But it is the specific content of that ideology which makes this factor significant. The official ideology, which explicitly adhered to and taught—though with varying rigor and orthodoxy—is Marxist-Leninism (or its variants, communism and Soviet socialism).

The most significant aspect of Soviet ideology — for education, at any rate—concerns the proper relationship of the individual citizen to the state (community, society, culture, nation, et al). It is no secret that Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in all of its variations, holds that individual human beings must subjugate their own interests, goals, desires, and pleasure to those of the state. Preferably, of course, the interests of individual citizens and the society as a whole will coincide. But just in case this harmony of interests, etc., has not been attained spontaneously, the business of the government is to bring about the ultimate equalization of society's inhabitants and their goals though certain means, one of which is education Soviet-style.

"The nature of Communist education stems from its two basic characteristics underlie all of Soviet society. But most evident are they at all levels of Soviet education.

In general, "the all-round and harmonious development of man is the primary task the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. set itself in its ideological work." Singing, to select a subject which most Americans would tend to think has little to do with politics, is judged by Soviet educational administrators "as a major means of aesthetic education... essential in molding the spiritual outlook of the new man." Physical education, once again rarely thought of by Americans as directly related to politics, is viewed in a similar light: "Physical culture being inseparable from the Communist education of pupils [it] goes hand in hand with (the) mental, moral, and aesthetic upbringing and polytechnical education of pupils." The realization that these statements are found not in the ideological or political writings of isolated thinkers, but in official instructions and programs directing Soviet education, brings one closer to grasping the all-impressive, all-encompassing nature of Soviet ideology and its emphasis on conformity to common purposes.

The educational system of the Soviet Union is founded on law. It is by no means a private matter, related principally to the circumstances in which children and parents may find themselves. Education and all of its ramifications are directed by law—while, of course, laws are interpreted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For example, to the question "What is discipline?" the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (and not a Russian dictionary) answers: "The constitution... interprets the concept of discipline as follows: The basic duties of Soviet citizens are to obey the law, to approach social responsibilities honestly, and to respect the rules of socialist society. These are the qualities the school must bring out in the future generation."

As drastic as all of this sounds, when I mentioned this to an educator in a local high school, he remarked that it sounds terribly familiar to him. Still, it should be noted how broadly this legal provision reaches in the midst of society. To satisfy the provision completely, an educational system would be required to burden itself with a child's total development. That the law should define discipline is crucial enough; but that such discipline includes the respect of the rules of socialist society (as distinguished from the laws of the socialist state) which must be brought out in the future generation is truly an overwhelming measure for an educational system to attend to.

In order that Soviet education based on these provisions may continue to operate, it must be supported by certain biological, psychological, and anthropological principles. Of course, as anyone familiar with the workings of Soviet

ideology can attest, Soviet science readily provides Soviet state policy with the needed "scientific" facts. (Those who might consider this judgement rather harsh should perhaps realize that Marxist-Leninism is understood to be scientific socialism for no casual reasons. Lysenko's "findings" in the field of genetics were finally rejected only because of the political inexpediency of upholding them as scientific.)

Psychology and sociology in the Soviet Union are actively related to Marxist-Leninism from beginning to end. Works dealing with child-rearing, for example, make constant reference to Marx, Engels, and Lenin, not only within the U.S.S.R. but throughout the Soviet political bloc. Clearly, the most vulnerable of all the sciences to ideological predirection psychology, sociology, and economics — those, that is, which have been admittedly lacking in scientific rigor throughout the world's scientific community but have attained a certain level of scientific respectability everywhere by virtue of their considerable dependence on other, more rigorous, sciences.

Psychology, genetics, biology, and sociology contribute most to the definition of human nature in the twentieth century. Unless an ideology is based on and guided by the objective procedures of these sciences, it will have to manage their findings in order to avert the inconvenience of major theoretical contradictions. At present, after the repudiation of Lysenko's heredity-oriented doctrines of human and social development, educational psychology in the Soviet Union is environment-oriented. The emphasis is not on genes and heredity but, instead, on the Skinner type stimulus/response learning (conditioning) theory. The concept of human agency, with its logical link to the philosophical concept of free will, has no place within the outlook. The official view is that "the thinking process begins when a need for understanding arises. The parents must try to develop the child's ability to think by stipulating systematic exercise and specific training of the brain rather than relying upon heredity." What this implies is that understanding is a need, somewhat like nourishment, and when this need arises, the process of thinking begins automatically—rejecting the possibility that the activity of thinking is self-caused by the organism, a possibility seen to be quite reasonable in the light of the facts concerning the various levels of complexity on which individuals, with very similar background and potential, operate conceptually (i.e., think). The thinking process, then, may be perfected and stimulated by systematic training—but it is taken for granted in all people.

