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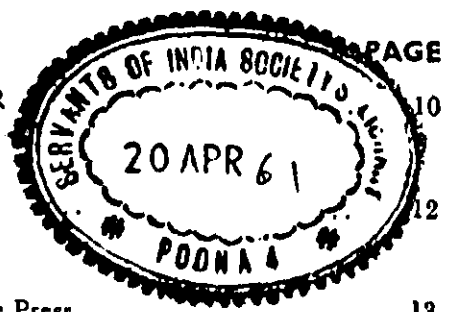
MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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EDITORIAL

CONFEDERATION WITH PAKISTAN

FOREIGN observers have begun to take an active interest in Indian politics again. They are full of anxious and apparently disinterested advice to us in regard to the most crucial of our issues.

Mr. Louis Fisher has written in *New Leader of America* suggesting that India and Pakistan would do well to forge a confederation with local autonomy in order to pool the military resources of the two countries so as to bring them more on a par with those of Communist China whose hostile intentions have become clear in their moves in Aksai Chin (in Ladakh occupying 12000 square miles of Indian territory there).

During the parleys with Sudeten Germans, Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain said that it was too remote a part of the world for which Britain could not be expected to go to war. But the very next year, he had to fly to Godesberg to meet Dictator Hitler, umbrella and all and allow him to grab Sudetenland on condition that he stopped there. Hitler did not keep his word and Chamberlain had to go to war for the remote land the very next year and eat his words!

So President Eisenhower said when in India "who knows whereabouts the MacMahon line in the remote heights of the Himalayas might be!" MacMillan maintained a grim silence when the Chinese

challenged the validity of the MacMahon Line drawn by the British themselves when they were in charge of India and had sanctified it by treaty between Russia and Tibet and India. The fact that China then (1911) allowed Tibet to sign the treaty as an independent sovereign power shows that China then recognised her as such! This has been recently brought to the notice of the diplomatic world by the Dalai Lama.

So if the will-to-defend our borders gets activated some day, India will have to call upon friendly Powers and allies from the free world to go to her assistance. America and Britain will have to assist India and Tibet to push the Chinese back. This may take place as part of world war or as part of a local war. But it cannot be discounted and wished away.

This grim shadow of the future is the meaning to be attributed to the speculations of publicists like Louis Fisher.

British statesmen forced the Partition on us as an indispensable condition of independence and now they may put similar pressure for a military alliance between India and Pakistan in the interest of the defence of India's northern frontier, which is also the perimeter of defence of the free world.

But an amalgamation of the two peoples betokening their total assimilation into One Nation is a highly improbable contingency. What has not hap-

pened in a thousand years of common social life and common administration is not likely to happen at the call of Western convenience!

JABALPUR RIOTS AND THE HOME MINISTRY

Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri (Acting Home Minister) has announced that the Preventive Detention Act will be used hereafter to prevent communal riots.

Meanwhile the High Court Judge appointed as a single-man Commission to Inquire into the Riots has hardly entered upon his onerous task.

The matter is therefore sub judice in the strict sense. The Home Minister should have waited for the authoritative report of the Commission before announcing any course of action of future policy in regard to such incidents.

Also, the Congress Committee of high-placed members like Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sadiq Ali, Secretary, should have refrained from publishing their party report of the incidents, which cannot be regarded as judicial, however influential they might turn out to be, in view of the position of the party to which they belong. Also, the press summary of their report submitted to the party leader, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru confirms the popular suspicion that it fell into the usual groove, viz., the origin is communalism. It should be eradicated by punishing one community and appeasing the other community by giving them more jobs and letting them off if they have been held by the police for offences. They should be compensated for any loss or damage done to them. The damage done to the majority community need not be considered at all. And it should be assumed irrespective of evidence that the attack-

ers were (all of them) members of the majority community.

The assumption of collective responsibility of whole communities for any crimes done by any of their members made by the Congress leadership is astonishing. It reminds us of ancient clan feuds according to which wrongs committed by any member of a group should be avenged over the years by inflicting death on any member of the other offending group.

The individual responsibility to which modern jurisprudence had advanced is thrown overboard by Congress leadership.

In the midst of this retrogression to earlier tribalism on the part of leadership, it was wrong of the Home Minister to have announced any policy of using the Preventive Detention Act to forestall such riots. It appears they will have Lists of "communalists" made who will be rounded up even in the absence of any evidence on the slightest rumour of forthcoming trouble! The Preventive Act itself is undemocratic and contrary to human justice. Even Mr. Attlee said that they did not have such a Draconian law even in the midst of war! But Indian leaders with democracy on their lips have found it necessary! It is no doubt convenient to the executive to stifle opposition, legitimate or illegitimate! There is a criminal law against conspiracy. Government can use it against "communalists" plotting to attack citizens, abduct women, set fire to houses, etc. But they will have to prove the conspiracy before a court of law after a reasonable period of detention of prisoners in jail to allow them time to collect evidence. Conspirators cannot make their preparations and collect a number of people for a common crime without leaving some sign on the rest of society and some clue that the police could get hold of. Society is a complicated system and it is not possible to develop a self-enclosed system with no repercussions whatever on outside society!

The Preventive Detention Act and other such measures make things easy to the police and make it unnecessary for them to develop their professional skill.

Further, it is doubtful if "communalism" is the word to describe the ambition of the Muslims in these activities of theirs. As shrewd observers like Cateron Smith and others have observed, Muslims became nationalists when they demanded Pakistan. Now they want to expand their Pakistan into a much greater Nation, comparable if not superior to India in every way. Their riots are intended to weaken the Indian administration so that Pakistan or China or both may some day find it profitable to invade the country. They hope to annex parts of the country to Pakistan in that confusion!

They have no intention of settling down into good and loyal citizens of India like other Indians!

NEHRU'S FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO AYUB KHAN?

Nehru had discussions with President Ayub Khan in London. Pakistani sources say that they discussed

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further concessions by India in further Canal water sharing from the Ganges in the East!

Officials are to meet to discuss details. Observers and critics have pointed out that it is always India that has to yield concessions and that it is always India that enters into negotiations with Pakistan unprepared with a study of the actual consequences for India!

It is whispered that the Rail-Passage through India for Pakistani nationals in sealed trains without passports and visas and without rights to Indian railway officials to check the trains en route will be put through at an early date. This is the beginning of the Corridor Idea which in the Pakistani Blue Print is intended to yield land sovereignty ultimately to connect Eastern and Western Pakistan! Pakistanis know their mind. Indian Ministers and officials are willing to meet them more than half-way and the Indian public and parliament will have to pass conclusions previously arrived at to save the prestige of their beloved Prime Minister who treats the country and its interests like his own private estates!

INDIA AND AMERICA

The new American administration under President Kennedy is treating the Indian Prime Minister with even greater deference than his predecessor President Eisenhower.

His personal envoy Mr. Averril Harrison was in India and stayed a few hours specifically to meet Mr. Nehru as he returned from the Commonwealth Conference.

He took the report of the Indian officials on the border question for study and gratified Nehru and Indians with the frank statement that the Chinese invasion of India had appalled America!

He endeared himself to us again by unfreezing the Dullesian position regarding the Goan question. He said that America was not committed to Portuguese domination of her colonies for all time.

These are good signs.

On top of this Mr. Rusk the American Secretary of State has come to India and met with Mr. Nehru and exchanged views with him about Laos and Congo. If Nehru was a world statesman before, he is confirmed in that status deeply by American recognition of it after Mr. Kennedy's taking over.

Nehru has also pleased the Americans by his independent action in refusing to kow-tow to Khrushchev in denigrating Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and dismissing him altogether. This is probably the first major act of policy in which Nehru has made bold to differ from the Russians so unequivocally.

Russia has published maps in which Sikkim and Bhutan are shown as belonging to China! Protests have elicited no answer! Nehru will perhaps become more cautious hereafter about Russians and not rely too much on them to save us from the Chinese.

In Laos, the Indian ambassador is reported to have warned the Russians of American action as in Korea if they continued their military supplies. India is taking a notable part in the tripartite negotiations about Laos. But the agreement about neutrality should not entail a coalition government with communists as members. If it did, then, Laos will go the way of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and Bulgaria! Neutrality as policy is one thing while neutrality as coalition government is quite another! Those who do not know the classic moves and tactics of communists will have to probe the matter further.

What The Voter Should Know

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF DEMOCRACY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE first and most important truth that the voter in our tremendous democracy should know is that the *raison d'être* of democracy is not welfare or Ma Bap providence to the children as is probably the dominant impression current among the ignorant multitudes.

The far more urgent necessity that transferred power to the people from former hereditary holders, (whether monarchies or oligarchies) was the felt need to curb the exercise of arbitrary power on their part resulting in the daily and hourly oppression of the subjects. It is said that democracy was born in envy of the holders of power and their pomp and luxury. It was also attributed to the common man's intolerance of the ease and comfort that came as a perquisite to the holders of the governmental power

whether they deserved it or not by their discharge of their duties in a faithful manner.

