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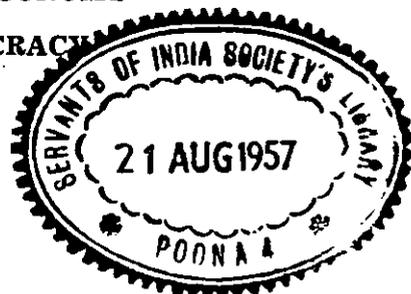
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IN THIS ISSUE

**INDEPENDENCE DAY—
Looking Before And After**

**A Decade Of "Donated"
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Editorial

INDIA AND BRITISH ACTION IN OMAN

THERE is no justification for India to express any opinion on the present action of the British Government in Oman. The legal position is that the Imam is subject to the authority of the Sultan of Muscat. Britain is the traditional protector of the sultanate of Muscat and has a right in international law to go to the assistance of the Sultan when he calls for it. In the present conflict between the Sultan and the rebellious Imam, British military forces, including the air arm, have gone into action, and have demolished forts in Nizva and other places. Ground forces, too, have entered the area. And the Sultan has not complained or given any indication that such action on the part of Britain is contrary to his wishes. As a matter of fact, he stands to gain by it. He gets rid of a rebel capable of displacing him and his rule in his own State, and will get a fat subsidy if oil is struck by British prospectors in his country.

The UNO has not been approached by either party for arbitration or other action. The analogy with Russian action in Hungary does not hold good, for the legitimate ruler, the Sultan has not complained of interference by foreign arms. The Imam has fled to Cairo and is issuing statements from there. It is said that Saudi Arabia is sending him assistance in money and arms. It is true that Russia has declared that it is one more instance of Western imperialism. But that does not settle anything, in view of the cold war and of the rivalry between Russia and the West for the control of the area.

NO CONCERN OF INDIA

The only legitimate concern that India can have in this dispute stems from the possible consequences of the struggle in Oman—whether it strengthens a possible enemy. From this point of view, it is premature for us to take any settled attitude to the Arabian crisis. It does not matter to us whether it is the Sultan or the Imam that will win in the conflict. Both are Arab potentates, and the victor will win the oil wealth, if any. There is also a rivalry between American oil companies working in the adjoining area of Saudi Arabia and the British. Here again, it is no concern of ours whether it is the British or the Americans that get the oil concessions in Oman as a result of this conflict now going on between the Sultan and the Imam.

The only legitimate point of view for us is to consider the contribution of the struggle to the growth of Islam, and the consolidation of Arab States under one leadership. Today it is Egypt that is claiming such leadership under President Nasser. Saudi Arabia is trying to wriggle out of its understanding with Nasser and is veering towards America. So is Jordan. They know which side their bread is buttered. But not so India, which under her present leadership, is helping

THOUGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY

As a general marches at the head of the troops, so ought wise politicians . . . to march at the head of affairs; to know what measures to take; but the measures they have taken, ought to produce the event.

—Alexander Hamilton in his Diary

to strengthen Nasser in a unilateral way. Nasser has not reciprocated by declaring his support to India in the Indo-Pak. dispute over Kashmir.

UNCALLED FOR STATEMENT

Under these circumstances, the statement of our Minister of External Affairs before a Congress legislature party meeting that British action in Oman is "unfortunate" is uncalled for. His efforts towards raising a loan during his sojourn in Britain to meet our foreign exchange needs were infructuous, mainly because of our condemnation of British action in Egypt last year. The revelation of the hostility of British press opinion to India during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference should give us a pause and occasion a heart-searching with a view to a revision of our foreign policy. But the present statement that British action in Oman is "unfortunate" is disturbing evidence that our policy maker is continuing in the old rut. It seems as though he is incapable, like the Bourbons, of learning from experience. It is the mark of intelligence to learn from experience and vary the means to suit changing situations. But there is no evidence of this in the conduct of our foreign policies. There is no sense in contributing to the hostility of British public opinion by expressing public disapproval of Britain's national policies and actions in the international field unless our interests are directly thwarted.

This is another instance of our glaring lack of imaginative understanding of other Nations. Britain is fighting her last forlorn battle, to retain some vestige of her influence in Arab lands, both for oil and for trade and communications with the East. It should be possible for us to understand her desperate plight, and at least, to refrain from touching her raw and open wounds in the post-war era. Especially is such a policy to be pursued since it would not assist the process of Islamic consolidation. It is a far more urgent matter to enter into treaty with Britain and America to guarantee assured supplies of oil to India in peace and war. This would stand us in good stead in case Pakistan attacks us. We should store up large quantities of oil and assure ourselves of supplies from the Western powers in case of war.

CANAL WATERS DISPUTE

The advent of Mr. S. K. Patil on the stage of the Union Government as Minister of Irrigation has imported new vigour into our attitude to Pakistan's intransigence in regard to the canal Waters dispute. In a radio speech, as well as in Parliament, Mr. Patil had made it crystal-clear that India is not obliged by law or custom or equity to pay any sums whatever to enable her to build substitute canals. He has pointed out the characteristic greediness and injustice of Pakistan, in claiming a share in the water of our rivers, in view of the fact that her own rivers in the West constitute 80 per cent of the total water resources of the Indus river system. India has only 20 per cent of it owing to the line of Partition. India is supplying (from the day of partition) water from her headworks in her own territory to canals in Pakistan, to irrigate some ten million acres. Pakistan has built in the last three years enough canals from her rivers to irrigate half this area. But she is hiding this fact to extract fantastic sums from India on this plea. As Mr. Patil has unequivocally said, India is not bound to pay a single pie to help Pakistan to build canals from her own rivers to compensate the loss from Indian rivers. But he has to support the promise already made of Rs. 60 crores to Pakistan. Presumably it was done at the instance of our Prime Minister. And it looks as though he has again promised a raise in this sum to Rs 170 crores to build both canals and reservoirs! It is not clear under what authority the Prime Minister, or any other Minister or the Cabinet as a whole, can make such promises involving the *dan* or gifting away of such huge amounts of the tax payers' money.

In America, all treaties entered into by the President have to be endorsed by the Senate. There have been occasions, like the Treaty of Versailles, negotiated by President Wilson, when such treaties have been repudiated by the Senate. India, too, should evolve such a convention or better pass new legislation making agreements entered into by Ministers with Foreign Powers subject to endorsement by Parliament.

And as we have stated before in previous issues, the only basis for fair settlements on such issues is the provision of international law, as embodied in the Danube and St. Lawrence river treaties on the continents of Europe and America. Engineers calculate the amount of water collected in the watersheds falling within the borders of contending States, and allot to each of them their share in strict proportion to it. The water collected in the State belongs to it. There can be nothing fairer.

EXPLANATION NEEDED

The Indian Government owes an explanation to the public as to why such a simple provision and practice of international law and usage was not suggested and adhered to in this negotiation with Pakistan. India prides herself on her adherence to international law and even ventures to suggest new codes such as *panchsheela* to be observed by powerful States. Why has she not had recourse to international law in this case? Is it to help Pakistan at the cost of the Indian tax-payer?

Mr. S. K. Patil is to be congratulated for having declared that five years from now India would feel free to use all the waters from her rivers in East Punjab to irrigate the desert areas in Rajasthan and Sirhind. She will also feel free to erect dams on the Ganga and other rivers in the East. It is to be hoped that India would stick to the declaration.