From assumptions like the above about human nature, the belief that children can be trained at will into good communist citizens follows with ease. The ordinary problems of

teaching (vs. training), persuasion (vs. indoctrination), and rational enlightenment (vs. subtle conditioning) need not trouble a system of education which holds the present version of the Marxist-Leninist view of human nature; it need not, that is, in theory. In fact, the success of Soviet education is difficult to determine. The effects of education on a culture cannot be measured solely on the basis of advances made in one field of knowledge — technologically oriented sciences. Access to statistics and reports concerning the overall development of Soviet society is impossible. What is evident — e. g., the absence of recent art (music, sculpture, literature, theatre, etc.), the backwardness in philosophy, the essentially stultified status of pure and consumer-oriented research — is inconclusive. Even the obvious advances made by the U.S.S.R. in the space and military sciences have frequently been analyzed to be heavily parasitic upon contact with the West.⁵ Eugene Lyons, in his book, *Workers' Paradise Lost*,⁶ reports on various problems experienced by the U.S.S.R. which were curiously omitted from the lengthy cover stories that three of this country's major illustrated weeklies featured recently on life in the Soviet Union. While it is not determinable on my part to assess the justifiability of the varying views on the Soviet Union, it seems to me that glowing reports are less credible than ones which report on conditions which can only be judged to be very unsatisfactory in view of the announced aims of the country in question.

As far as education is concerned, however, one thing is clear. That Soviet education will be able to continue being totally regimented and unlibertarian in the face of the troubles evident within Soviet culture is very unlikely. The needs of Soviet society, in the light of comparatively significant changes in the realms of economics, foreign policy, and the domestic intellectual upheavals, cannot be fulfilled by a regimented, unflexible, and essentially artificial educational system.

Since ideologies cannot be maintained sporadically, piecemeal, when part of an ideology cracks, the rest is likely to fall apart not long after. Education, though still dependent for philosophical guidance on Marxist-Leninism, cannot go unaffected by the gradual internal revamping of Soviet life: the intellectuals are restless, artists are rebelling with increasing vigor, and economists are beginning to realize that socialist planning must be abandoned if the promises to the people are to be met with anything at all. In the *Reporter* magazine a while back, a Hungarian government economist was quoted saying that "with economic liberalism, political freedom comes inevitably." But, of course, political freedom may be too high a price to pay for remedying current troubles within the Soviet Union and the communist bloc.

Soviet education has not yet come to think of liberalization in theoretical terms. But when

the intellectuals rebel, the schools are not far behind. One may, therefore, wonder how long will "every aspect of the child's life in the Soviet Union (be) part of his education and of a co-ordinated system."

AMERICAN-STYLE EDUCATION

Education as such has not generally been considered a political device in American culture. Of course, it is often held that education in general is a necessary ingredient of a democracy. This is not tantamount to believing that education should be utilized for the attainment of political ends. But the fact that political goals have never been sharply distinguished from personal ones on any theoretical and widely accepted level in America led to the obliteration of this cultural distinction. In other words, initially American culture admitted only a few, select items into the realm of politics and governmental concerns. National defense, domestic police and judicial operations, and the punishment of criminals had been the matters with which government and, therefore, politics were initially concerned. Because education touched these areas only minimally, its connection with politics had been insignificant.

During the turn of the century, America's political concerns increased drastically. Though our explicit political and legal heritage made no reference to education, governmental bodies entered this field with relative ease. While existing public education at the elementary and secondary levels was at all times in part a responsibility of city, county, or state boards of education, in America these bodies were not interwoven into a system or network of governmental education with identical operational principles and purposes. In short, diversity prevailed in American education, sometimes for better, at other times for worse.

One reason why education was never explicitly subsumed under a federal governmental control and influence — except in recent years — is that since its inception, America (and the American people) gave tacit agreement to the idea of intellectual liberty. This idea seems to have been the direct result of an original respect for religious freedom; an acceptance of the latter seems to have facilitated the acceptance of the former. Centralized control of education was not in the spirit of American culture.

The new conception of the relationship between government and education — one often attributed to the recently emphasized provisions for the "general welfare" found in the preamble to the Constitution — brought about serious changes in theoretical approaches to education in the U.S. More importantly, the significance of such an approach increased hand in hand with the improved prospects of implementing educational theories with governmental power to back them up. Despite the implicit and explicit involvement of government in the educational

Americans, the spirit of freedom and individualism makes the total political socialization of education — and its legal definition as such — impossible in the United States.

This gives American education a schizophrenic character: at present, education in America wants to be both cohesive, organized, based on universal and implementable principles, and accommodating of individual and regional differences, freedom of religion and ideology, diversity of moral and political points of view, and differences in purpose. And this is an impossible aim. Nevertheless, here we have the present state of American education.