But the fact remains that the central justification and motive of democracy consisted historically in the necessity of imposing checks on the exercise of arbitrary power by kings and tyrants. The action of the Norman Barons at Runnymede in forcing King John to sign the Magna Carta was the first of the great signals and achievements that came to be written into democratic government in all future times. The Bill of Rights codified by John Locke after the "bloodless revolution" of 1688, the Declaration of Independence and the Rights of Man connected with the American Revolution, the Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and the Rights of Man formulated by the French Revolution not long after in Paris and the democratic rights written into the English

constitution stage by stage throughout the nineteenth century, (full universal adult franchise being reached only after the war of 1914-18) are all so many landmarks that spell out the bulwarks of liberty. They are primarily limitations on absolute power imposed by the people's representatives out of bitter experience to safeguard their daily life from undue interference from their own legitimate governments!

Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely—is a slogan that occupies first place in the hearts of democrats. Second in importance is the slogan—eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The people cannot afford to go to sleep and allow the holders of power, however legitimate their hold on it, to exercise power without check and supervision. They should be held answerable to the people in prescribed ways for every considerable exercise of power. They should not be allowed to feel that they are answerable only to God or to their own conscience! They should be responsible to their fellow-countrymen here and now!

This is the first lesson of all history. Power holders require to be closely watched and held responsible to the people in prescribed and definite ways and procedures laid down in the constitution.

Democracy in Abraham Lincoln's famous definition is government of the people by the people and for the people. But this government by the people is not sufficiently exercised if confined to the casting of the vote during periodic general elections to choose the representatives of the people to whom power is to be entrusted. Such periodic exercise of freedom is not sufficient to constitute a modern democracy in a meaningful sense.

The voter should know therefore that it is his duty to keep track of the democratic process even after the elections. He should watch the work of the legislatures, the representative from his area in particular. He should correspond with him, and ask him for information on various matters. He should ask him to criticise Governmental representatives for their policies and their administration, if need be. The Government of a democratic country should govern after public discussion. Its actions should therefore carry a consensus of opinion with them, if not universal approval. The public should feel that they have taken a share in the formation of decisions on questions of the day.

The Congress government today decides upon its policies in secret and asks the public to give them support in the sense of passive consent. The public have only to see the reasons supposed to be unalterably embodied in official policies with no chance of creative transformation in accordance with its own experience and thought. This is Fascism and not democracy.

The voter should learn to think of himself as the watch dog of the government and exercise that function continuously through the help of his elected representative. This will give him a sense of participation in Government and teach him public spirit accustoming him to view public questions from the

point-of-view of the national interest. It will lift him out of absorption in his own personal concerns. This is the educational function of democracy.

Opposition is thus integral to democracy. That is why the opposition in the House of Commons is called Her Majesty's Opposition and is given a salary. Mr. Attlee described how he was surprised and gratified when years ago he was given a salary as the leader of the Opposition in Parliament.

Congress Ministers have a tendency to resent criticism and to demand quiet acceptance of official policies and acts. They forget that democratic procedures are not devised for the comfort and convenience of rulers but for the safeguarding of the liberties of the people.

It is no doubt pleasant to swim with the current and to bask in the sunshine of official or ministerial favour by approving official acts and policies without examination. It may also be profitable from the standpoint of commercial privileges and service patronage to relatives. But patriotism, republicanism and democracy all demand of the voter and citizen that he should resist these temptations and keep himself independent of official favours in every way.

This would be easier if socialism is avoided as the policy of the government, for socialism accumulates all patronage and economic power in government hands.

It is therefore more conducive to liberty if governments adopted the policy of limited government as of old. Governments should confine themselves to the essential functions of law and order, justice and defence against invasion. They should intervene in personal affairs only to prevent people from interfering with each other in the matter of life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness. This coercion or counter-coercion is legitimate and is intended only to maintain a sphere of private liberty for all citizens, in which each citizen could follow his avocations unhindered by others so long as he does not interfere with others himself unduly. I have a right to swing my arm or cane only up to the tip of the nose of my neighbour.

Governments may have to intervene in private life as in passing trade union laws, anti-monopoly laws, company laws, stock exchange laws, Pure Drug Acts etc. They may compel parents to send their children to school till the age of 14. But they should not engage in trade and industry and rig the free market and destroy the free market economy.

Indeed the need to curb governmental power overflows today into preventing them from becoming socialist in the Marxist sense of centralising all economic power and activity.

WELFARE AND SOCIALISM

The Voter should know that welfare and socialism are different. The USA is a welfare state and is becoming more and more committed to the welfare State idea. President Kennedy has passed orders fixing the hourly minimum wage at One dollar fifteen cents today and one dollar twenty-five cents from next year. This is a free enterprise system! He has

increased old age pensions and enhanced the amounts of free food sent to the poor from Government. But America would resist any further tendency to socialism or Statism or Government take-over of economic functions in trade and industry as contrary to the American way of life.

Professor Galbraith, the Harvard professor of economics and author of the best seller *The Affluent Society*, has called for a better balanced Social Economy in which the State is to spend larger amounts on public services like schools and research institutes, roads, art galleries, parks, police, hospitals and public health while private enterprise will continue to provide for individual consumption. The State will dominate the economy not in production but in guiding consumption in certain lines.

Socialist economy with its inbuilt drive towards one-party dictatorship is not therefore indispensable for the sake of bringing the benefits of welfare to the people in an organised way.

This is also the lesson reinforced by Dr. F. A. Hayek in his recent book *The Constitution of Liberty*. He says that the State may provide benefits and rise above the coercive limits of its basic functions provided it does so in accordance with rule of law. Individual life insurance on a voluntary basis could be assisted by the state on certain conditions—old age, sickness, unemployment and so on to supplement what the individual has done to provide for himself through voluntary agencies. Such assistance should repair the mischiefs of accident but should not proceed to redistribute property on a simple principle of absolute equality of possessions.

LIMITATIONS OF MAJORITY RULE

Another matter that should be clearly known to the voter is that the attainment of a majority at the polls by any party in the general elections does not confer absolute power on the party or on the government formed by it from amongst its members.

The fact that the Congress party secured more votes than any other single party does not mean that it has secured the majority of votes. For as a matter of fact, it secured only forty-five per cent of the votes cast. It won the right to form the government just because no other party secured as many at all! It did not even obtain fifty-five per cent.

It has no clear mandate therefore to initiate any far-reaching change in the social or economic structure of the society coming to us down the ages.

From this point of view, it should be deeply disturbing to all that the leaders (Or Leader) of Congress have imposed on the country such a deep-going, far-reaching social change in our way of life called the socialistic pattern of society. The elections are supposed to confer the right of governing the country and carrying on its ordinary administration, levying taxes and paying salaries and maintaining law and order and keeping defence in trim etc. But today the Government speaks of changing the pattern of society itself! The voter should ask—who ease them this power and right to change society and its structure? Government is one thing; social transformation is quite another! Votes do not confer the wisdom and

right on any chance body of men to determine the terms and conditions of the social order and its institutions of life, liberty, property and family and clan and tribe and nation.

The voter should ask that the new government confine itself to tasks of government as such, with as much of the promotion of economic progress as may be necessary and possible without subverting the foundations of social order as coming down from earlier times.

Society will take other measures to assess the changes needed in social matters in other ways and may approach government for legislation at a later stage after a consensus is attained after a sufficiency of study and discussion.

Similarly about the right of majority rule. It is true that the majority has a right to rule in a democratic set-up. But which majority? Does it mean that the majority secured at the general elections will act as a major premise sanctioning all particular proposals that may be brought up from time to time?

Does the election majority sanction socialism?

Does it sanction materialism?

Does it sanction pro-Communist foreign policy?

Does it sanction a soft policy towards the Chinese even when they are on Indian soil as aggressors?

Does it sanction the priorities of the Five Year Plans?

Does it sanction deficit financing of the order being implemented in the Second Plan and likely to be implemented in the Third Plan?

It is clear that the Government should secure a majority of opinion on each case on its own merits in the national interest before trying to implement it on the strength of their overall parliamentary majority.

On matters like national unity, bare arithmetical majorities are not sufficient. A consensus approaching unanimity is essential as for example in matters like the transfer of Berubari, the grant of provincial status to the Nagas, the claim of the Ahalis in a Punjabi State and the division of the Punjab and of the Dravida Kazagam for secession from the Indian Union.

Minority rule should not be pressed to the point of breaking national unity as in the matter of enforcing the decision regarding Hindi as the official language.

Another matter on which the voter should have a clear idea is the distinction between party and government. Party men should not bring unfair measures to bear on government officials and ministers for party advantage in the collection of funds or securing jobs to party men. The Voter should not approve of such unfair practices.

The only way in which the ruling party can be kept in check is by educating the voter. The public opinion among voters should prevent malpractices among elected representatives.

We should therefore concentrate on educating the voter.

Nehru Facing Both Ways

By M. N. Tholal

IF you have no case, the best course to adopt is to be brief. But if you are garrulous and voluble, and suffer from what Motilal Nehru used to call "diarrhoea of the mouth", you are apt to make a fool of yourself. This is what his son keeps doing, relying doubtless on the gullibility of the people of his country in matters political. For his policies and his ways he has become fond of using the word "correct", instead of leaving it to his audience or the readers of his speeches to conclude their correctness by his logic or the fruits of his policies. It seems fair to assume that the claim of correctness for his policies has to be advanced again and again because he does not want the country to judge his policies by their fruit.