MAJOR GENERAL AKBAR KHAN'S PLAN OF SUBVERSION IN KASHMIR

It is something that India's Minister for External Affairs came out at last with a categorical statement in Parliament to the effect that Major General Akbar Khan's plan in subversion in Kashmir is responsible for the bomb explosions in Srinagar and Jammu in recent weeks. He also referred to the pamphlet issued by the General which contains his blue print for creating panic and disaffection and communal conflicts in Kashmir, with the help of Pakistanis entering Kashmir, under the pose of local Kashmiris, favouring accession to Pakistan. There are quite a proportion of Kashmiri educated persons in the administration and outside, who favour accession to Pakistan, irrespective of immediate loss occasioned to the people from the withdrawal of Indian patronage. The existence of the Plebiscite Front is proof of this, if proof were needed. Our External Affairs Minister was obliged to admit the existence of Akbar Khan's plan on account of the issue of the pamphlet. It is something that he has promised resolute action to scotch the infiltrating saboteurs. The motive of Akbar Khan is to provoke India into retaliation which could be represented as aggression. This excuse of aggression is necessary for Pakistan to satisfy the USA and as an excuse for her attack on India, about which she has long ago made up her mind. She is only waiting for a psychological moment, when America could be induced either to look elsewhere, or to continue war supplies clandestinely.

She and the great Powers, as a whole, have an interest in watching the efficacy of the new weapons in a limited war at the expense of Asian or backward peoples. Korea and Spain in the pre-war period are sufficient examples of such an attitude on their part.

The crisis calls for India's taking the administration of Kashmir over to President's rule to enable the military to take full precautions unhindered by local inefficiency and sabotage by pro-Pakistani elements.

Dr. K. I. Singh as Prime Minister of Nepal

The appointment of Dr. Singh as the Prime Minister of Nepal seems to have resulted in a pro-India policy in the mountain kingdom. Dr. Singh has, for the first time, declared that Kashmir belongs to India, and that the constituent assembly resolution and the results of the recent elections confirm the country's accession to India. This is welcome. Dr. Singh seems also to have expressed his opinion that India's diplomatic position vis a vis Nepal should be more intimate than that of other Powers and should take precedence of them. This is also welcome as bringing Nepal closer to India and enabling India to safeguard her

(Continued on page 11)

INDEPENDENCE DAY-- Looking Before And After

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE 15th August 1957 is the tenth anniversary of the advent of our national independence. Anniversaries of nations as of individuals are occasions for looking before and after, and of stock-taking generally. Looking back over the past year, it is difficult to entertain a feeling of satisfaction, let alone of jubilation over the balance sheet of national book-keeping. It is necessary to recall both sides of the ledger and focus attention on the danger spots so that the public attention may be drawn to them. The destiny of individuals is bound up with that of the nation as a whole in these days of the ever-increasing impact of society on a global scale on the lives of individuals. It is impossible to dismiss this concern of individuals in the nation, and the involvement of individual welfare with that of society as a despicable primitive and "reactionary" cult of the nation. Nationalism, in the sense of social fraternity, forming the basis of modern states with responsibilities of self-government cannot be ignored but at the peril of individuals composing its membership.

The Warning Signals

Looking back over the year several events and complex developments, on a large scale, stand out before the memory as warning signals. The first of these is the furore over the Reorganisation of States. Karnataka came into being, bringing together the Kannada-speaking areas in Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras in a merger with old Mysore. This brought profound satisfaction to the national or sub-national sentiment nurtured over the past decades by leading literary revivalist and renaissance leaders like the late Professor B. M. Srikantia. The dissatisfaction of the vokkaligars of old Mysore could not arrest the process. Andhra was expanded to include Telengana with Hyderabad city as the new capital. This was also a matter of deep satisfaction to the Andhras. Old Madhya Pradesh was expanded and reconstituted losing Marathwada to Bombay and gaining Madhyabharat and Bhopal. The only areas that were left seething with discontent were Maharashtra, Gujerat and the Punjab. In the Punjab the Pepsu was merged in the Punjab but the Himachal Pradesh was left outside. The result was an acute struggle for ascendancy between the Hindu and Sikh elements camouflaged in the controversy over language, Gurumukhi Punjabi or Devnagari Punjabi, which seems bewildering to outsiders. The poison seed of Sikh separatism sown by the British by means of preference in military patronage, civil contracts, offices and separate electorates on a par with Muslims has proved too obdurate and powerful for the Nehru administration to counter-act.

Not In a Spirit of Self-righteous Superiority

In fact, the generalisation that emerges with painful clarity and insistence, on a survey of the danger spots of the national scene, during the year, is that Nehru and his Congress lieutenants have been unable to cope successfully with the deeper problems of safeguarding and strengthening national unity, in terms of practical statesmanship. They have been content to preach, without setting an example themselves in personal conduct and public policy. It looks as though, painful as it is to acknowledge even to ourselves, that national leadership has proved itself unable to rise to the need of the hour and respond successfully to the challenge of history brought by independence. This is stated more to induce a mood of self-examination than to blame anyone in a spirit of self-righteous superiority. Intelligence should be applied to politics and nation-building so as to learn from experience. This has been deficient so far. Rationalism and libertarianism require that more and more of the general public and of the intelligentsia should acquire this attitude of rational analysis and constructive thought if national democracy is to be made a success for the good of all.

Can't Ignore The Verdict Of Ballot-Box

The second tragic weakness that comes to mind as still an unsolved problem relates to the role and position of Bombay in the linguistic reorganisation of States. The hope that both Central and Bombay leaders entertained that the Maharashtrians and Gujeratis could be induced to surrender their goal of linguistic States, the former with Bombay as its capital, and the latter with Ahmedabad as its capital, has proved futile. The elections showed the verdict of Maharashtra and Gujerat in returning the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Mahagujerat candidates in their respective areas in overwhelming majorities. Bombay city, in the later Corporation elections, drove out Congressmen and installed the Samiti men in a comfortable majority. It is wrong and short-sighted to try and ignore this utterance of the ballot-box and persist in the hope of retaining the present bilingual Bombay and Gujerat State. During the agitation, Nehru's magic was of no avail. His discomfiture in trying to address a vast gathering of students in Ahmedabad for 90 minutes, which he had to desist on account of continual obstruction by the audience, is a landmark in the new landscape of the decline of Nehru glamour.

The failure is one of imaginative sympathy with Maharashtrian and Gujerati sub-national sentiment. We are not happy with linguistic States ourselves, but once we concede it to other areas, such as Madras,

Bengal and Karnatak, we cannot make an exception of Bombay and Maharashtra and Gujerat.

The same defect of inability to grasp the inwardness of the demand and aspiration of sub-national areas and peoples is evident in the startling failure of the Central leadership to take a just measure of the depth of separatism afflicting the Tamilians of Madras. We refer to the Dravida Kazhagam Movement. These groups have grown so much that the entire intellectual and moral landscape of Madras is now dominated by their ideology.

Preaching Treachery To The Nation

Congress can no longer come to power and remain in power in Madras unless it adopts this ideology, directly or indirectly. Kamaraj Nadar has prudently compromised with it, wisely from the short-term point of view, sacrificing national principle but thereby laying up a store of trouble later on. Nehru has done nothing more than abuse the Dravidian fanatics with the usual labour saving device of "communalism". They are openly preaching treachery to the nation, and popularising the demand of a separate sovereign State for themselves, independent of the North. Is this legally permissible? Freedom of speech is no doubt a democratic privilege, but are citizens free to misuse it to break the nation into two or more sovereign parts? Is not this disloyalty and treachery to the nation, and can such preaching and organised propaganda and action, be legally and morally allowed? The Madras and Central Governments have failed to face this problem and have thereby proved themselves to be unreliable guardians of the nation's destiny.

The Dravidians have forged a farrago of pseudo-doctrines of race, history, mythology and class hatred resembling the heady hotch potch of Nazi tenets of anti-semitism, race superiority, chauvinism and violence. There is no conscious movement to correct these dangerous half-truths at all in view. The future will see this development, creating insoluble problems, if not tackled in time by a more robust and forceful policy based upon a deeper insight.