There are those who see matters differently, of course. For example, Dr. Harry C. Brede, oppose an increase in taxes, a foreigner — he actually brings up an outer-space visitor to make the observer very foreign — would be justified I do not think that the observer's inference would lead him to a true conclusion. Americans are not against education — they simply do not associate education with taxes. Education in America has to do with books, theories, truth, schools. The evidence of financial support for football, and other matters directly related to education from private sources is overwhelming, a bad thing — since taxes finance education. In concluding that Americans consider education meier of Rutgers believes that if Americans literature, scholarship, professors, donations, After all, taxes also support meat inspectors and Americans certainly do not want spoiled meat think, that the schizophrenia I mentioned above for dinner. I am on safe grounds to contend, I channelled taxes, it is because politics and education are not usually thought of conjointly. does prevail.

In what positive ways, however, is it demonstrated that American education is changing from a disjointed, primarily individually secured and cared for undertaking to a national project? It has been supposed that the arrival of Sputnik I created the present furor in behalf of unified education. In the September 16, 1967, issue of *Saturday Review* Frank G. Jennings shows that this is indeed a myth. Instead, schemes like the G. I. Bill, American involvement in international affairs, the tendency away from individualism toward egalitarianism, the need to eliminate poverty and its association with education, and other factors had stirred educational reformers some time before the Soviets launched Sputnik I. The Rockefeller Report, the writings of Robert M. Hutchins, and the increasing power of educators contributed very significantly to the gradual change in official attitudes toward education in America.

As a result, American education made the same kind of progress almost any other aspect of American life has: It became a political and governmental concern; solutions to the problems

facing education had to come from politics with increasing frequency, just as solutions to racial injustice, unemployment, automation, consumer ignorance, housing shortages, ill health, illegitimacy, drug addiction, the quality of broadcasting, etc., etc., are now expected to come from political action. But most importantly and very paradoxically, all these solutions are expected from government — the federal government, primarily — without any sacrifice to the original ideals of freedom, absence of regimentation, conformity over diversity, and other values. Surely, I am not being overly concerned; Mr. Harold Howe, U. S. Commissioner of Education, recently promised that he is considering "every possible device to include within each school a cross-section of the social and economic backgrounds of the metropolis." When racial balance in schools is not achieved voluntarily, Mr. Howe will withhold the funds which would otherwise have gone to a given school. (This practice is not new in the South.) The fact that education is now considered by political leaders and social engineers as primarily a social and public, and not a private, concern necessitates all the measures which secure the success of social manipulation. And I should preempt comments about my choice of words here by saying that it would put the matter in no different perspective to employ kinder vocabulary. After all, whatever the "great society" is, toward which education is now to be a tool, it is someone's conception of greatness which lies at its foundation. This conception, then, would and will provide the direction which education, among other things, will have to take. And the "great society" is a truly political aim, not one which sprang into mind and action as a spontaneous but unified cultural endeavor.

Some of the supporters of the recent trend in American education toward a unified project observe that, one way or another, "education contains a large element of imposition," thereby indicating that the change is not so radical as it appears on the surface. George S. Counts, who made the above-mentioned remark, supports his view by advancing a deterministic view of man, saying that man "achieves freedom, as a race and as an individual, through the medium of culture." This piece of fact should impress us with the essentially sound trend of American education. But even though, on purely logical grounds, determinism can be shown to be incoherent-by way of invalidating itself when applied to its proponents as being determined to be determinists—it need not be denied that imposition occurs in all education. The type of imposition which occurs in education is, however, drastically different from the one necessitated by social engineering. When one decides to take up dancing lessons, it is obvious that the instructor will impose on his certain rules and stylistic principles. When one is entered in school, it is understood by the parents and, if one is lucky,

by the child, that the teacher is a kind of authority. The crucial distinction in the uncentralized educational concept is that the parents have the option concerning the advisability of certain schools, classes, teachers, etc., whereas when education is simply a euphemism for social engineering it is the state that makes the relevant judgements. Centralization in education does not stand or fall on the basis of whether or not education contains elements of imposition; it does so depending on where we want the imposition to be accepted or rejected for those to be educated.

I said above that education in America has this dichotomistic character. This is well illustrated by the content of a standard instruction sheet advising student-teachers how to deal with students. At one point it is recommended:

Often insist on proof! This is particularly important in discussing literature. If a student describes a character as proud, ask where in the story is there indication of this? (sic)

Later the student teacher gets this suggestion:

Try to avoid saying, "No, you are wrong." Say, "Well, possibly."

"Let's see if there isn't a better answer." "That is part of it, but there is more."