Initiating the debate on the demands for the External Affairs Ministry and answering critics who asked why strong action had not been taken against China, Mr. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on April 1, "It was not wise to talk of strong action when it could not be taken." Much earlier, both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister had dwelt on the inadequacies of our military preparedness and strength, suggesting not only that it would be folly to use force against China to turn her out of the area she has occupied, but also, to the informed mind, the impossibility of our being ever able to use force for the purpose. Mr. Nehru has on this occasion blurted out the truth bluntly in a sentence whose correctness cannot be questioned and, if he did not do so earlier, it was surely not because he was not aware of the helpless situation in which he has placed his country—none knew it better—but because he wanted the people to realise the situation themselves before he summed it up for them, thus appearing to them to be right in his conclusion.

STING IN THE TAIL

It is not wise to talk of strong action when it cannot be taken. A most unexceptionable statement indeed, but one whose sting is in the tail. Why can it not be taken, if it is justified? Mr. Nehru's statement seems to imply that strong action is justified in this particular case, but it cannot be taken because of the country's helplessness. The main question then is, who is responsible for the country's helplessness? No one except Mr. Nehru, for the simple reason that he has been Prime Minister of the country since she became free in 1947. That is the position he has reduced the country to, and the very policies through which he has done so, he is not ashamed of lauding to the skies. It is India's non-alignment which makes her helpless and it is that selfsame non-alignment whose praise Mr. Nehru is never tired of singing. And still there are people in the country—educated people—who consider Mr. Nehru to be the embodiment of patriotism. Can treachery go farther?

The Prime Minister told the Lok Sabha that he would not rule out the possibility of China realising

the correctness and strength of India's position on the border dispute. The words he has used—"Will not rule out the possibility"—imply that he himself considers the possibility to be a remote one. And yet on this remote possibility he expressed the hope that the Chinese would realise that they had done wrong and would withdraw from India's border. Mr. Nehru might have said with greater reason that his declaration of his country's helplessness would put the Chinese on their moral mettle and after such a frank confession China would be morally bound to withdraw from the territory she has occupied. Mr. Nehru talks like this as if he does not know that China is talking to India from a position of strength—built up by Mr. Nehru's oft-expressed determination to adhere to non-alignment at all costs—and that, if China did not talk to Burma in the same vein, it was because the patriotic U Nu handed over the country's Government to the military which began seeking American aid.

A garrulous man without a case often contradicts himself and the ease and nonchalance with which Mr. Nehru contradicts himself in the Parliament of the country is hardly suggestive of his belief in that body's supremacy and sovereignty, particularly if he contradicts himself in the same speech in the same hour, indeed in the same breath. Answering critics who asked why strong action had not been taken against China, the Prime Minister, reiterated that India was prepared for any contingency and would not yield on any matter she considered important, but, he said, it was not wise to talk of strong action when it could not be taken. When strong action cannot be taken, how can India be said to be "prepared for any contingency"? And again, "Any resort to it," he said with reference to strong action, "should be only when no other way is left." How can strong action be the last resort when it cannot be taken? Our Prime Minister often reminds one of participants in college debating societies and I would leave it to the reader to judge if my mind is being unfair to Mr. Nehru in comparing him to a college boy.

SARDAR PATEL'S LAST PRAYER

No wonder Jinnah used to say, "Jawaharlal never grows old". That has been the trouble with him. He has refused to grow old. Sardar Patel in one of his last speeches at a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting told Congress MPs he was too ill to think of wresting the prime ministership from Jawaharlal and all he could do was to pray, "Parmatma inko buddhi de." ("May God give him wisdom".) His countrymen, who have to suffer the consequences of his follies and vanities, can hardly believe that the Almighty granted the prayer of that great patriot. But it is not really a question of wisdom lingering despite all the knowledge that Mr. Nehru possesses as Prime Minister of the country. It is the will to serve the country that is lacking. In Mr. Nehru's foreign policy

at least the country is nowhere in the picture. It is all self, self, self.

Its impossibility is not the only objection of Mr. Nehru to strong action against China, though no argument is required after the admission or confession of its impossibility. If a thing can't be done, it can't be done, and there the matter ends, particularly when alignment, the only cure-all of the trouble, cannot be thought of. But not so for our Prime Minister, for he proceeded to add another argument against strong action, reminding one of his father's saying quoted above. Any such action, he said, would produce certain continuing results all over the world. One such result, he used to say only a few months ago, would be world war. He seems to have realised in the intervening period that it is rather incongruous for an antagonist of cold war to hold out the threat of world war, directly or indirectly. So he turns a somersault and the "continuing results all over the world" of strong action, instead of being held out as a deterrent to China, as in the past, are now being used as an argument against strong action against China. No one can say that the somersault is not complete. No one can deny Mr. Nehru's acrobatic qualities or that his antagonism to cold war has triumphed at the cost of the country. After this Mr. Khrushchev should be able to press Mr. Nehru's claims for participation in the ever-receding Summit meet with greater zest and vigour.

Thus we see how the "broad policy of non-alignment followed by India has justified itself to a great degree" as claimed by Mr. Nehru. He claims that there are as many as 20 countries following that policy now. But is there any free country in the neighbourhood of Russia and China which is following that policy, except for Afghanistan which claims a substantial part of Pakistan without a plebiscite and has thus a grouse against Pakistan's allies? Is there, above all, any country 12,000 square miles of whose territory has been gobbled up by a Red giant and is still swearing by non-alignment? Mr. Nehru loved China so well that he welcomed its neighbourhood over thousands of square miles of his country's border even at the sacrifice of his anti-colonialism—by which he has not ceased to swear!—and of Tibet.

When the time came to raise a hue and cry over a lion swallowing a lamb and proclaim his anti-colonialism, not in words but in deeds, Mr. Nehru was found on the side of the lion. And now he says, except for two—Pakistan and China—India is fortunate in having the goodwill of all other countries. Surely our Prime Minister should know better. Statesmen and prime ministers do not go about hysterically declaiming against countries or their prime ministers. But if Mr. Nehru really wants to know if his Government has the goodwill of all other countries, he will find plenty of material in the newspapers and magazines reflecting the government viewpoint or the viewpoint of the parties running the governments of other countries. He has access to all that material and has the reputation of pouring over it with avidity. If that is so, his statement that, except for two, India is fortunate in having the goodwill of all other countries, would appear to be not only highly exaggerated but misleading.

BRAVADO

His countrymen should be grateful to Mr. Nehru for having at long last owned up the truth that strong action against China cannot be taken. That sums up the result of his foreign policy in his own words. That sums up the achievement of our External Affairs Ministry. Over 12,000 square miles of Indian territory has been forcibly annexed by a neighbour and the Nehru Government, the Government of the country, just can't do a thing about it. Enmeshed all round by its suicidal policies, the Nehru Government is absolutely helpless.

This helplessness gives rise to another question. If his Government is helpless in the matter of driving out the Chinese invader from the Indian soil, and is aware of its helplessness, why does Mr. Nehru hold out assurances to the rulers of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim by declaring from time to time that an attack on them will be regarded as an attack on India? This is understandable only on the hypothesis that Mr. Nehru is secretly in league with Communist China. In fairness to himself and to the three kingdoms, Mr. Nehru should have added to his assurances: "But after being so regarded, nothing will be done to repulse the attack because nothing can be done." Perhaps Mr. Nehru thinks that would rob the bravado of all its pomp and, in any case, if he can fool the people of his own country, he is entitled to fool the people of other countries too. But do the pages of history, modern, medieval or ancient, record anything half so ridiculous as Mr. Nehru's recent declarations regarding Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and his proclaimed determination to protect them against the Chinese hordes, knowing he can do nothing of the kind?

MILITARY ALLIANCE OR BLOC?

And what is the implication of Mr. Nehru's declaration that an attack on Nepal or Bhutan or Sikkim will be regarded as an attack on India? What else is a military alliance or bloc? What else are NATO, CENTO and SEATO? The only difference between the bloc Mr. Nehru has to all intents and purposes formed is that India is pledged to protect the three kingdoms without any of the three kingdoms being under any obligation to come to India's help. This, however, is in consonance with Mr. Nehru's general aversion to do anything to make India stronger. Any morality in these unilateral obligation is difficult to discern, while they undoubtedly lay the country open to the charge of imperialism and colonialism. What is the United Nations for if not to look after little countries like Bhutan and Sikkim? Even Tibet should have been handed over to the United Nations instead of to Communist China, particularly as Mr. Nehru has himself declared in Parliament that there is little in common between Tibet and China. There is no parallel anywhere to the lack of the sense of responsibility shown by Jawaharlal Nehru again and again, and even his friend and colleague, Maulana Azad, had to bear testimony to it in his "India Wins Freedom".

Mr. Nehru says India will not yield on any matter she considers important. Since strong action has been ruled out against China, it seems legitimate to

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True Constitution Of Government

By Stephen Pearl Andrews

EVERY age is remarkable for those who live in it. However, a growing conviction holds that the present epoch is a marked transition from an old to a new order of things. The first streak of light was Martin Luther's declaration of the right of private judgment in matters of conscience. The next portent of revolution was the denial by Hampden, Cromwell and others of the divine rights of kings and the assertion of inherent political rights in the people themselves. Finally come economic demands that each laborer receive the product of his labor. First in the religious, then in the political, and finally in the social relations of men, new doctrines have been broached which are full of promise to the hopeful, full of alarm and dismay to the timid and conservative. A "new era" is impending and inevitable.