Congress House In Disorder

Since the second General Elections in March, the Press is still publishing analysis and appreciations of the general psychological condition of the people and the state of political parties in the country, particularly of the striking degeneration showed by the Congress party in particular. The Congress leaders are trying to set their house in order by means of mechanical alterations in the party constitution! This appears vain to all critics, with inside knowledge of the condition of the party all over the vast country. Moreover, the advanced state of the cult of personality that has grown round the Prime Minister has dwarfed his tallest colleagues, and no one is inclined to take the risk of frank speaking. The result is a great landslide in the popularity and prestige of the Prime Minister, without any new person or group to take his place.

The next centre of danger is the cancerous growth of the influence of the Communist Party of India. The

appointment of V. K. Krishna Menon as Defence Minister is part of the same shift in the balance of influence as between the different groups of people in authority. His appointment was opposed for some years, but now Nehru has grown strong enough to have his own way. It connotes the eclipse of the Congress stalwarts of the Gandhian era in the estimation of Nehru—of Rajendra Prasad, of Maulana Azad, of G. B. Pant, of Rajagopalachari, of Dr. Roy. Gujerat lost her front rank leader with the demise of Sardar Patel. Nehru-made men like Krishna Menon and Dhebar and Dr. Mahalanobis are coming to the front as the lieutenants of Nehru. The Old Guard is not dismissed or liquidated but somehow they sink into less significant positions, partly by failure of nerve, and partly by Nehru's skill in manouvre.

The strangely contradictory behaviour of C. D. Deshmukh is revelatory of this situation. He was bold enough to resign on the "Bombay for Maharashtra" issue, and even to arraign the Prime Minister for unconstitutional behaviour in relation to Cabinet propriety and convention, but was not strong enough to come out into the open and start a new party or to remain like Mr. Gorwala an independent critic and adviser of Government and leader of public opinion. He buried himself again in an official job as Chairman of the University Grants Committee, though all honour to him, serving honorarily without salary.

Nehru Helps Communism

The elections threw up the Communist Party of India as a lawfully elected Government of Kerala. The largest share of responsibility for this is to be laid at the door of the Prime Minister. After the fantastically enthusiastic reception given to Bulganin and Khrushchev at Delhi and other cities, and the wholehearted cry of Hindi Russi Bhai Bhai led by the Prime Minister himself, together with the corresponding cry of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai, the ignorant public should be excused if they decided to give a chance to the communists to take power through the ballot-box. The foreign policy of the country too, (particularly the incessant advocacy of China's right to admission to the UN and criticism of the British and Americans as imperialists or abettors of imperialism together with chits to the satellite States as not being colonies of Russia) has not been without influence on the climate of opinion or feeling in the country in favour of the Russian bloc and the local communists.

It would be no sign of immaturity if the nation had adopted pro-communist policies, after a full assessment of the real face and mind of bolshevism, aims as well as methods. But unfortunately the new climate is growing through *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, with the willing co-operation of men in authority and influential scribes. The violence and treachery of the communist creed, as well as its untruth, are glaringly ignored by the Gandhians (?) in power!

The eclipse of the Congress, as a morally cohesive force and movement of national regeneration, together with this glacier-like drift towards Communism, in home and foreign policies, bode no good to the nation.

Perhaps an even more dangerous emergent, in the last few months, is the open preparations of Pakistan

to attack India or India through Kashmir. The UNO debate on Kashmir revealed that India had no ally in the Security Council. Russia vetoed only the posting of UN forces in Kashmir, for that would bring Western forces near her border in the north of Kashmir and neutralise her influence with the communist elements in the Kashmir administration. She did not exercise any veto about reconsidering the question, nor did she move a resolution calling for the declaration of Pakistani action as one of aggression. Britain and America took the initiative in backing Pakistan's request to re-open the question. This is a signal defeat to our diplomacy. Yet strange to say scribes are not wanting in influential places, who write incessantly in the manner of Dr. Coe's hypnotic suggestion, that India has attained a wonderful position of influence in world politics! If Pakistan attacks India, as she will some day not in the distant future, the present leaders in power (or leader in power) have a heavy bill of responsibility to discharge to the nation which has trusted them not wisely but too well or too naively.

Totalitarian Inroads

Another source of instability is the Second Five Year Plan and the new imposts of heavy taxes laid on the nation for its implementation. Inflation is already having its baleful effect. Postal employees had threatened a strike. All other employees, too, were preparing themselves to measure their strength with the Government to secure higher wages and salaries and allowances on account of rising prices. The Government has been unable to hold the price line. At the last minute the Government has appointed a Pay Commission. But at the same time they are in a

hurry, to imitate China, in co-operative or collective farming. Property as the basis of individual freedom is being fast destroyed. The introduction of revolutionary imposts like the wealth and expenditure taxes, (with the former applying to companies as well) has accelerated the pace of socialism.

Further restrictions of the power of Courts of Law are contemplated. The decisions of wage boards are sought to be excluded from the purview of courts. Also, it is proposed to introduce administrative law and administrative courts as in France to deal with disputes between the Government and the citizen. This is a radical departure from British traditions in the matter of the supremacy of the rule of law secured through the ordinary courts. The motive is to aggrandise the power of the executive at the expense of the judiciary. This is another manifestation of the insatiable appetite of the present ruling group for ever-expanding vistas of power.

Rising prices due entirely to Second Plan extravagance and the culpable failure to build up buffer stocks in the last few favourable years, and the stringency in regard to foreign exchange, caused by the planless import of heavy machinery together with the obstinate clinging to impracticably high targets, are all introducing a new instability in the economy with incalculable repercussions on political progress.

This is not a cheering picture but facts have to be faced. It is clear that a new movement of national regeneration is overdue, based on a realistic rethinking of principles and realities, principles of nationalism, democracy, free economy and free society, and actual facts of caste, custom, provincialism, superstition and careerism.

A DECADE OF "DONATED" FREEDOM

By J. K. Dhairyawan

TODAY we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of donated freedom. I say "donated" because there has been a widespread misconception, both in the West and in India, that we achieved freedom through non-violence and as a result of the "Quit India" movement launched by the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi. Nothing is farther from truth. All the Non-Violent, Non-co-operation movements launched by Gandhi were either withdrawn or suppressed by the British Indian Government. Speaking of the last "Quit India" movement it is on record that whereas, at the most 20,000 men went to jail, in obedience to the call of the Congress, the British Indian Government could recruit more than a couple of lakhs for the armed forces and the war effort, due no doubt to the extreme poverty of the Indian masses. But these are stark facts. Though in the second World War, the Allies—Britain and France and the USA—received many reverses in the beginning, it turned in favour of them against the Axis Powers. The "Quit India" movement was practically smouldered and

Gandhi was in one of his moments of "groping in the darkness." It was the logic of events and historical accidents that Labour Government was in saddle in 1947, the British man-power was thoroughly exhausted, and Britain had two alternatives before her—either to send a huge army of occupation or to come to terms with the largest political party in the country—the Congress. And the British Labour Prime Minister Attlee chose the latter course, and thus India got the "donated" freedom.

Who Drove the Last Nail in the Coffin of Imperialism?

These are facts that are recorded in the proceedings of the British Parliament. When the India Bill debate was in progress and when Sir Winston Churchill lamented that the Prime Minister Attlee was liquidating the British empire in India, Attlee retorted that he was not liquidating the empire but the logic of events was doing it. And Attlee was perfectly right. As he put it, India was held by the strength of Indian "mercenary Army" and that the Indian Army was no

longer loyal to Britain, because the second World War necessitated the recruitment of educated middleclass boys for the technical wings of the Armed Forces, and they had revolted against Britain as demonstrated in the rise of the INA by Subhas Chandra Bose and the revolt in the R.I.N. In fact, it was Subhas Chandra Bose and the brave boys of the Royal Indian Navy that are responsible for driving the last nail in the coffin of British imperialism in India. These facts are very conveniently ignored both by the Congress leaders and ignorant and ill-informed admirers in the West. No nation has ever achieved freedom through absolute non-violence, and India, too, had to shed her blood for getting even the "donated" freedom that we now enjoy.