(Continued from Page 7)

between us and the Communists", while the problem of the implementation of the right of self-determination will be discussed between the USA and the NLF to reach a political Solution for South Vietnam. So the American Government has not washed its hands off Vietnam and will be there as a guaranter of peace and to guard against Communist treason.

Whether President Thieu is able to maintain peace in South Vietnam remains to be seen. His success or failure would appear to depend on the co-operation he receives from his countrymen, particularly the neutralists among them. As he said, the people of Vietnam should know that the first thing to do in a political struggle with the Communists is to deal a deadly blow to their underground cadres. If the people of South Vietnam do that, President Thieu will definitely be able to maintain peace. It would be a test of the democratic instincts of the people of South Vietnam. The problem is far from solved for those who detest Communism, and will require all the brains that the South Vietnam President can muster for the good of his country. One can only hope that he will succeed, though the odds appear to be against him, knowing as we do the half-hearted faith in democracy among the people of Asia and the fanaticism of the Communists among them.

Clearly, you cannot have it both ways. If someone asserts something that is proven false by the facts in point, the assertion is wrong and to say otherwise is to weaken the insistence on proof (not to mention showing disrespect to the student). But the two suggestions point to something broader, namely, the desire to have things both ways in American education: to have education proper, competence, independent and rigorous thinking and performance; and to have pampering, social accommodation, psychological therapy, and white lies for purposes of creating a non-offensive (non-demanding) climate. In the cited instance, it appears that a confusion between what is to be said and how it is to be said and how it is to be said occurs. Surely, yelling at a student that he is wrong and, therefore, an idiot would be a mistake (and more); but so would yelling at him anything, including that he may be right.

All in all, the massive problems in American education stem from the schizophrenia which can be seen everywhere. Rights versus common goals; the desirability of dissent and diversion versus the effort to build a new social order; individualism versus conformity; rationality versus sociability; and education versus regimentation and engineering—all these appear to pervade all levels of American education, the University of California at Berkeley not excluded.

Is this to say that America should follow the Soviet system and admit outright that freedom in education—the parallel of economic laissez-faire—must be given up to total egalitarianism? From the evidence of what the Soviet schools have accomplished, this does not seem to be the answer, even if we are impressed with some isolated aspects of the Soviet system.

I have given here an overview of the general trends in two educational systems—or non-system, in the latter case. Clearly, my discussion was general. In that, however, I believe that it bears attention by all those concerned—perhaps by all, period.

(Continued from Page 8)

prietors to feel the pulse of the people, i.e., the mood of the Prime Minister.

In other words, the Government is crying to decide for the people what sort of papers they should read, and about this Mrs Satpathy, who is closer to the Prime Minister than any other minister, has already given a broad hint. They should not read papers which criticise the Government, for it is not good for them. And that is something the people are unable to understand. All the more reason why pro-Government papers should be financed out of public funds, for the good of the people, of course.

MEHER BABA-A MODERN SAINT

By Kumara Sehkar

In February, when we celebrate the birth anniversary of the late Meher Baba, our thoughts naturally go back to this unique "modern saint", who thought referring in the old manner to God and other things, was against having anything to do with medieval fraud and superstitious such as "miracles", treating it as purely a subjective psychic experience, born out of the intensity of faith. As one of his biographers Mr. D. E. Stevens observes, in "Listen Humanity" (p. 213) "Whereas the sadhu or saint appears to produce extraordinary results through his deft ability to handle forces within the operation of universal law, Baba seems rather to sit outside the entire tangled maze and to handle the law itself. If a miracle results, it does not seem that Baba has decreed that the lame shall get up and walk, but rather that a man shall fulfill a certain life function, and if an unsound limb is healed in the process, that fact is purely coincidental".

Through his "sahavas" (friendship) programmes, in which he embraced his "lovers", on a plane of equality, he eliminated all snobbery and inequality, between the "realized" and "un-realized". "I have not asked you to come here for long discourses on philosophical subjects. A proper sahvas means physical proximity, as well as mingling together, as do the members of one family", says Baba. This certainly implies the introduction of the modern democratic element, into medieval religious belief. So too, is his ceremony of "washing the feet of the poor". Even in his notion of God, there is little that would encounter the objections of even a pure materialist. God to him, is "self-realization through love", about which there is hardly anything superstitious.

Perusing what little details of his private life we have, we find that his ascent to sainthood and self realization was not an easy one. His life was one of an evolution from the ignorance and ordeals of insanity, to that of full knowledge and bliss. Many may be shocked to know of the days in his life, in which he used to be subject to fits of violence, in which he for no apparent reason beat others, lost his temper for nothing, and even dashed his head against stones, till it bled. His thirty year vow of silence, is certain to baffle anyone.