It is my purpose to determine by philosophical deductions from operative principles the characteristics of the new society. I hail with enthusiasm the outlines of a social fabric whose foundations are equity, security and cooperation. I make no apology for the attempt to outline some of the gigantic changes which will occur as the necessary outgrowth of principles now at work. I assert that the essential vital principle of three great modern movements—Protestantism, Democracy and economic reform—is one and the same, namely the Supremacy of the Individual. Not only is the supremacy or sovereignty of the individual the common element of all these movements; I make the more sweeping assertion that it is substantially the whole of these movements.

THE INDIVIDUAL IS SUPREME

Protestantism proclaims that the individual has an inalienable right to judge for himself in all matters of conscience. Democracy proclaims that the individual has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Social reform proclaims that the Individual has an inalienable right to that

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conclude that the territory occupied by China is considered unimportant by Mr. Nehru. Mr. Menon presumably at his chief's instance, gave a hint to that effect when he talked of defending our "administered" territories. (From New York?) The Prime Minister's assurances may have been heartening but for the gnawing fear that what is important today may become unimportant tomorrow—on the advice of Mr. Khrushchev and the Summit being dangled before Mr. Nehru's eyes by him. Besides, what is left except yielding if strong action cannot be taken and what, in the circumstances, is the sense in saying "India will not yield"? Verily Mr. Nehru reminds one of Byron's dame who

"Saying I shall never consent, consented."

social position which his powers and natural organization qualify him, and to that arrangement of property which will enable him to enjoy and exercise that right. In short the adaptation of social conditions to the wants of each individual, instead of the moulding of the Individual into conformity with the rigid requirements of a preconcerted social organization. This great generic principle which underlies universal unrest and revolution is nothing more nor less than The Sovereignty of The Individual. The issue today is not whether Protestantism, or Democracy or economic reform is right or wrong, but whether the underlying, naked, unlimited principle of the Sovereignty of the Individual in human government and the administration of human affairs be essentially good or essentially pernicious. All thoughtful people might consider themselves a jury empanelled to try this issue.

I will first try to set down a clearer view of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual, as based upon the principle of the infinite Individuality of things. I will then show that this Sovereignty of the Individual furnishes the law of the development of human society, and finally to fix, so nearly as may be, the condition of human affairs toward which it moves, especially in the government of mankind.

The doctrine of the Sovereignty of the individual grows out of the still more fundamental principle of "Individuality," which pervades universal nature. Individuality is positively the most fundamental and universal principle which the finite mind seems capable of discovering, and the best image of the Infinite. There are no two objects in the universe which are precisely alike. In the multitude of human countenances, no two are alike, and in the multitude of human characters there is the same variety. The subtle principle of individuality applies equally to persons, to things, to events. No action, transaction or set of circumstances corresponds to any other. This diversity mocks at all human attempts to make laws, or institutions, or regulations or governmental institutions of any sort, work justly and harmoniously amidst the unforeseen contingencies of the future.

INDIVIDUALITY PREVENTS CONFORMITY

In proportion as an object is more complex, it embodies a greater number of elements, and each element has its own individualities. These diversities are multiplied in geometric progression. Man, standing at the head of the created universe, is consequently the most complex creature in existence. Hence the individualities of such a being are utterly immeasurable, and every attempt to adjust the capacities, the wants or the responsibilities of one human being by those of another (except in the very broadest generalities) is unqualifiedly futile and hopeless. Hence every religious, government or social institution which is based on the idea of demanding con-

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Declaration Of Principle And Policy :

For the Solution of Land Problem by Libertarians.

THE Economic, the political and consequently, the intellectual and moral conditions of any people are ultimately determined by the system of land tenure under which they live.

Since everyone has an equal right to live, it follows necessarily that every one has an equal right to the use of land by which alone life can be sustained.

The private appropriation of the rent or value of land constitutes a violation of those equal rights, and its consequences are that privilege exacts a monopoly price for access to land, the community is deprived of its natural revenue, taxation is heaped upon trade and industry, production is harassed and arrested, and industrial depressions inevitably occur.

The more completely the land is thus monopolised, the greater is the insecurity of employment and the nearer are wages driven down to mere subsistence level. This is true of all countries, no matter how they may differ in their forms of government, in the nature or development of their industries, in their tariff policies, monetary systems, internal or external public debts, or in any other way.

We therefore advocate:

That the equal right to land be secured by requiring of all landholders the payment of an annual tax on the value of the land held whether it is used or not and excluding the value of the improvements thereon; and that such taxation, national and municipal, be based on a valuation showing the true value of land, this valuation being made public and being kept up to date by periodic revision.

The imposts on earnings and consumption, taxes on improvements, customs, tariffs, exchange con-

trols and other burdens and barriers that restrict production and obstruct the free movement of men and goods be concurrently abolished.

And we maintain that:

The public collection of the annual value of land and abolition of taxes that are repressive of industry and commerce would enable the producer to enjoy the full fruits of his labour, make the withholding of land from use unprofitable, put an end to the monopoly of land, and by freeing the channels of trade, remove the main causes of international strife.

The illimitable field of enterprise offered to man being thus thrown open involuntary poverty would be banished; "over-production" would be inconceivable until all human wants were satisfied; labour saving inventions would be rendered a blessing to all, and there would be such production and distribution of wealth as would enable all to achieve comfort and leisure and to participate in the advantages of a progressing civilisation.

We condemn, as infringing personal liberties and menacing the general welfare, all plans that involve regimentation of the individual by the state; all plans that invoke the arbitrary powers of Government to control or prohibit import and export trade; all policies which profess the need for maintaining tariffs in one country because of their existence in others; all policies which imply the retention and mere management of monopolies instead of their abolition and which use the proceeds of taxes and loans or the manipulation of money to put goods on the market at factitious prices or contemplate the unbalancing of budgets and the expansion of public debts on the pretext that spreading purchasing power by these methods will have beneficial social effects.

Land Value Taxation In Practice

By D. M. Kulkarni.

IT was Henry George the great economist of America and social thinker who first proposed in his book 'Progress & Poverty', 'Single Tax'* as a remedy for removing social and economic inequalities among men and also as the most reliable, direct and equitable means of securing for modern governments funds necessary for discharging their functions and duties. His formula was "Abolish All Taxation Save That Upon Landvalues". This system seeks to take away for the benefit of the community, all the 'annual values'—actual or potential of lands used or unused and leave private earnings to the Individual earners. This being a radical measure, it has not yet been fully adopted in any country, though some forms of land value taxation have been long practised in some States like America, Australia, Canada, Africa and Denmark. The method mostly in vogue is that of levying a rate or a tax at a percentage of land values.

ITS FEASIBILITY

Landvalue taxation has come in for a great deal of criticism at the hands of some economists who make much of the difficulty of accurately assessing land-values as distinguished from the improvements made upon the land. Henry George has replied to this objection thus: "As a matter of fact the value of the land can always be readily distinguished from the value of improvements. In countries like the United States the value of land and value of improvements are habitually estimated separately by the assessors though afterwards reunited under the term 'Real Estate'—Absolute accuracy is impossible in any system and to separate all that the human race has done from what nature originally provided would be as absurd as impracticable". All that is required to do, according to him, is to value separately land and improvements made within a moderate period. Moreover, evaluation of land is not such a difficult task now, since we could avail ourselves of the long experience of America, Denmark and other countries in this field.

METHODS OF LAND VALUE TAXATION

Land value taxation is widely prevalent in 50 States of United States of America. The Act of 1931 applied to the City of Pittsburg in Pennsylvania has had the effect of gradually bringing down in successive five steps the tax rates on buildings to one half of the rate on the assessed value of vacant land. This is known as the "Graded Tax Plan". In Australia, some States like South Australia and Tasmania raise "Annual Value Tax" on both building and land-values combined. In Queensland New South Wales and Western Australia most of the revenue for local administration is obtained from local rates on land-values only. This is called "Exclusive Landvalue Taxation". The Australian States belonging to the latter group are reported to have their building activities 25% greater than the "Annual Value Tax" group. Denmark has a national landvalue tax and

* For a brief outline of 'Single Tax' vide this writer's article in the issue of this Journal dated Jan. 15, 1960.

a regular political party called THE JUSTICE PARTY wedded to 'Single Tax', is functioning in its legislature and its members hold important positions in the Cabinet. In these Australian States which have introduced landvalue rating, the rate in the Pound ranges from 5d. in Shires to 10d. in the cities. This limited landvalue rating is also widespread in Canada and South Africa. In America it is estimated that about one-fourth of the land rentals is being collected as a portion of the combined General Property Tax on lands and improvements which, it may be noted, are valued separately for this purpose. (Vide 'Ground Rent Not Taxes' by J. C. Lincoln, New York.)