A Thought For Independence Day

These historic facts have to be again and again repeated, because a false propaganda has been kept up by the Congress leaders and the present Congress Government to justify their policies—both internal and foreign—based on the so-called "panchasheela" and co-existence, and specially their policy of appeasement of Pakistan, a country that openly swears by her enmity towards India. Absolute non-violence of the Gandhian type has no place in the administration of a country, and her relations with other nations in a world armed to teeth with nuclear weapons. Organised and disciplined violence, as represented in the armed forces of a nation, are absolutely necessary for the defence and protection of a nation from foreign aggression and hostile neighbours. This has been demonstrated, again and again, during the long history of civilised nations and also in the painful history of our own country, which had to go under foreign domination, because of the weakness of our armed defence, due principally through the preachings of non-violence by the Jains and the Buddhists. Whatever parts of the country that were saved and rescued for the nation were by the rise of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the resurgence of the Rajputs—all martial races, who had to fight back the foreign Muslim invaders. This lesson of the past history has to be impressed on the present and the younger generation of the country, if the hard-won freedom had to be preserved and maintained. This is a thought that has to be remembered on every Independence Day in the midst of the celebration of the national festivities.

This becomes all the more necessary because of the false and discarded doctrines that are publicly advocated by the Congress rulers of the country, their effete Buddhists and unrealist policies of non-alignment and neutrality, their official sponsoring of the celebration of Buddha Jayanti, despite the fact that the country has adopted a secular constitution and their neglect of the defences of the country, and their apathy towards modernising the Defence Services, when we have a hostile country as our neighbour.

A Credit To Congress Govt.

Now turning to the 10 years of freedom, it must be said to the credit of the Congress Government that though the British vivisected the country into Bharat and Pakistan and they had left the 500 and odd Indian

princely States independent and outside the pale of Bharat, these States were completely integrated with India, by arrangements and negotiations with the rulers. That was a monumental and historic performance on the part of the Congress Government. The main credit of this work goes to the late Sardar Patel who was a man of action and statesmanship. Rightly he deserved the title of modern Bismark of India for having integrated the whole country and consolidated it. In the first flush of victory the Congress Government must also be credited with having drafted a democratic and liberal Constitution for the country, while it took nearly 10 years for Pakistan to draft its theocratic Islamic Constitution. Again to the credit of the Congress Government it must be admitted that it held TWO General Elections in a free and fair manner. If the result of the second General Elections are not reflective of the intelligent and informed public opinion in the country, the fault lies with our electorate, which is illiterate and ignorant, and who are carried away by personalities and are steeped in heroworship and idolatory. A country gets the government it deserves, and by that standard, the ill-informed and amateur rulers of today are what India deserves till public opinion is enlightened and powerful enough to exert its influence on the rulers. Bernard Shaw had once rightly described modern democracy as the rule of the intelligent people by the rabble. In place of the rabble in India we have the rule of "saints-in khaddar," with minds that are closed to all modern ideas of science and progress, whose only Bible is Gandhism.

Prime Minister in Hurry

Amongst these "saints-in-khaddar" the only person that could claim acquaintance with modern ideas and scientific progress is Prime Minister Nehru. But being a very hasty and explosive personality, he has no patience, and wants the country to march forward to industrialisation and progress, within the shortest time.

But the Prime Minister forgets that the short cuts are many times dangerous and very often lead to wrong ends. That is the tragedy of the present-day India, which under his leadership, has adopted socialism as the goal and objective of his Government. Very often he poses as a democrat, condemns Marxism as reactionary, and yet accepts socialism, which, too, has Marxism as its foundation. Social democracy has never succeeded anywhere in the world. Social democracy has always landed the countries into fascism or nazism as in Italy and in Germany. Democracy and socialism are poles asunder; a country that starts on the socialist path bids goodbye to democracy and freedom of the individual. And that is the retrograde progress that India has made during the 10 years of freedom.

Days of the Congress are Numbered

The second General Elections have voted the Congress back into power and office. But it is a much battered and shaken political party. The reverses the Congress Party has received in Maharashtra, in Gujarat, in West Bengal, in Orissa and specially in Kerala,

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1957

By B. S. Sanyal

1757. Battle of Plassey. Clive founded the British Empire. Came the soldiers, the empire-builders, the priests and the teachers. Their impact started a renaissance in our total cultural life: reformation in the religious sector, industrialism in the economic sector, democratic nationalism in politics and so on. But we cannot repeat the history of the Western nations in its phase of empire-building and making the metropolis prosperous.

1857. Sepoy Mutiny or the First War of Indian Independence. Whichever we call it, we may remember it, at any rate, for the year when the great universities of India were founded. Even before this great event, India had started producing great leaders of thought and action. They tried to make us conscious of our being citizens of India and the world.

We Achieve Independence

1947. We achieved independence.

And now 1957. What have we? Ten years of independence and we are on the brink of losing it. The credit of this latest achievement should go to the last of the great men. On him greatness was thrust right from his youth. During these ten years, Nehru, the father of Indian Socialism, has methodically undermined the resistance of the Indian people to communism and Pakistan by means of his various appeasement moves and disastrous foreign policies.

The pro-Soviet pseudo-neutralist foreign policy, the boosting-up of the Public Sector, the emergence of Kerala, the display of Asian inferiority complex before the West—all these have prepared the ground for a communist metastasis from within the ten year-old state of the Indian Union.

The hall-mark of our foreign policy finds a paradigm in our appeasement attitude towards Pakistan. Pakistan continues to commit harassment; and the strongest protest that we give expression to is merely to drop a note which is thrown into the waste-paper basket. There is absolutely no basis for our weak-kneed, sissy response to the malignant hatred with which our neighbour expresses her love for us. Any national government would have reacted very strongly to the ill-treatment to which the East Pakistan Hindus are subjected. This single instance is sufficient to initiate a retaliation. But our Government, far from being retaliatory, is actually steeped in its false secularism and a pseudo-cosmopolitanism which belies the very foundations of social organization.

The Giant And The Dwarf

With its delinquency and shortcoming telescoped in a panoramic scintillation before the world, our foreign policy lands literally into a bouleversement when matrixed in our relationship with Soviet Russia. Here is the giant and dwarf playing together. The Russian slave empire has one aim, one object, one end. one

mark, one point, one butt and one goal; and that is to build a communist world empire. India is the sweet little thing who is not afraid of the hungry tiger. Hail Nero!

With an uncanny doggedness, Nehru has killed the market economy. The Plan is a skilful contrivance which aims at methodically crippling the private sector and at investing all economic power into the hands of the State. This is what is at the very root of the communist metastasis which India is in the process of undergoing. By pampering the labourers and the peasants, the seed for an all-powerful State with its controls reaching into the lives of the people is sowed. The harvest is not far, for already the monetary unit has been disrupted and its rigidity estranged from it.

All this—and more—springs from the personality of our Prime Minister who shows a remarkable imperviousness to all criticism. This journal has unceasingly criticised the policies of the Indian Government. Neither has the journal been alone in doing so. Very recently, the *Manchester Guardian* advised Nehru to retire from public life. The *Organiser* has been forthright in condemning the foolhardy actions of our Prime Minister but the supine indifference in official quarters shows the princely and Moghul mentality of our leadership.

For Nehru was never cut out to be a statesman of a democratic country. His susceptibility to flattery and his indifference to all criticism qualify him for a princely and feudal ruler of the nineteenth century or an adolescent in the twentieth who finds, one moment, the world to be a vary unfriendly place and, the next, is impressed by the massive industrialism of Soviet Russia. Indeed, with childlike naivete, he actually shed tears in Moscow.