The extent of masochistic "self-torture" he initially inflicted on himself, apparently to purify

himself, for his cause of attaining Godhood should move even the stone hearted, starving as he did, for weeks or months together and forcing his followers to do likewise. Compared to this, his later life, in which he finds it painful, even to sit under the direct sun, and fears even minor ailments such as colds, and quizzes his admirers seriously on their health, food, and sleep, — it is one of relative ease and happiness. It is marked by the sort of difference, that a Shakespearean scholar would notice between the painful tragedies of the playwright's early days, and his last plays, in which there is plenty of heaven and little of hell. The days in which he prostrated on the road before his Guru or "Perfect Master", sat behind closed doors for days before another nude initiator of his, surrounded with filth, and even scavenged excrements were gone, and gone for ever, for the man whose arrival was heralded by the honks of his blue chevrolet car, and whose mere touch was valued so much, that it brought in from his believers much more than he could ever want, and whose programmes were televised for foreign audiences. And yet the irony is, that he had little else to give to those who sought him, except "true love".

The most singular aspect of Meher Baba is, that even to the discerning intellectual, he does not appear a "fraud", as do most others of his tribe, at some stage or other. For in his discourses, he easily reaches the highest pinnacles of thought, and is able to cast a spell upon even intellectuals by his utterances, that can compare well with Nietzsche's "zatharustra", though to the Christ believing western mind, his claim to be God himself, can on the surface of it, appear as self-conceit.

There is considerable significance in Meher Baba's care and concern for the insane, for whom he set up a "Mad Ashram", picking up a few lunatics here and there, through his assistants called the "Mandali". As we have seen that his own path to complete knowledge lay from initial states of a psychopathic condition, it was probably his hope, that other gems could be found in the same mud. However, the failure of this scheme, should have brought home to him, the bitter fact, that in not all cases, does this special relationship, between insanity and genius, hold true.

DOUBLE STRUGGLE FOR STATEHOOD

It is unfortunate that due attention is not being given to the "miserable predicament" of Andhras having to wage a "double struggle for statehood", once in 1953, and now again twenty years later, in 1973, when normally one struggle should suffice for one people, owing to the gross "mistakes" of its "muddle-headed politicians", who had not the wisdom to anticipate coming events.

Every people in every region, have almost a birthright to a separate state for themselves, within the nation, and where it is not provided, we knew that a single struggle for it, obtains it for them. The peculiar fate of Andhras however, is that they are forced to wage 'two struggles' for the same objective, that is making them appear ridiculous in the eyes of the Central leadership, and thereby making the second struggle for separate statehood even tougher than before, with the authorities not hesitating to make a liberal use of bullets, to suppress it. In 1973 they find themselves again forced to repeat the same fierce techniques, such as stopping trains and organising fasts, bandhs and the like, which they had adopted in 1953, to obtain the same separate statehood. The cost in economic and political terms, in terms of sacrifices of life and assets, and hardships to the people, for Andhras to wage a "second strgggle" for separate statehood, is staggering indeed. We now learn to our chagrin that the reason for all this, lies in the fact that between 1953 and 1973, the separte statehood that had already been once achieved, after a struggle carried on for generations, almost from the first decade of the century, had been compromised by a handful of Andhra leaders, who apparently were enamoured in 1956 by the glamour of Hyderabad, and were greedy of dominating the then virtually leaderless Telengana people. Thus, the separate statehood of Andhra, and the economic and political independence that went with it, achieved by the toil and sacrifices of millions of the common people of Andhra, had been bartered away, for the wider base of power and profit, that an integration with Telengana, promised to Andhra leaders.

One of the direct consequences of this failure, of this ill-conveived experiment in integration is the present crisis, leading Andhras to once again, as in 1953, demand separate statehood, finding themselves once again at the "bottom of the ladder". One therefore expects, the Andhra people to take appropriate action against their "erring politicians", who had now imposed upon them this gruesome ordeal of having to wage a second and even more bitter struggle for statehood, that had now brought the Andhra people, into an unhappy confrontation with the armed might of the Centre. Even confiscation of their

properties, would be too light a punishment for them. The people certainly cannot be satisfied with their quiet explanation today, that it was their "mistake" (porrapatu) to terminate the separate statehood of Andhra for a link up with Telengana.

If an individual commits errors, he and his family alone suffer. But when politicians blunder, they ruin their entire people. And so, for that, naturally the people are known to turn upon them, for their failures, try them, or even lynch them. It is not for nothing the people of Pakistan, are asking for the trial of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. As they had mishandled that country's affairs, they face the gallows. Some similar fate awaits Andhra politicians, who compromised her hard won statehood, under rosy illusions of integration with Telengana, which they had however, not the ability to carry forth to completion.

— K. S.