LAND VALUE ASSESSMENT

But the moot question is that of finding out a workable method of fairly assessing landvalues without which no State or local authority would be in a position to tap this natural source of revenue. In this matter also the experience of those countries which have introduced landvalue taxation will be instructive and useful. Some important methods of landvaluation are given below:

(1) **The Topographical Method:** This method is extensively used in America and particularly in Denmark. Denmark has placed this method on an elaborate and scientific basis. What is essential in such valuations, is an accurate map showing the boundaries of each parcel of land which is to be valued. The cadastral and survey maps which every State prepares will come handy to the appraiser of land-values. Then he can proceed with his work on the basis of shape and configuration in the case of urban lands, and on the basis of fertility in the case of agricultural land. With the help of these details, an experienced appraiser or even an estate agent well acquainted with the site values in the neighbourhood can precisely assess the value of the site or plot making due allowance for its situation on the front, back or corner side of a street or lesser or greater depth of the soil. In Denmark, the Government or local authorities publish Landvaluation Maps of land sites street by street, marking these variations point by point. Generally-speaking unit values per square metre in the same street or section of the street as shown in these valuation maps bear the same price. (Vide the Map given in "LANDVALUE RATING" by Douglas, page 70). In America the unit value is shown as per square foot. These Maps are published at first tentatively for public scrutiny and criticism, and sufficient time is given for appeals from these valuations so as to create confidence in the public mind about the fairness and impartiality of such valuations. Sometimes the aid of local valuers is also sought and conferences with them are arranged. These maps and valuations are subject to alterations at intervals of four or five years. In Copenhagen in 1929 there were only 300 appeals out of 30,000 valuations which indicates the successful working of this method. ("LANDVALUE RATING", by Douglas, page 55). It may also be noted

that in 1916 in Vienna, the Australian City, some 75,000 sites were assessed in six months by a staff not exceeding 50 persons ("LAND AND LIBERTY", November 1959, page 192).

Thus experience has shown that contrary to the common belief, valuation of the land sites is much easier and less costly than that of land and improvements combined. As Louis F. Post of Washington in his book "THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES" says "If you wish to test the merits in point of certainty of land value taxation as compared with other taxes, go to a real estate agent in your community and showing him a building lot upon a map, ask him its value. If he enquires about the improvements, instruct him to ignore them. He will be able to at once tell you what the lot is worth. But if you go to 20 other agents their estimates will not materially differ. Each will have inferred the value from the size and location of the lot. But suppose when you show the map to the first agent and ask him the value of land and its improvements, he will tell you that he cannot give an estimate until he examines the site. And if it is a highly improved property he will engage building experts to assist him." This topographical method enables citizens to make comparisons between adjacent plots essential for a good and fair valuation.

(2) **Rent Capitalisation Method:** The price of a land used or out of use according to this method tends to be equal to the sum arrived at by capitalisation of its annual net rental income, actual or potential, at an appropriate rate of interest. If such a net annual ground rent of a site is Rs. 1,000/- then the sale price of the site capitalised at the rate of 5% interest would be Rs. 20,000/-. This very nearly corresponds to the actual selling price of the land in the market.

But where land-rents are restricted by legislations such as Rent Restriction Acts and Tenancy Acts, the prices arrived at by this method may not always correspond to the market prices. In such cases valuation made by this method only i.e. on the basis of actual rent the land yields at the time will have to be strictly taken into account for this limited purpose of taxation in fairness to the landholders. Though the market price might be high the income of the landlords from their lands under Rent Restriction Acts tends to diminish out of all proportions and in extreme cases it may be merely nominal.

TAX ON CAPITAL VALUE OR ANNUAL VALUE

Here the important problem arises whether this tax should be levied on the capital value or the annual value of the land. "The Single Tax" Theory advocates collection of all ground rents for public uses. Accordingly tax should be placed progressively on annual rental value of the land till it fully covers the whole rent or at least a substantial part of it so as to enable the governmental authorities, local or otherwise to at least substantially reduce the burden of taxation on industry and enterprise and to stimulate them, help house-building and increase employment. This method of taxing annual value has one advantage in that it can be worked out even in areas affected by Rent Restriction Legislations without doing any injustice to the landlords

of old improved sites. Another advantage is, as Mr. Douglas points out, in his book that even when the selling value of the land is diminished, taxes could be raised on a rental basis alone, as rents arise not out of prices of land but out of community activities and the demand for land. There would be no need then of progressively enhancing the rate of taxation when selling prices of land begin to fall as a result of the introduction of land value taxation. But with all these advantages of taxing annual values, it must not be forgotten that capital value taxation has a longer tradition especially in America and England where the combined General Property Tax on both land and improvement values is in existence and as such it is much more easy for the common man to grasp and understand.

The City Fathers of our over-crowded cities of Bombay, Calcutta and others, groping in the dark for sources of revenue for implementing their educational and housing plans, might well avail themselves of this land-value rating method which tends to gradually shift burden of taxation from buildings and improvements on to community-created land-values and in the process of doing so helps ease the acute housing situation, reduce unemployment and alleviate general distress and misery prevailing in the cities. These ideas are slowly but surely gaining ground now in heavily taxed countries like England and people there have begun to feel that the present system of taxation is inherently unfair and inequitable. It is encouraging to note that Henry George's landvalue taxation system was pointedly mentioned by our Prime Minister Nehru recently at Delhi in connection with the housing problem growing more and more acute in this Metropolis of India.

LAND SPECULATION

(This letter by Mr. Robert Miller, appeared in both the Hornsey Journal and the Hampstead News. Mr. Miller is a voluntary tutor for the Henry George School of Social Science.)

In our desperate endeavours to solve our housing problem we seek remedies in every direction and are prepared to consider almost anything: the establishment by law of fair rents, capital gains tax, compulsory purchase, and so on. But such measures, whatever appeal they may have in expediency, are as aspirins for toothache; they relieve suffering until the offending tooth is removed.

We must first find the tooth and remove it; we can then begin to dispense with the aspirins. In other words, let us see what is wrong with the system which permits, and even encourages, such a sorry state of affairs.

The Minister of Housing says that housing must remain a free market, and that eventually house prices and rents will find their market level; but there is a serious flaw in his argument, for housing is not a free market. A free market can only exist in the absence of monopoly, and land is monopolised. There is a limited supply of it, and many landowners are deliberately withholding it, knowing that the longer they do so the higher the prices they will obtain.

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Just Taxation And Wrongful Taxation

WITH Christmas past and the January sales in full swing thoughts turn to the April Budget. The Chancellor receives pleas and advice by every post and newspapers print reports, letters and articles on the distressing subject of taxation. Altruism jostles with self-interest, criticism and despair with ingenuity and ill-founded optimism.

Economists and businessmen, trade associations and trade unions, politicians, journalists and laymen all take a hand in this futile annual exercise. Most say or write much to which no responsible person could take exception; all base their arguments on an enormous fallacy.

Their common mistaken assumption is that the Chancellor has not alternative but to continue taxing the fruits and rewards of effort and abstinence by means of income tax, surtax, profits tax, estate duty, customs and excise duty, purchase tax and all the other paraphernalia of extortion.

Thus fettered they can suggest only that Government expenditure should be reduced or contained—a worthy but demonstrably impractical suggestion—or that here a tax should be lightened and there the incidence re-arranged to exempt some present payers or, alternatively, to bring others within its scope. It is as though convicts, blind to a breach in the wall through which they could escape, petitioned the Governor for saucers to season their diet and flowers for their cells.

The means of escape from wrongful taxation is readily at hand and plain for all to see. We refer to the huge reservoir of land value, constantly replenished and thousands of millions of pounds deep, which the Chancellor could put "on stream" if he were so minded. That would flood present tax irritants out

(Continued from page III)

Who can blame them, when no rates or taxes are payable for the privilege of holding idle land? Any piece of land in an urban area bought a few years ago can be sold today for double. The temptation to withhold it from use is therefore irresistible.

On the other hand, anyone who uses land by building upon it is taxed and rated, and the more he improves his property, the more he has to pay. Progress and civil pride are thus penalised, while waste of land and speculation are encouraged.

The only just and equitable method is to rate site values, regardless of whether the land is developed or not. By this means owners of idle and poorly-used land are compelled either to develop or sell to those who will, and thus, by bringing more land into the market, the prices fall. This inevitably leads to more and cheaper houses.

Other countries, particularly Denmark, have used the system of site value rating for many years with considerable success. Until we scrap our complicated, unjust, expensive and archaic system and follow their example, land speculation will price houses out of reach of all but the most affluent, while the majority will suffer the alternative of crippling mortgages or no real home life at all.

of the economic system. He does not do so because, aside from our friends, all too few, nobody asks him to do so.

Those who mould public opinion spare never a thought about the land beneath them as they write and speak, of how valuable it is, and why it is valuable, and how peculiarly and properly its annual rental value is suited as the sole or primary source of public revenue. Yet they cannot be unaware of the price and value of land in Britain today.

One would have expected that among all the clever, educated and influential people there would be at least some tens of thousands who would have stumbled across the simple truth which Henry George and others before and since discovered, and that they would have made this known.

The simple truth is that the rental value of land comes into existence wherever people congregate and is maintained by their presence and economic activity. This is as obvious as many of the physical laws with which everybody is familiar, easier to understand and far more important than many matters normally intelligent people understand and discuss. Because land rent is produced by society it should be collected by the agent of society, the Government. It is as simple as that. Economists galore have testified that a tax on land rent stays put—i.e. it is not shifted to make goods, services or occupation of buildings more expensive, rather the contrary—and overseas experience proves conclusively that such taxation is administratively and politically practicable, economically and socially beneficial.

For far too long society has stumbled from one expedient to another, replacing evils by here a lesser one and there a greater. It is time to approach the whole question from a different standpoint.