The truth is that Nehru suffers from fixations. His genuflection to Moscow, his fascination for Buddhism, his overbearing zeal to be just by the Muslim minority in India, his falling for the communist double-talk, hook, line and sinker; all these are indications of a weak will and an ignorant feudalism's temperament.

Indian independence can be retained by just one way. Nehru should go—of course, democratically.

TOTALITARIAN TRENDS IN KERALA

In drafting the Bill for the better organisation and development of non-denominational and aided public schools, the Kerala Government has won for itself considerable and justified notoriety. The Bill goes to make arbitrary use of Government's power possible. Why should the State maintain a register of teachers in which the names of those eligible for appointment must be registered? It should be enough to provide adequate facilities for their training and then lay down specific qualifications for those wanting to enter the profession. To maintain a register is to create a "closed shop" against whomsoever Government wishes to keep out of the profession. —*Times of India*

Independence — And After

By A. Ranganathan

TEN years of Freedom constitute a significant milestone in the history of any nation. Independence Day is not only a day of great rejoicing but also of reflection. At this juncture, a retrospect and a forecast of the development of the Indian Constitution might help us in evaluating the progress of Democracy in Free India. When the members of the Indian Constituent Assembly resolved to constitute India into an Independent Sovereign Republic, they had taken a great decision of far-reaching importance. Indeed the Indian Republic, as it was originally conceived, is one of the greatest experiments in history.

The Indian Constitution is at once evolutionary and revolutionary—evolutionary because India's new constitution is patterned to a great extent on the Government of India Act of 1935, except for a few changes necessitated by the achievement of Indian Independence, and revolutionary since the Constitution is based on the republican idea, which is definitely a break with the Indian tradition of a monarchical form of government. The nineteenth century was a period of internecine struggle between democracy and monarchy, ultimately resulting in the triumph of the democratic idea, which can be said to be the legacy of the twentieth century. But countries which emerged from a period of political domination (there have been exceptions in European History) generally plumped for a republican form of government. The adoption of the republican idea, is therefore, a product of the forces of history.

What The Constitution Stands For

The preamble eloquently enough, wishes to secure to all India's citizens:

'JUSTICE, social, economic and Political
'LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship
'EQUALITY of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all
'FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation'.

The Indian Constitution is different from the previous ones in many respects. Nearly five hundred States which formed 'Native India' vanished from the scene. While the old dichotomy between 'British India' and 'Native States' had been removed, a new classification was introduced—Part A States, Part B States and so on. The old princes and princelings were made to fit in with the new constitutional pattern, became clad in pseudo-purple and designated as Rajpramukhs, who have now been abolished.

Another important feature of the Constitution is adult suffrage which confers the status of a voter to every man and every woman who is a citizen of India and who is not less than twenty one years. Perhaps

the most important feature of our new Constitution is the section on Fundamental Rights.

Any discussion of a constitution must necessarily take into consideration the various amendments which take place from time to time. It is well known that changes, economic and technological, promote the tendency towards centralization. In this connection it is interesting to recall the great role played by the American Supreme Court in fashioning a legal apparatus which was responsible in adapting the American Constitution, framed for a predominantly agricultural country with a few million people, to the evergrowing needs of a great industrial power with more than thirty times the original population. The justification for a judicial interpretation of a constitution finds its expression in the historic words of Chief Justice Marshall, who declared: "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is".

Encroachments On Individual Rights

Since Indian Independence, there has been a gradual but sustained effort to increase the powers of the Executive at the expense of the Courts. Pandit Nehru has violently opposed the idea of the Supreme Court being the final arbiter on the quantum of compensation, on the plea that the Supreme Court ought not to make itself a third chamber of legislature. It would be difficult to deny that this amendment which vested this power in Parliament has made great inroads into the domain of the individual. This new power of fixing the amount of compensation is theoretically vested in Parliament, but in actual practice will have to be delegated to the ruling party, and finally administered by the Executive officers. And it becomes all the more serious when the Government propose to introduce Co-operative farming.

Co-operative farming on a nation-wide scale, which is sought to be implemented by our planners, will do violence to the individual's freedom of action guaranteed by the Constitution. Another proposal of a serious nature contemplated by the Government is to set up administrative tribunals in different States, on behalf of the Central Government, to pronounce the final verdict on revenue disputes and also matters pertaining to Government employees. This measure, if brought into force, will prevent High Courts from discharging their normal functions. On the one hand we are assured, of Fundamental Rights and on the other hand, everything is taken away in the name of social "progress and freedom". The Court is the last resort of the aggrieved citizen and if he is deprived of this right it simply means the negation of democracy. This proposal is most surprising, if we reflect on the statements of our Congress leaders, who had asked for a separation of the judiciary from the ex-

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Edited by B. S. Sanyal

Communism, Capitalism or Co-operation

COMMUNISM is on the march the world over. The socialistic democracies are paving the way for its advance. Is there any doubt that Americans, too, are headed for state socialism? Every purely socialistic and communistic theory ever tried in practice has failed and crashed because of its unbalanced gravity. Born because of the social urge man also dies as a result of it when the spirit of individualism has become exhausted. Socialism is a receptive form of philosophy, a shell or hour-glass, which has negative value unless filled with the sands of time through individual effort. Socialism like an empty bag cannot stand unless it contains individual productivity. It is the individual who gives society its character, intelligence and strength.

POLITICIANS ARE DRONES

Socialism, as a doctrine and cure all, is based on the premise that security can be provided for all by taking from the wealthy and giving to the poor. Thus, it is assumed everyone will be prosperous and happy. This is a fallacy as the current wealth is soon dissipated or consumed without reproduction. The honey comes from making, not from taking. Politicians, like drones, produce nothing except chaos, depression and war. Socialism or communism is, therefore, the panacea offered by politicians. Living on stealth, through the practice of polygamy, by confiscating material wealth and conscript labour they provide subsidies and protection in exchange for political support.

As 2/3rds of the population are mentally immature they need little or no urging to prompt them into acceptance of socialistic dogmas and schemes. Children do not quarrel with Santa Claus nor do the wise physically resist Robin Hood the politician. Apparently giving "something for nothing" is still the best sucker bait invented for giving "nothing for something". It is, therefore, politically expedient and necessary to "soak the rich" and confiscate the income of labour through taxation. Such maldistribution is ruinous as the rich must be repaid plus interest. Eventually, labour is pauperized and the politician becomes an indispensably secure parasite. Thus, the goose is cooked, the bag emptied and we have the downfall of another state.

COMMUNISM IS SLAVERY

Communism is subsidized subordination or social slavery, financed by confiscating private property through unbalanced taxing and outright conscripting of labour. So-called free elections are a fraud when people are compelled to become part of a political machine as wards of the state or starve. Where the state authorities provide social security and employment they also dictate where, when and how subsidized labour shall work and be paid. Since it is impossible to smother free enterprise entirely, the subsidized workers have to meet the competition of free labour production and prices. This leaves the subsidized workers with less and less real pay after the wastefully overloaded socialized production, management, distribution and overhead expenses are met.

State socialism or communism to function and survive must institute compulsory labour. Therefore, it is a police state, not voluntary economic order with freedom of enterprise. Individual liberty, independence, freedom and sovereignty vanish if traded for subsidized social security. This is what has happened in all socialistic and communistic countries. This is also what some Americans want and all are getting. As proof, witness the agony of Russians, Germans, French and English and the growing pains of Americans under continual strikes and crises resulting from political chaos. When emergency is substituted for urgency through cupidity, cunning and stupidity, it is no wonder that instability and insecurity exists everywhere. Political expediency breeds emergency where and when urgency does not exist. The people would be peaceful, progressive and prosperous, if they and their leaders learned the possibilities of economic order based on love, humility, integrity, wisdom, justice and industry.