THE HIMALYAN HALLUCINATION OF MR. HOWARD

Madam,

Mr. Howard's letter in your issue of Jan. 1 does **not** answer any of my points raised against the attitude of Mr. Nixon's Government towards Pakistan's atrocities in Bangla Desh, though it has become a barbaric reality. I never criticised Christians and yet Mr. Howard abused me without answering my points of view. Mr. Howard is surprised that "not one of the readers of" your erudite fortnightly took up the matter of attacking me for my views. It is because most of them agreed with me regarding American action in the last war.

I agree with Mr. Howard that there are various evils in the country after independence. But that is not due to Hinduism but because the leaders have neglected it. I do not want to carry on this controversy when Mr. Howard in his hallucination states that the Hindus are communalists. Let him remember that Saint Thomas when he came to Travancore in '52 A.D. the Hindu Maharaja and the people welcomed and helped him. I ask Mr. Howard to answer a simple question even if he is unable to answer the various points put up against the American Government and Pakistan. The question is this :

"Can he point out any people, either in the modern or ancient world where a vast majority, professing another religion, allowing minorities following other religions, whose proclaimed objects are **to destroy the religion of the majority**, except the Hindus?" The latter are in a vast majority and they could have suppressed these antagonist religions and vet on account of their tolerant ancient culture, they have allowed them to increase and progress, without any kind of hindrance. Let him remember this one aspect and get rid of his hallucination about the Hindus.

S. R. Narayana Ayyar
Devinilayam, Coonoor-1.

BIGOTRY IN ANDRA POLITICS

By Kumara Sekhar,

One is flabbergasted by the growing amount of "bigotry" in Andhra politics. People seem to have lost their mental balance, so much as to be no longer capable of looking into both the pros and cons of things. While separation is certainly "one way out" of the present crisis, it is grotesque that in even many intellectual circles it should be insisted that it is the "only way out". Infact, more than any other single factor, it is this that is responsible for the transformation of life here, into what has been called a "nightmarish" existence.

It is one thing to say that a large number of the Andhra people are fervently desirous of separation, and that therefore it should be straightway granted, and quite a different thing to insist, that the logic behind separation is "irrefutable", and that no one can say that separation is "not the only way out". And yet, this is what is being done without the least qualms of conscience. Every powerful argument for separation, has its own powerful antidote. There are always two sides to every issue, and it is only the infatuation of sentiment, that blinds us to one, and draws us irresistably to the other.

For that matter, till recently, even the separatists were only for the repeal of the Mulki rules, and saying, that only if it is not done, would have they to seek separation. Even today, many of the conscientious among separatists, confess that it is only their despair that the Mulki Rules will be somehow or other extended from time to time, even in future that has driven them to seek the extreme sand of separation, to convey to Delhi, how intolerable and humiliating their parleys with Telengana have become. And that if the Mulki rules were scrapped, it could give them the necessary confidence to call off the separation movement. So, for the objective and dispassionate separatist, there is still at least one way out, other than separation. So, none can be "dogmatic" on the assertion, that separation is the "only way out", when there are certainly some other bases for settlement. After all, the PM's formula is not so obnoxious as some separatists intially think it to be. After all, Andhra leaders themselves acquiesced in the extention of Mulki rules from five to fifteen years, and the people of the Andhra region did not then raise their little finger, against giving such new leases of life to the Mulki. What Mrs. Gandhi had now done, is just to extend the same by another three more years, from 1974 to 1977, in the main bone of contention, the capital city, with the object of getting the Tel'enganas to be satisfied with this "last morsel", and finally acquiesce in a definitive end to this discriminatory system. None can help, if the Andhras suspect an impartial body of leaders, like that we have at the Centre, and fear the "perpetuation" of the Mulki rules, even

without giving the PM's solution a "fair trial", so that in Delhi, the impression is not created, that Andhras are either too adamant, or unreasonable. Afterall, we have the parallel example of extension of safeguards for backward castes far beyond their original date.

For a complaint like that the income of the twin cities had soared from 3½ crores to forty five crores, during the last sixteen years, largely because of Andhra investment, and with Andhras yet being denied a share in it, after all, the answer seems to lie not in "separation", but in an "economic pull-out" of Andhra capital, capital goods and entrepreneurial talent, from the Telengana cities, just as the Russians transfered their huge factories into Siberia, with the German advance. So, in this case atleast, separation is not the right way out, and much less the only way out. Hence, the need o bid goodbye to bigotry in the larger interests of the country.

While, no one can minimize the fact that there is still a lot of "trouble ahead", before peace and harmony could again be brought to the region, because of Andhra and Telengana not understanding each other, and both not understanding the Centre, and the Centre not understanding either of them, yet, one is likely to feel that if enlightened sections of the people at least did not take bigotic stands like that there is "no alternative to separation", it might go a long way in finding a way out.