A tax on land values, whether imposed and collected nationally or locally alone fulfills such criteria. It is efficient because it is cheap and easy to collect. It is fair both absolutely and relatively: nobody is mulcted by it of anything to which he is morally entitled; payment can be neither evaded nor avoided and both the rich man in his castle and the poor man at the gate contribute towards the upkeep of society at the same rate, without regard to their personal circumstances and other irrelevancies.

By stimulating production and competition and freeing machines, goods and incomes from taxation a tax on land values raises living standards so that more people have more to save. By discouraging mere speculative investment in land, and by cheapening land, it promotes investment in buildings, plant and machinery.

By reducing undeserved poverty and undeserved wealth, and by these other means, a tax on land values brings into being more property in the true sense and leads to the widest possible ownership. Such a measure deserves the thoughtful attention of all who would try to save Britain from drowning in the tax morass which threatens to engulf and destroy our society.

—Land and Liberty (London).

formity has ever been, and ever will be, frustrated by the operation of this all-pervading principle of Individuality. Hence human society has ever been in the turmoil of revolution. Revolutions violently burst the bonds and explode existing institutions. The institution falls before the Individual.

Governments have hitherto been established from the necessity of establishing and maintaining order; but order has never yet been maintained, public peace and harmony have never yet been secured for the precise reason that the organic, essential, indestructible natures of the objects which it was attempted to reduce to order have always been constricted and infringed by every attempt. In proportion as the effort is less and less made to reduce man to order, in that proportion they become more orderly. The indestructible and all-pervading Individuality furnishes the law, and the only true law, of order and harmony.....Where there remain no external restrictions there will be no disturbance, provided certain regulating principles of justice are accepted and enter into the public mind, serving as substitutes for every species of repressive laws. Every scheme or arrangement based on the principle of thwarting the inherent affinities of the individual monads which compose any system or organism is essentially vicious. Objects bound together contrary to their nature will seek to rectify themselves by breaking the bonds which confine them. Those that come together by their own affinities remain quiescent and content. Let human system makers of all sorts admit the principle of an infinite Individuality among men as one element in the solution of the problem they have before them.

HUMAN PROGRESS RESTS ON INDIVIDUALIZING

If Individuality is a universal law which must be obeyed in order to have order and harmony, then absolute Sovereignty of the Individual results if we would have a true constitution of human government. The units of which human society is composed are the individual men and women in it. They must be disposed of, if society be harmonic, so that the destiny of each shall be controlled by his or her own individualities of taste, conscience, intellect and capacities. He and no one else knows the determining force of his own attractions. No one else can decide for him. This law of the Sovereignty of the Individual is limited only by the ever-accompanying condition, resulting from the equal Sovereignty of all others, that the consequences of one's actions be assumed by himself. I assert that the law of genuine progress in human affairs is identical with the tendency to individualize. In ecclesiastical affairs it is the breaking up of the Church into sects, into minor sects, into still smaller sects and finally disintegration of the mass into individuals, at which point every human being becomes his own sect and his own Church. In the political sphere, the tendency to individualize says to Government, Hands Off! In practice, however, Government still interferes in many social relations. But if order and harmony result, the individual must determine for himself, when, and where and how he will buy and sell. Government still interferes to control the public domain,

but already a demand is arising that land not be subject to arbitrary legislation but be regulated by natural and scientific principles, by means of which the land itself or an equal participation in the benefits of the land shall be secured to the whole people. Science, and not human legislation, must finally govern the distribution of the soil. Again, government interferes with contracts and private obligations. But a demand is growing loud for the abolition of usury laws. When the battles, already begun, between the Government and the Individual shall have finally been won, the domain of Government will have shrunk to the merest fragment of its old dimensions.

Economic reform demands the proper, legitimate and just reward of labor. It demands that the interests of all shall be so arranged that they shall cooperate, instead of clashing with and counteracting each other. It demands the abolition of poverty that every human being shall be in the full possession, control and enjoyment of his own person and methods of seeking happiness, without interference from any quarter whatsoever. This is the assertion of the doctrine of Individual Sovereignty.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY EVALUATED

Socialism promotes abolition of poverty as a goal, but blunders as to means. It propounds a combination of interests (via government regulation and ownership of means of production) which is opposed by the individualities of all nature, which is consequently a restriction of liberty. It is this which prevents the harmony of Democracy and Socialism from becoming complete. It is already the axiom of Democracy that "that is the best government which governs least"—which leaves the largest domain to the Individual sovereign. It may sound strange (though rigidly true) that nothing is more foreign to the essential nature of Democracy than the rule of majorities. If Democracy asserts that all men are "born free and equal" (i.e., free from the governing control of every other and of all other persons), then men should not be forced to surrender or to forfeit to another Individual or to a majority of other Individuals. The rule of majorities is no more than a half-way station between Despotism and the Sovereignty of the Individual. Genuine Democracy is identical with the no-government doctrine; sovereignty of the individuality looks directly to that end. The no-government men of our day fearlessly face all consequences and push their doctrine to its logical conclusions. But they will remain impotent so long as they leave in existence those causes (government monopoly of land, money and trade) which demand and will demand so long as they exist, the intervention of just such restrictive governments as we now have. But I assert the distance forward to total abrogation of all Government is less than it is backward to the practice of Government of despots of the past.

CONSEQUENCES BORNE BY INDIVIDUALS

A discussion of Individual Sovereignty should not conclude without a statement of the scientific limit upon the exercise of that Sovereignty which the prin-

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APRIL 15, 1961.

Congress Rout In New Delhi

(From Our Correspondent)

THERE was an element of surprise in the New Delhi by-election which resulted in the rout of the Congress candidate by his Jan Sangh rival. The Congress failed to secure the overwhelming majority expected in its strongholds, while the Jan Sangh obtained a substantial lead over the Congress in Vinaynagar and Motibagh, colonies of Government employees. This is a gain from the democratic point of view, as hitherto the Government employees seemed to think, by erroneously confusing the Congress Government with the State, that they should vote Congress as they "ate the salt" of the Congress Government, as the Hindustani phrase goes.

Rajaji's recent speech in Delhi did much to discredit the Congress, and the Jana Sangh candidate reaped the benefit therefrom to an even greater ex-

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ample itself supplies. If the principle were predicated on one Individual alone, it might imply his absolute right to do as he pleases to the extent of despotism over others. But our assertion includes the concurrent sovereignty of all men and women. This concurrence limits the Sovereignty of each. It fixes the point at which sovereignty ceases and encroachment begins. That knowledge accepted into the public mind will do more than laws and sanctions of laws to regulate individual conduct and intercourse. The limitation is this: every Individual is the rightful Sovereign over his own conduct in all things, whenever, and just so far as, the consequences of his own conduct can be assumed by himself. For disagreeable consequences, the term Cost is chosen as a scientific technicality. The limitation may be stated: "The sovereignty of the Individual is to be exercised at his own cost."

This limitation has never been clearly set forth in the Protestant or Democratic or Socialist creed. The limitation has been felt rather than distinctly and scientifically propounded. Wherever a person cannot exercise his own Individual Sovereignty without throwing the "cost" or burden of his action upon others, the principle has so far been compromised. Such circumstances arise out of connected or amalgamated interests. The sole remedy is disconnection. Whoever has to bear the cost should have the deciding power in every case. If one has to bear the cost of another's conduct, and just so far as he has to do so, he should have the deciding power over the conduct of the other. Hence dependence and close connections of interest demand continued concessions and compromises. They are the root of Despotism, as disconnection or Individualizing of interests is the root of freedom and emancipation.

—Balanced Living

tent than the Swatantra Party candidate, new in the field. It seemed plain from the start that the Jana Sangh was the main challenger and the anti-Congress voters seemed to have decided, rather wisely, not to split their votes. It is a great defeat for the Congress, a great victory for the Right and a great victory for the Jana Sangh. The Congress Party appears to have been ill-advised in the choice of its candidate—though that can always be said after a defeat—with the result that many Congressmen did not support the Party nominee. His defeat in this most enlightened constituency in the country, which the Congress Party won in the last general election by a margin of over 50,000 votes, is a great blow to the Congress and will doubtless lead to a good deal of heart-searching in the Congress camp. Already a committee of inquiry has been appointed by the State Congress Committee to find out the causes of the defeat. The Congress vote was actually halved and the Jana Sangh vote doubled. To turn a plus of 50,000 into a minus of 10,000 takes some doing, and the Congress has done it. The Jana Sangh was able to put more workers into the campaign, but the enthusiasm of the workers is perhaps a greater factor contributing to victory.

Worse than the defeat is the moral it carries for the intelligentsia and the people. "What is the use of voting for non-Congress candidates, for they are bound to lose" no longer holds true. Add to this the guilt-complex of the Congressman, which is now almost an open secret and which does not exactly generate enthusiasm, and the downfall of the Congress would not seem remote by any means. It is hardly correct to say, as is being done, that the Congress might have had a chance in a straight contest, but with five candidates in the field a large number of Congress votes were lost. The answer to that is: so were a large number of Jana Sangh votes. The margin of nearly 10,000 votes is really too big to make that excuse seem even plausible. The 10,000 and odd votes of the Government Employees Union candidate, in his absence, could not have all gone to the Congress candidate, as Government employees voted heavily for the Jana Sangh candidate too, while it may be assumed safely that the 5,722 votes of the Swatantra candidate, in her absence, would have almost all gone to the Jana Sangh. The other two did not get even a thousand votes each.