WHERE WORKERS ARE FREE TO CHOOSE

Capitalism is the mania for acquiring surplus wealth in excess of requirements, through exploitation to a degree of extortion, so as to monopolize some enterprise or control a state. It is true, therefore, that the wage slavery imposed by unscrupulous employers and the credit bondage superimposed by usurious shylocks has been carried far enough. This imposes a dreadful burden on labour. In a state still having freedom of opportunity for enterprise, it is

possible for willing workers to escape wage slavery and credit bondage. However, servitude and tax slavery is inescapable under state socialism or communism. The social security premium must be paid by the industrious minority while an idling majority are in control, even where free balloting still exists. Since only 1 out of 3 is capable of using good judgment, less than a 2/3rd majority control is a poor rule to follow for increasing and governing the production of wealth; because the consumers and distributors will outnumber the producers and collapse is imminent.

A WELL-BALANCED PROGRAMME

The socialists and communists have not yet fully taken over the United States of America. When and if they do, the wheels of industry will slow down and nothing but World War III can keep them moving under a political system. There are, however, economic means by which it is possible to avoid chaos, depression and war. These methods provide an opportunity to maintain freedom of enterprise and escape political corruption, bigotry, usurpation and tax slavery. Economic order will also emancipate the worker from wage slavery and credit bondage. A well balanced programme is neither socialistic, communistic, individualistic, capitalistic, leftist or rightist. It includes the voluntary cooperation of all factions for mutual economic welfare.

The cooperative era is open to capital and labour on an equal and equitable basis, free from political domination, dictatorship and regimentation. All that is necessary to establish a cooperative commonwealth is the confidence and willingness of capital and labour to unite in the production of sufficient wealth to insure prosperity. However, this cannot happen while capital and labour are penalized through confiscatory taxation for producing wealth. Such criminal stealth of property is in violation of the constitutional rights of the people, because it destroys the economic balance between consuming and producing power through maldistribution. While this condition is tolerated it is impossible for capital and labour to cooperate as they are arbitrarily incited and compelled to compete unfairly for survival.

In a cooperative commonwealth the distribution of income from production is balanced with the price of consumption, to keep the wheels of industry in motion perpetually, with or without foreign trade or risky entanglements. When the power to produce equals the power to consume there cannot be depression, nor is it necessary to seek foreign markets in dangerous territory. Capital and labour can freely develop, manage and govern the production of wealth and share the fruit equitably according to their equality or investment. They are on an equal basis in maintaining and improving the economic welfare instead of competing to destroy each other. Cooperative production is an economic development operating successfully in many countries, states and businesses. It is not a political dogma and panacea that destroys freedom of opportunity for enterprise. Cooperation is an economic necessity for the progress of civilization.

THE PARADOX—IN WEST & EAST

The world is divided into 2 spheres of influence, rather than 2 worlds, the Western or Occidental Culture and the Eastern or Oriental Culture. The more individualistic western nations, including the United States, are externally opposing and resisting socialism or communism while internally they are foolishly courting and practicing it as a matter of political expediency. Whereas, the more socialistic eastern nations, including Russia, are externally opposing individualism and capitalism, while internally they are wisely practising capitalism to survive economically. This paradoxical situation is nature's way of restoring and maintaining the economic balance between too much or not enough individualism or socialism. The Oriental people who have lived in squalor and poverty are striving toward the regeneration of individualism, while the more fortunate and prosperous Occidental people are degenerating into socialism and communism.

So that state socialism or communism can function effectively, without disruption, it must have revenue for maintaining such a system. As for instance to fully socialize and communize the United States of America would require not 50 billion or 100 billion dollars but the entire national income. To collect the necessary amount through taxation or from distribution of the national production, the politicians would have to take over the cultural institutions, construction and manufacturing industries and commercial firms by police persuasion or military force. Communism would be an ideal system, if politicians were competent to operate industries and if it could function as a voluntary enterprise. However, it cannot be operated economically as compulsory servitude and slavery under socialist political control. History has proved this repeatedly.

MIDDLE-CLASSES, THE BACKBONE OF PRODUCTIVITY

Communism or socialism is the pattern of all totalitarian and pseudo-welfare states. Do the people want either capitalistic monarchies, monopolies and cartels or the communistic and socialistic democracies controlled by political autocrats, monocrats and bureaucrats? Certainly not! Actually, they are seeking escape from the wage exploitation and credit usury of capitalists and industrial monopolists on the right and the tax slavery imposed upon them by political bosses, dictators, and bureaucrats on the left. As control by either group leads to chaos, depression and war, with its poverty, misery, tragedy and frustration, the choice between monopoly capitalism and communism is a farce and mockery. The people elect the party they believe will lessen their burdens. Unknowingly, therefore, the masses have allowed themselves to be misled by cunning, unscrupulous groups and individuals who ill-advise and incite them against their own interests. These advisors profit by and prosper on the spoils, based on the economy of "laissez faire"

Communism and capitalism are extreme forms of
(Continued on page C)

WELFARISM AND INEQUALITY

By B. S. Sanyal

AS in the case of poverty, welfarism starts with a mere sentiment for equality, and therefore, naturally ends with realizing a grosser form of inequality than obtains now. It claims the loftiest motives for its aims. In the process, however, of realizing the aims it forgets human nature. Hence the aims remain unrealized as ever before.

It is quite easy to see that if power, both economic and political, be concentrated in the hands of the rulers, there will be not only loss of freedom but also loss of equality. The alternatives to freedom will then be an abject subservience or an explosion. Welfarism thus realises an equality in immorality. Otherwise, welfarism leads to pauperisation of the ruled and hence may be said to be contributory to economic inequality.

For a state-planned economy, the state requires a very large amount of money. It looks for all possible ways of extracting money from private enterprise. In the process the private enterprise gets stifled or atrophied. The whole population turns into a class of state-employed and state-exploited producers with the rulers as the other class, the class of non-producing employers. Then the class-division of society becomes complete and the inequality reaches its height.

The greatest source of inequality in any society is its class-division. The welfare or totalitarian state fails to do away with the class-division. Marx defined a class as a group of persons in an identical relation to the means of production. The politicians and bureaucrats in the welfare state make up a class. They are a group of non-producers in an identical relation to the means of production. They control production, distribution and exchange. They do away with the people's freedom of owning property, of investment, of borrowing and lending, of trade, of owning the means of production, of self-employment, of purchase, and so on.

The inequality of incomes and wealth bears an organic relation with the market economy. This does not imply that a libertarian who defends the institution of free market advocates inequality. The libertarian holds that we are all equal in so far as we are all equally free. Equality can be had only in liberty. To opt for slavery and loss of freedom for the sake of equality leads to a negation of equality. This is precisely what happens in a welfare state. A few free men dominate the rest who are equal in their abject slavery. Thereby even the dominant minority of free men cannot claim to be really free. In order to be free, the free men have got to be creative or at least not dominant; or else, they will have to meet the fate of Molotov, Kaganovitch, Shepilov et al. The expropriators of the expropriated may be expropriated at any moment. Thus, the welfarist sentiment for equality leads to inequality among the rulers, inequality between the rulers and the ruled, and to equality-in-poverty and slavery of the ruled.

The welfarist demand for equality is a false demand. Here is a sure test. "The American wage earner would like to share the dividends of the stock-holders, but would not like the ninety five per cent of the earth's population with lower income than his to share his wages." (Von Mises).