Personally, it matters little to this writer whether the state is bifurcated, or trifurcated, or retained as it is, undisturbed. But what pains one, is that even on an issue that is rocking the entire state, there is not some clear, dispassionate and selfless thinking done at least in intellectual circles.....

BANGLA DESH AND SECULARISM

It is very significant that the draft Constitution of Pakistan proclaimed it as, not only Islamic, but also made provision hopefully for the subsequent inclusion of Bangla Desh, which has adopted a secular Constitution, though its population is overwhelmingly Muslim, and Muslims all over the world make no distinction between secular and religious and claim all activities as religious and Muslim President Bhutto of Muslim Pakistan has often referred to Bangla Desh as Muslim Bengal and deferred its recognition as a sovereign secular State till after its general elections due in March 1973, in the hope that it would result in the repudiation of its secular claim and its reversion to an Islamic polity, even if it did not reyert to Islamic Pakistan. The secularism of the Bangla Desh Constitution may not survive the General Elections on adult franchise.

— P. Kodanda Rao

CRUELTY OF THE JEWS

Madam,

Why are the Jews allowed to kill and kidnap in foreign countries? Why are they allowed to live the life of parasites and criminals in many countries? Why are they allowed to call all other nations "goi hazer" meaning stranger pig? Was Colonel Adolf Eichman guilty? If he was, why the Court in Nuremberg did not know him at all. Jews are responsible for biggest part of trouble on our planet. The origin of Jew is the Russian plains North of the Black Sea. He belongs to the Yellow Race and he is a mixture of Turk, Tartar, Mongol and biggest part of Khosar. To fool all nations before he leaves his country, he embraced Mosaic Law, the religion of Semitic nation, Hebrew natives of Palestine. Till to-day, "goi hazer" believes that the Jew is Hebrew and belongs to the chosen people and that Lord Jesus Christ is coming from the Jews. Jesus did not exist and all concerning Jesus is murder, lie and cruelty — the ruin of all nations.

When the Roman Empire was too strong and too proud and cruel, when all nations existing were too weak to fight with Rome, very wise Greeks and Hebrews invented Christianity. New religion expounded freedom in slave empire of Rome. After 300-400 years, Christian slaves destroyed Roman Slave owners and the Roman Empire perished. The Jews destroyed the Empires of China, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Balkan Kingdoms and Turkey. Communism like Christianity promised freedom but introduced slavery. The Jews turned the natives in Palestine into slavery because mineral wealth of the country in Palestine is some 13-15 trillion dollars in gold. And still the Jews were allowed to do all, but we the "goi hazers", we have nothing to say but die under torture in Jewish hands.

— K. Lidaks,

NEW CONCEPTION OF THIRD WORLD

A former Mexico's Ambassador to India, Mr. Octavio Paz has in his book "Saving Soul" revealed new conception of Third World. He is more concerned with metaphysical aspect of Third World. Political aspect of Third World is quite familiar to intelligent people. Between two super-powers of United States of America

and Russia, the Third World has to grow in political strength and attain industrial development.

"The Third World is not simply a political or economic concept but a psychological state, consisting of common species, lovers, poets, coloured people, and it wavers between Buddha and Marx, Shiva and Darwin, Allah and cybernetics" asserts Mr. Paz.

For vast fasses of people, there is hope for spiritual melioration, if they endeavour for renewal instead of being licence-goats of modernity, which includes drugs, sex licence and love for speed. Can masses attain transformation through such disciplines? Back to nature and simple joys of life, is the only answer which Poet Tagore could find. There is always temptation for educated people to crave for modernity. Masses also hypnotised through incessant propaganda through radio-press, television etc. Such a temptation ultimately leads to moral and spiritual disharmony.

Intelligent people can adopt a more positive attitude. "Incarnation of poetry in collective life: the fiesta," is one such challenge. That needs vision and genius of Tagore. There is nothing wrong in taking such challenge in all seriousness. Tradition and change, are two great forces. Can man ever escape age-old tradition and waste life in barren patches of spiritual penury? The urge to change is always natural. But change for better prospects and not for silly and shortsighted ends, should be the aim of modern man.

At present panic and frustration, govern lives of people. The past has no glamour in the real sense of the word. And the future is darkened with uncertainties and inarticulate aims, which result in panic and insecurity.

Sanity must nourish dry roots of culture. B. Russell has stressed this point in his books. Woman should play a more vital and positive part of savior. Mr. Paz expects woman to be dominant factor where, the natural world and the human are reconciled. It is no use losing faith in gods. Let us endeavour to walk in the shadows of gods, if it is not possible for us to attain spiritual transfiguration, by direct disciplines as prescribed by great sages and savants. Arther Miller, a Nobel Prize winner for his dramatic art, has suggested such a discipline.