Unique in History

Acharya Kripalani made a few constructive suggestions in the Lok Sabha during the debate on the demands of the External Affairs Ministry. The Prime Minister, he said, was busy with hundreds of things, including conflicts in Congress legislature parties, and had little time to look into the details

of the Foreign Affairs Department, and therefore a senior minister was required in the External Affairs Ministry. Mr. Nehru takes too much on himself because he wants every thing everywhere settled according to his wishes, like all dictators, and also because he has no one in whose ability and integrity he can rely, since ability and integrity do not dictate his choice of men. But the loss of 12,000 square miles of territory without striking a blow, which Mr. Kripalani adduced as evidence of his contention, is hardly a matter of detail. Every one, however, will agree with him that loss of so much territory without striking a blow is something unique in history, but then so is Mr. Nehru.

"I do not think," said Acharya Kripalani, "that in any democratic country, a government which has lost so much of national territory will be allowed to function." But surely Acharya Kripalani cannot reasonably be allowed to rest on his oars after making such unexceptionable statements. Surely his duty does not end with such condemnation. Why does he not, the people have a right to ask, start a raging and tearing campaign against the Government? What is he afraid of? Does he want to make sure that the time has turned against the Congress, before pulling his weight on the side of the anti-Congress forces? What seems equally unique with the fact pointed out by Acharya Kripalani is the complacency displayed over that unique event by parties opposed to the ruling party and by Congressmen themselves.

Mr. J. M. Mohammad Imam, the Swatantra leader of Mysore, observed that the Prime Minister did not have the same determination as before to face the Chinese aggression. But did he ever have any such determination? If he had it, the time to show it was when the march was on, when he kept quiet. Any such determination voiced by him has, therefore, to be considered as part of his "smokescreen" policy. After all, he has to think of the voters and of his followers in the Congress, who have to be given sops now and again in the shape of dust in the eyes.

Mr. Nath Pai, of the PSP, quoted extensively from the Chinese leaders' speeches to show that China considered India as a common enemy against whom Mao Tse-tung had propounded the strategy of "pitting ten against one". Then why is his party so complacent on the situation resulting from Chinese aggression? Because of his party leaders' personal relations with the Prime Minister which do not allow the interests of the country to dominate the picture? Replying to his critics Mr. Nehru said, "If you want me to march an army across the Himalayas I consider that not a wise or sensible proposition." Marching an army across the Himalayas apart, our Prime Minister is so afraid of the Chinese Government that he dare not take up the cause of Tibet in the United Nations or support the resolution sponsored by Malaya and other countries, although he claims to be a great anti-colonialist. He dare not even give out the names of the embassies whose members are involved in espionage.

FELLOW-TRAVELLERS' COUNCIL

The Conference of the World Peace Council held in New Delhi towards the end of March would have been more appropriately called the Conference of the

Fellow-travellers' Council, for the speeches there were full of familiar Communist clichés which were dutifully cheered by the delegates and the observers. The President of the Indian Peace Council, Pandit Sunder Lal, in fact declared at a Press Conference that the Chinese occupation of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory constituted "no threat to world peace whatsoever", and that was why neither he nor any other Indian member had raised the issue at the Conference. He certainly seems to know the mind of his friend Jawaharlal Nehru, for how can the Chinese aggression against India be a threat to world peace when the Prime Minister of India is prepared to do nothing about it?

An even more important reason for his unwillingness to refer to the issue at the Conference was, according to Pandit Sunder Lal, a "tacit understanding between me and the Government of India". He claimed further that the "tacit understanding" had been reached with no less a person than Mr. Nehru. Mr. Ivor Montague, another pillar of the Peace Council, however, took the opportunity to declare that, so far as the World Peace Council was concerned, every member was free to raise whatever issue he wanted, thus implying that there was no particular reason for the "tacit understanding". He also said he was not aware of the existence of any understanding, tacit or otherwise, between the Indian Government and Pandit Sunder Lal. Mr. Montague intervened to stop further questions when correspondents wanted to know why the Peace Council was displaying such great interest in the bilateral dispute between the USA and Cuba.

In the Lok Sabha on March 27, Mr. Nehru had to answer a barrage of angry questions from not only the Opposition members but also the Congress benches regarding the "tacit understanding" claimed by Pandit Sunder Lal. During the furore, which lasted nearly 20 minutes, the Prime Minister categorically denied that he had any tacit understanding with the leader of the Indian delegation, Pandit Sunder Lal. He dismissed the suggestion as absurd but admitted that he had told him that the Peace Council was a body which "often indulged in warlike utterances".

Mr. Thanu Pillai in the Lok Sabha described the World Peace Council as a "War Council in reality" serving the cause of international Communism. He said the Indian delegation did not have the courage to raise the Sino-Indian dispute. Perhaps they had to refrain for the sake of peace, because some delegates from China were present at the Conference of the Peace Council. Had the Peace Council been really a peace council, those delegates from China would not have been allowed inside the hall.

BOREDOM OF WELFARE STATE

'I do not fear the atomic bomb. If there is a threat to civilization, it is more likely to come from boredom that will result from a totalitarian welfare state and from the exclusion of individual enterprise and the spirit of adventure'.

—Bernard Berenson

'The age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded'.

—Edmund Burke.

Book Review

What you should know about Inflation by Henry Hazlitt. (D. Van Nostrand Company Inc.) Price 26/6.

Many Young Readers of the "Free Trader" will have had their first introduction to sound economic thought through the medium of Henry Hazlitt's perennial "Economics in One Lesson." They will remember its limpid lucidity with gratitude, for it certainly made their studies easier. That same lucidity manifests itself in this little volume of 151 pages dealing with inflation in America. Although statistics are not supplied for Great Britain, the principles and the trends are precisely the same in both countries, so that this omission is not important. The student can find the corresponding figures in any "Monthly Digest."

Just because we have had a couple of years in which the cost of living index has not greatly advanced, we are becoming complacent. Henry Hazlitt's book is a reminder of the great danger we are in. With any return of unemployment we may be tempted to apply the Keynesian formula of the increased budget deficit and cheap money. Hazlitt gives us the actual figures for unemployment in America to show that in that country these remedies have not worked.

He shows us that some of the largest deficits in

the United States budget have been followed by the worst unemployment in her history, and that when money was sometimes at its cheapest unemployment was at its highest. He shows how foolish it is to claim that a creeping inflation of, say, 2 per cent. a year can be beneficial. Even at that rate the value of money can be halved in a generation. The greatest difficulty, however, is that it is impossible to keep to any preconceived rate for increasing the money supply, for so many factors can arise which may defeat even the most skilful planner and turn creeping inflation into a galloping one.

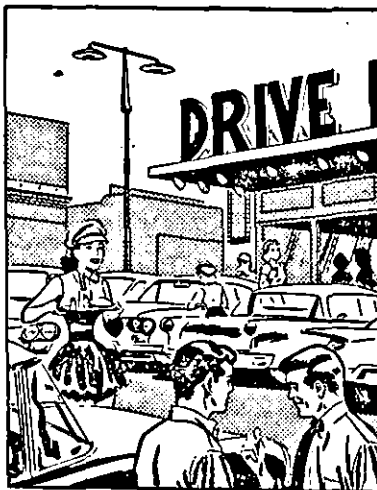
Hazlitt leaves no doubt in our minds that there is only one cause of inflation, and that is the increase in the supply of money without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods. There are several reasons for such an increased money supply but they can all be summoned up as Government pusillanimity.

This is not a book to induce sleep in the managers of insurance companies, those with money invested at long term rates of interest and in trustees who have invested their ward's money in Government securities. It is one which all men should read to shake them from their lethargy. It is divided into forty-four short chapters which, with Mr. Hazlitt's well-known clear exposition, makes it very easy reading indeed.

—The Free Trader

VISIT TO AMERICA

by Tom Jones



DRIVE-IN—Jol and Ford decide to lunch together so they may talk. They go to a nearby restaurant which features drive-in or "curb" service. At a drive-in the food is served to the customer in his car. Jol remarks that he lunched at a Virginia drive-in soon after the began his visit to the U.S. Today, however, they decide to eat inside the restaurant.



LINE—After lunch, Nat opens his sample case to show Jol the merchandise he sells. "We specialize in sport shirts," he explains, "and we also have a complete line of swim trunks. Our merchandise is typically American, modestly-priced, and combines the latest styles with high quality. It is completely guaranteed."



REMUNERATION—Ford explains to Jol that he and thousands of other U.S. salesmen work on a commission basis. "I sell wholesale lots to stores, and receive 15% of each sale," Nat says: "the more I sell, the more I earn. This system gives a man incentive to do a good job."

Gleanings from the Press

MORARJI PROPOSES 'MORTON'S FORK' TO TAX-PAYERS.