The demand for equality in poverty is a revival of one of the achievements of feudal society. Ancient and Feudal China, for example, had tried to realize the principle of income equality by dividing and subdividing land-holdings and letting a class of landless proletariat to grow. The feudalist notion of economic equality condemned the accumulation of a large fortune by private individuals. The rulers looked upon wealthy subjects as a threat to their supremacy. Big businessmen lived a precarious existence. They being completely at the mercy of king's officers, even fat bribes would be no guarantee against confiscation. "The whole people rejoiced whenever a prosperous businessman fell a victim to the envy and hatred of the administrators." (Mises).

Compare this with what prevails today in India. Businessmen and industrialists are harassed by bullying politicians, tax-collecting bureaucrats, communistic labour officers and communist-inspired inefficient workers with a growing disposition to sabotage. The politicians are pampering the workers only to gain, later on, more power over their lives. The forgotten man of the middle class is the worst sufferer: his only way out is to become either a welfare politician (i.e. a member of the ruling party, the C.P.I. or the A.I.T.U.C.), a bureaucrat or a labour officer. Between membership of the creative minority and membership of the dominant minority, anybody with a conscience belonging to the cultured middle class ought to choose the former.

The 'anti-rich' mentality had checkmated the accumulation of capital during the Islamic period of Indian History and investment of available capital during the British period. And now, the same mentality, operating through our welfarist rulers, is going to distribute poverty within the course of a decade or two.

(Continued from page B)

socialism and individualism, respectively. They breed each other at the expense of the productive middle classes. An alternative has now been developed which establishes economic cooperation between capital and labour. This will provide the fulfilment and satisfaction essential to contentment and happiness. When the income from production can no longer be short-circuited through discounted wages, usurious interest and confiscatory taxation, all workers will have sufficient wealth in a cooperative society. Thus, the dreams of yesterday, which are the ideals of today, may become the realities of tomorrow in a naturally free state as endowed by the Creator.

—University of Economics Foundation, New York.

PROFIT-SHY ASIANS

By K. D. Valicha

MANY people in India today believe that free enterprise, unchecked and unrestricted by any State control, will lead to anarchy and disorder. This wrong notion arises from a misconception about the term 'free enterprise.'

Logically, there can be no anarchy; there can only be various orders. The difference between free enterprise and socialism or communism is not that the former is disorderly while the latter are given to order but a difference between patterns of economy. Under free enterprise, there is absence of an authority to establish and regulate the hierarchy of needs and wants and the proportion of each for the individual while under communism all wants of the individual are dictated by a central, supreme authority.

Thus those libertarians who defend free enterprise are not in the pay of capitalists but in the pay of their own conscience. The libertarian believes that liberty is the *sine qua non* to progress, that progress is impossible without freedom. Liberty is defined as the faculty and possibility of making a choice. This implies a double-ness; for, freedom is both social and individual. The faculty to choose is a personal quality and calls for individual development. Whereas the possibility to exercise choice depends upon social conditions and environment. Free enterprise is the only guarantee of the widest possible choice.

Free enterprise does not mean a repeal of all laws for all laws are by no means necessarily a narrowing of freedom. Certain laws are necessary for the maintenance of justice and prevention of crime. The method of free enterprise is that of democratic legislation; it seeks to minimise injustice through legislation and not through political intervention. Thus, for example, evils like the various monopolies can only be eradicated by a proper reform of legislation, not by nationalization.

Furthermore, free enterprise is the only system that guarantees a maximum of productivity and hence the greatest good of the greatest number. Capital in a capitalistic society is the tool used for production. Since any socialist State which owns all the tools will have to pay interest on its bonds, it boils down to a question of State capitalism versus Private capitalism. For, the capitalist payment or profit is really payment for the use of tools. Now, so far no State has been devised which will use the tools to a greater productivity. Why then concentrate all the capital into the hands of the politicians and create the greatest and the most tyrannical monopoly that ever existed?

From irrational inclinations comes also the vilification of profits. Profits and morality have nothing to do with each other. Profits are bad only when they are not enough; profits are the wealth of a nation. The more the profits, the more the prosperity.

All abuses against profits arise out of a misconception and ignorance of the nature of economic proces-

ses. Some profits are no doubt improper; but these are due to monopolies.

Even Government enterprises cannot afford to neglect profits. The test of any enterprise is ultimately profits, except in the case of social and public works. Maurice Zinkin writes in *Development for Free Asia*: "All Asian planning, therefore, should make profit the centre of its attention. Yet so deep is the aversion to the idea of profit... that none of the plans which have been prepared, not even the lengthy and detailed Indian First Five-Year Plan, discusses profit at all. The question the planners ask in Asia is not 'How can the national income (which, it must be remembered, is purely a measure of satisfactions in terms of money and takes no account of the relative moral value of those satisfactions) be increased the most at the least cost?' Instead they begin from a whole series of different premises and build upon them. They argue that wealth comes from industrialisation; so they create uneconomic industries and bolster them with protection. They accept that national safety requires a high degree of autarchy; so they build up defence industries and automobile industries which run expensively because their production is too small. They consider that the handicraftsman represents certain social values it is important to preserve; so they keep him in existence by subsidies. They worry about their balance of payments; so they lend money to shipping companies at uneconomically low rates of interest, or talk of synthetic petrol plants. They have the political pressures on their Ministers to consider; so they spread schemes evenly over the country and give special attention to backward areas. They share the intelligentsia's suspicion of the businessman and faith in the State; so they crib and cabin the businessman at every turn and extend the State's sphere constantly, though the State is short of entrepreneurial and managerial talent, and its size gives it a bias towards the long-term low-return scheme rather than the short-term high-return scheme."

Rational economic thinking cannot afford to be dictated by personal whims and ideological quackery. To brush aside capitalism as evil or to decree profits is to neglect one's own interests. For capitalism is the bed-rock of all economic progress. Socialism is a parasite. British socialism is all the while sustained on American capitalism.

Libertarianism which seeks to retain capitalism while curing it of monopoly has always been fighting. In the anti-mercantilist epoch, its champion was Adam Smith. In the anti-conservative epoch, John Stuart Mill stood out as its defender.

Today is the anti-socialist era. Libertarianism is fighting; dedicated with all its power and love of liberty. It does not matter whether it wins in the political sphere. What matters is not political parties but ideas.

cutive, during the British regime. The idea of instituting administrative tribunals is to take over the functions of the judiciary by the executive at the highest level. The serious implications of this proposal can be grasped, if we examine it in the light of the various measures—Preventive Detention Act, Wealth Tax, Expenditure Tax, The Essential Services Maintenance Bill, all leading to an over-centralized bureaucracy.

English Must Continue

Our Constitution as it is, needs only one amendment. The time limit for the use of English in our day to day administration must be extended by a further period of twenty-five years if not more. Those fanatics who talk of English as a foreign language must note that most of the contributions to modern thought that India has made during the last century have been in English. The works of Vivekananda Gandhi, Aurobindo, Ranade, Nehru, Rahaman, Radha-

krishnan and many others are as much a part of our heritage as our ancient and mediaeval classics. English is the language of democracy, science and technology; it has a place in our cultural make-up and should not be thrown away in a moment of national frenzy. The success of democracy does not depend on the eloquent words enshrined in the Constitutional preamble. Every student of political science knows that even such a centralized State as Russia is based on a constitution which is federal in theory! In the last analysis, the Constitution is an extremely delicate mechanism which is controlled by the mainspring of liberty in creating the proper balance between public authority and individual freedom. As such the constitutional mechanism needs delicate handling. Our politicians have tampered with the main spring of liberty on many occasions and it is to be hoped that they will desist from further attempts. Indeed if the mechanism gets out of order, it will be an irreparable loss. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

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Northern Frontier: The annexation of Tibet by Red China has destroyed the isolation of Nepal. She can now have alternative avenues of access to the outside world and can play off India against China and vice versa by such a situation Dr. Singh's pro-Indian statements should not be discounted but should be followed up. He should be helped to consolidate the new position. It was a mistake, born of weakness on the part of Indian authorities, to have allowed the USA, and later Russia and China, to open diplomatic missions in Nepal. The British had established virtually a protectorate in Nepal. The motive was the defence of India. India should have continued that policy and consolidated the protectorate. If this is imperialism, it is necessary in the defence of India. The word should not have daunted us.