There is vast scope for a melioration of Third World. But great challenges need resilient guts and spirit of excelsiorism, as Prof: White Head of U. S. A. has stressed in his philosophy.

— Advani K. V.

THE ROOTS OF "ANTICIPITALISM"

By Erik Von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

In many minds, "capatalism" has come to be a bad word, nor does "free enterprise" sound much better. I remember seeing posters in Russia in the early nineteen-thirties depicting capitalists as Frankenstein monsters, as men with yellow-green faces, crocodile teeth, dressed in cutaways and adorned by top hats. What is the reason for this widespread hatred for capitalists and capitalism despite the overwhelming evidence that the system has truly "delivered the goods"? In its mature stage it indeed is providing, not just for a select few but for the masses: a standard of living cordially envied by those bound under other politico-economic arrangements. There are historic, psychological and moral reasons for this state of affairs. Once we recognize them, we might come to better understanding the largely irrational resentment and desire to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

In Europe there still survives a considerable conservative opposition against capitalism. The leaders of conservative thought and action, more often than not, came from the nobility which believed in an agrarian-patriarchal order. They thought workers should be treated by manufacturers as noblemen treated their agricultural employees and household servants, providing them with total security for their old age, care in the case of illness, and so forth. They also disliked the new business leaders who emerged from the middle classes: the grand bourgeois was their social competitor, the banker their disagreeable creditor, not their friend. The big cities with their smoking chimneys were viewed as calamities and destroyers of the good old life.

We know that Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto furiously attacked the aristocratic social movement as a potential threat to their own program. Actually, most of the leading minds of Christian anticapitalist thought (equally opposed to socialism) were aristocrats: Villeneuve-Bargemont, de Mun, Liechtenstein, Vogelsang, Ketteler.

Bias Against Capitalism Not of Worker Origin

Armin Mohler, the brilliant Swiss-German neo-conservative, has recently explained that one of the weakest points of contemporary conservative thought, still drapped in the threads of its own obsolete agrarian romanticism, is its hostility against modern technology. How right he is! The exception might have been Italy with its tradition of urban nobility and of patricians who, even before the Reformation, engaged in

trade and manufacture. Capitalism, indeed, is of North-Italian origin. It was a Franciscan, Fra Luigi di Pacioli, who invented double-entry bookkeeping. Calvinism gave a new impetus to capitalism but did not invent it. (Aristocratic entrepreneurs in Italy? Count Marzotto with his highly diversified business empire of textile plants, paper mills, hotel chains and fisheries is a typical example. His labour relations are of a patriarchal nature involving substantial fringe benefits which also characterize Japanese business practice.)

The real animosity against free enterprise did not originate with the laborers. Bear in mind that in the early nineteenth century the working class was miserably paid, and this for two reasons: (1) the income from manufacturing was quite limited (true mass production came later) and (2) the lion's share of the profits went into reinvestments while the typical manufacturers lived rather modestly. It is this ascetic policy of early European capitalism which made possible the phenomenal rise of working class standards. Seeing that the manufacturers did not live a life of splendor (as did the big landowners) the workers at first viewed their lot with surprising equanimity. The Socialist impetus came from middle class intellectuals, eccentric industrialists (like Robert Owen and Engels) and impoverished noblemen with a feeling of resentment against the existing order.

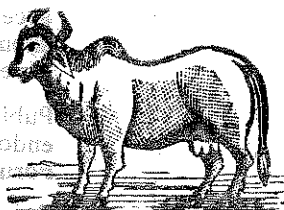
As one can imagine, the artificially created ire then was turned first against the manufacturer who, after all, is nothing but some sort of broker between the worker and the public. He enables the worker to transform his work into goods. In this process he incurs various expenses, such as for tools, and a part of the costs of marketing. He hopes to make a profit from these transactions in order to render his efforts worth while. Curiously enough, his responsibility toward the enterprise is of far greater scope than that of many workers. No wonder that the interest, once centered on accidents in the factories, is shifting more and more to the manager diseases. The entrepreneur sacrifices not only his "nerves" but also his peace of mind. If he fails, he fails not himself alone; the bread of dozens, of hundreds, of thousands of families hangs in the balance. The situation is not very different in a stock company. There, the stockholders sometimes make profits in the form of dividends — and sometimes they do not. The worker always expects to be paid. The bigger risks are thus at the top, not at the bottom.

(To be continued)

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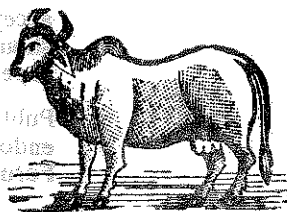
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