Morarji Desai, in his reply to the Raj Sabha debate on the budget, proved to his own satisfaction that "the burden of the new taxes was very small on the poor. Not even three-fourths of the new taxes touched the common people". It is evident that in Morarji's lexicon "poor" is synonymous with "beggar". Taxes have been imposed on betelnut, kerosene, tobacco, tea and matches. These are bound to affect the domestic budgets of all except the beggars on the streets. Morarji has given an unassailable and irrefutable argument, silencing his critics in our glittering House of Lords. He has said in effect that if the so-called poor could afford to chew betel nuts, use kerosene oil lamps, smoke tobacco and drink tea, they should be regarded as rich, so quite able to pay the additional taxes. This reminds us of the famous Morton's Fork—the dilemma that Cardinal Morton, Henry VII's Chancellor, (a 15th century Morarji) proposed to those whom he invited to contribute to benevolences: Either, their luxurious way of life manifested their opulence; or if their standard of living was modest, they must have grown rich by their economy. So both classes must pay. Morarji also says that the poor are not affected by his taxes, but if they indulge in luxuries like betel nuts, kerosene, tobacco, and tea, they are not poor but rich, well able to pay any taxes that may be levied.

The Socialistic Structure thinks that the two plans have made everybody rich, there are no longer any poor left, so all must be made to pay higher and higher taxes for the greater glory of the Welfare (of the rulers) State.

—Behar Herald

News & Views

DONKEY-DRIVER'S BUDGET

The Budget and the speech are those of a donkey-driver who overloads his donkey, and if the donkey does not rise, administers to him one more violent stroke of the whip, and when the donkey does get up, he says that he has got up without the administration of some more violent or drastic measures, which mean to him, that the donkey has risen voluntarily.

—Blitz

OVER ONE CRORE RUPEES DOWN THE DRAIN OF BSS

According to the last Public Accounts Committee Report, amounts exceeding Rs. One Crore were paid to the Bharat Sewak Samaj, by different Union Ministries during 1957-58 for its social activities, mostly in the field of public co-operation. Grants

had been sanctioned, greatly in excess of the actual requirements, and large unspent balances were retained by the organisation.....The conditions attached to the grants were, in many cases, not complied with by the organisation.

—Organiser

LOCAL PRESS MADE THE SCAPEGOAT OF JABALPUR RIOTS

All sorts of rubbish and many half-truths—more dangerous than lies—are being freely circulated about the Jabalpur riots in the so called National Press. The majority community, and the local press, are made the scapegoats of the rioting. But the fact is that the local press has "soft pedalled" the happenings, and cannot be held guilty in the matter. It was the State Government and the Union Government "censorship" of the happenings that was responsible for the flaring up of the communal holocaust. Here is what a retired journalist, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, has to say in the matter:—

"To cover up the lapses of the administration and the shortcomings of the Congress leadership the blame for Jabalpur happenings is being placed on the newspapers. I am a retired journalist and have carefully gone through some of the reports in the local press. Rather than exaggerate things I feel that these reports are on the side of moderation and do not tell the whole truth. I would suggest the AINEC send out a team to hear what the people say, and in that light, examine the reports in the local press, and see for themselves why there is the hush-hush and why this anxiety to shield the authorities."

'FAVOURITE' WIFE OF THE WHITE-CAPPED CONGRESS RULERS.

Prime Minister Nehru, who enjoys ample leisure and holidays has curiously enough given the nation a slogan—"Aram haram hai"—"Leisure and rest are sinful". But in actual practice this slogan has been abused and perverted by the authorities and the white-capped rulers. Here is the latest example from the Uttar Pradesh, the home State of Pandit Nehru. While Hindu holidays like Dassera, Raksha Bandhan, and even Divali, are deleted from the list of Government gazetted holidays and dubbed as "secutional" holidays the Chief Minister Gupta of U.P. has recently declared a 5-Day Idd holiday to the legislature to pamper the Muslim community.

It was the proconsul of the imperial British raj, Lord Curzon, who coined the notorious phraseology, that the British rulers in the country had two wives—the Muslim and the Hindu—of which the Muslim wife was the favourite one. The Congress Rulers, who have stepped into the vacant shoes of the British, seem to have continued to pamper the "favourite" wife.

U.S. TO SIDE WITH AND BACK UP INDIA IN CASE OF AGGRESSION BY CHINA

New Delhi: President Kennedy's Special Representative, Mr. Averall Harriman, disclosed at the

conclusion of 135-minute meeting with Prime Minister Nehru, that they had discussed the Sino-Indian border dispute. Mr. Harriman reiterated that the US Government had been greatly disturbed at the aggressive attitude of the Chinese towards India on the border question.

It is understood that in case of further aggression, the US Government would support the Government of India, in her efforts to defend the security and the integrity of the country.

"BRAIN-WASHING" OF TIBETAN YOUTHS

Gangtok: About 80 Tibetan youths were taken from Tibet to China by the Chinese authorities for "education." A team of Chinese "specialists", under the personal supervision of Lu Ting Ylis, the "Dr. Goebbels" of communist China, is said to be operating in Tibet for the purpose of discovering young men who show intelligence. These youngsters are then packed off to China.

There are several institutions in China where these Tibetan youths are thoroughly indoctrinated, after being completely "brain-washed". Fully fashioned as Red propagandists, they are then sent back to Tibet, to spread the gospel of communism.

A PEEP HOLE IN THE "IRON CURTAIN" IN RUSSIA.

Moscow: Soviet Russia ended today (23-3-61) censorship of outgoing news dispatches by foreign correspondents, which has been in force since 1917, the days of October Revolution.

The announcement was made by the Chief of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry at a press conference. He said that the step has been taken because there were about 150 foreign correspondents permanently stationed in Moscow—and many more in Summer. Not once in his speech did the Chief of the Press Department refer to censorship. He said that the decision has been taken "to facilitate and improve the relations between the correspondents here and their editorial floors in foreign countries."

U. K. TRADE UNIONS GO "CAPITALIST"!

London: IT may come as NEWS but it IS a FACT. Some of the Trade Unions here have joined the ranks of the much-maligned "Capitalists", by investing large funds of their Trade Unions in some of the industrial concerns.

The miracle of turning the "Leftists" to the "RIGHT" path goes to the Investment Adviser to the British Trade Union Congress, Mr. David Hirschfield.

Amongst the Trade Unions which are backing this scheme are the National Miners Union and the London Typographical Society, two of the Unions well known for their "Leftist" tendencies, both on the political and economic matters.

The investments to the industrial concerns by these two T. Us is in the neighbourhood of £1,000,000. It is understood that funds totalling £6,000,000 are available with the British Trade Union Congress for investments.

Advocates of the scheme point out that by becoming shareholders the Unions would get their share of the profits which the members' work has helped the concerns to earn.

One more of the pet illusions of Marx has been belied. Instead of the workers that is the so called proletariat, turning revolutionaries and overthrowing the "hated" Capitalism, they have become "respectable" shareholders of the industrial concerns. Marxism in rear gear!

CHRISTIAN BOMBS WITH PAGAN NAMES

Why are American rockets and missiles named after pagan gods such as Thor, Jupiter, Atlas, etc.? Since these are Christian implements, intended to preserve Christian civilisation from the pagans, why not give them Christian names?

A Christian lady suggests that this be done, and suggests that every explosion should be accompanied with the chant:—

Mathew, Mark, Luke and John
Tell the folks you fall upon
You come from a Christian nation
Of most Christ-like motivation
Sanctified each megaton
From Mathew, Mark, Luke and John.

—Liberal (A Free Thought Journal).

NEXT FIVE YEARS CRUCIAL FOR DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

1961 seems to have opened rather badly for India. The continued intransigence of China, the renewed bellicosity of Pakistan, the uneasy situation in Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, the maintenance of the status quo in Goa, the de jure sovereignty still exercised by France over Pondicherry and her other former settlements in India, the steady decline in the strength and prestige of the ruling Congress party, the non-emergence of an effective Opposition party; the emergence of an open, avowed pro-China fifth column inside the Communist Party of India, the worsening administrative inefficiency and waste, the growing apathy of the people towards political parties and the parliamentary processes, the additional burdens laid by the Budget on the common man, and lastly the unwise decision of our Prime Minister to get more deeply involved in the Congo by an armed participation in its affairs at a time when India can illafford to spare her troops or technical personnel for external adventures,—all these are bleak features of a prospect that is none too pleasant to contemplate. The passing away of Pandit Pant adds to the dreariness of the scene.

I am inclined to think unless we are very vigilant, and prepared to take firm military measures with external aid, if necessary, from all friendly nations our national integrity and independence will be further jeopardized. We have already lost to China as much territory as is comprised in the whole of Kerala State. It is a strange anomaly that our P.M. is prepared to use force in the Congo, while he has ruled it out against China or Portugal. He is apparently more interested in putting other people's houses in order than his own!

Impervious to criticism in Parliament and the Press, the P.M. is once again sending the Defence Minister on his U.N. Spree. India is the only country in the world whose defences are so proof against attack that she can afford to have on her pay-roll a roving Defence Minister!

I hope the next year's General Election will be held according to constitutional schedule. There are rumours that it may be postponed in the event of an outbreak of war or further aggression by China or Pakistan.

I suggest that the ruling party should step down from office on the last day of nomination at the latest (earlier if possible), and some sort of President's Rule enforced throughout the country till the last day of counting of votes, in order that ministers may not abuse their power and authority during the Election Campaign.

I believe that the next five years will prove to be crucial for the survival and growth of a vigorous and purposeful parliamentary democracy in Our Country.'

H. V. Kamath.

The following books have been added to the R.L. Foundation Library:—

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