Medical Aid to Pilgrims to Khatmandu

Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal, is a place of pilgrimage to Hindus and Buddhists alike. The pilgrims need medical help during their visit on account of the prevalence of epidemics there. When asked for such aid in Parliament, the Prime Minister was surprised that we should be asked to provide medical aid in a foreign country. It was pointed out to him that India sends doctors with Haj pilgrims to Mecca. If the latter is natural to Indian policy the latter should not be treated as on a different basis. This is evidence of the Prime Minister's pro-Muslim psychology and complete indifference to the interests of others on such matters. A truly national policy would treat all Indian pilgrims visiting foreign places alike. India has not been able to secure safe conduct to Sikh pilgrims this time wanting to visit their sacred shrines in Pakistan.

Readiness to Defend India

India's Defence Minister made it clear that India would regard Pakistan's attack on Kashmir as an attack on India and would resist it with all her resources. The schoolboy heroics of resisting and fighting to the last man is no comfort. Nor is the exhortation of the Prime Minister to the people to stand

together as one man, and help the defence of the country. In modern war, we do not fight with sticks and stones. These verbal outpourings are puerile. What is wanted is clear evidence that the authorities have taken all the measures necessary for defence in modern war. We hear of elaborate air raid exercises in Karachi. We hear of every Pakistani (and many school and college girls) being armed with rifles and taught their use. We know that in border raids, Pakistani nationals have had it their own way.

The general public should demand adequate defence measures, apart from the preparations of the armed forces, to defend the civilian population. Cities and towns should be equipped with anti-aircraft guns and civilians should be trained to use them against enemy aircraft. Such skill will not come for the asking after the war starts. Every town and city should be enabled to defend itself when the enemy should cross the border. It is reckless to think that the enemy will not use the coast for a landing. Where are our coast-guard and radar stations? It is only such a countrywide preparation that will induce calmness and fortitude in the hour of danger. It is to be hoped that the country will not be left in the lurch in the moment of attack. It happened in the past in the matter of Partition.

THE BRITISH AND THE RUSSIAN WAY

SUPERINTENDENT Christopher Williams of the Rynton Police College told a recent meeting of criminologists that "Britain has about one Policeman to every 650 inhabitants, while in Russia the figure is about one to every 80."

The main reason for this 800 per cent larger police force in Russia is the ruthless enforcing of an unnatural communist economy that cannot stand alone, unassisted. They need the tremendous police force to enforce the old socialist saying: "If you don't want to be my brother, I will crush you." The less freedom is left to the people, the more policing is needed. They also need a large army to crush uprising.

Answer (U.S.A.)

(Continued from page 8)

where the Communist regime has begun to function, definitely point to the fact that the days of the Congress are numbered. In a speech by Mr. Nehru before the conference of Pradesh Congress presidents, he had referred to the deterioration in the Congress Party. Said he:

"The public has lost, by and large, its respect for the integrity of the average Congressman. Individual Congressmen may have that respect, that is an individual matter but by and large, the public have lost confidence in the average Congressman. Every Congressman wants to stick to office—wherever it may be, once that idea creeps in, one of the basic things that gives strength to Congress disappears."

Here Mr. Nehru clearly sees the end of the Congress Party in the near future. The failure of the Congress Government to give the country a clean and efficient administration for the last 10 years, the squandering in the External Affairs Department, the scandals connected with many of the State enterprises, as disclosed in the reports of the Auditor-General—all these have shaken the confidence of the people, both in the Congress and in the Congress Government. The top-heavy and too ambitious second Five Year Plan has already brought the country face to face with economic chaos, with general strike threats, even by the Central and State employees. Whatever one might say, and however much Mr. Nehru might try to preach the sermons of nationalism and patriotism to these employees, he cannot deny, that due entirely to Government plans and their fiscal policies, that are responsible for the present state of chaos and anarchy in the country. Mr. Nehru cannot accuse the Government employees of using the "big club." When the last Pay Commission made its recommendations in 1946 the general Index figure was 230. The Pay Commission thought that the Index figure would go down to 200. But on the contrary today the Index figure has reached 430. The equity of the demand of the Government employees is self-evident. No excuses on the part of the Congress Government can convince an intelligent and independent observer of things in the country, that it is the Government and Government alone that are responsible for the plight in which the fixed salaried and middle-class people find themselves today.

Planned Economy or Planned Chaos

Intelligent critics of the Plan and informed industrialists had foreseen ALL this, and warned the Government, again and again, against the danger of rising food prices due to inflation. And that as the Plan advances more and more, acute inflation would develop, with the favourite remedies of all totalitarian planners of "control" over procurement and distribution of foodgrains and other articles of daily needs. This, in turn, would start the evil of black markets and the whole vicious circle of controlled life for ALL citizens. And this is only the beginning of the second Five Year Plan. The Plan is supposed to benefit the common man in the country but at the very start of the Plan the common man is on the verge of starvation and facing an economic chaos. And as the

"planned" economy develops, the common man is also likely to lose the freedom and liberty which he enjoys today.

What the present Congress rulers have forgotten is the fact that during the Freedom Movement all sorts and varied interests supported the Congress because it promised a clean and good Government. Today the Congress Government has demonstrated that self-government is no substitute for good government. Power corrupts and absolute power has corrupted the Congress during the last 10 years. The Congress which posed as the servant of the people, during the Freedom Movement, has today become the masters of the people. The Congress is after pomp, power, ease and comfort, its old idealism of service has forsaken it. In the words of Mr. Nehru himself it suffers from "inner failure", for which there is no remedy when it sets in individuals and in organisations. That annihilating process of "inner failure" seems to be complete and final as far as the Congress is concerned. Mr. Nehru may hope for recovery from this malaise but intelligent and sensible people see no chance for the Congress to recapture the vitality of the Freedom Movement days.

Creeping Paralysis

While thus the Congress is in the process of disintegration and decay it could not be expected to accomplish the difficult task of administering a big country nor can it take it on the road to economic and industrial progress and social and political revolution. One has only to see at the old, decrepit Congress leadership at New Delhi, with the Cabinet members' ages ranging from 75 to 65 with no younger blood with fresh and clear-cut vision before them of the future of the country. The leadership of a country, that wants to progress and be in the vanguard of advance in modern atomic age, must be of a dynamic kind, which the Congress Government has failed to give.

As for the second Five Year Plan that has been so widely advertised and boosted by the Nationalist Press, is already heading for the rocks. And this could be seen in the recent speeches of the Prime Minister, who is thinking of "phasing out" the Plan for more number of years in view of finances.

But what is most surprising is that despite the difficult political and economic situation that the country is facing the people in general look helplessly still to the Congress for performing the miracle.

Party of the "Right" Needed

In this connection the suggestion of the columnist in the *Hindustan Times*, Insaf, for the formation of a "Rightist" national political party in the country is of the utmost importance today. ALL the known political parties in the country, from the Congress to the Communist and the PSP are wedded to socialism or communism, and there is very little to choose from amongst them. The professional classes, the intelligentsia, the pretty trader and the small shopkeeper, as well as the industrialist, have everything to lose and nothing to gain if they back the Congress or any

of the alternative parties. It is in their interest to work for an alternative party to the Congress, that is against planning or "welfarist" schemes, because not that planning and "welfarist" schemes mean their immediate or distant death BUT BECAUSE ALL PLANNING LEADS, IN THE END, TO REGIMENTATION AND THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. The only parties that have the bases for such a formation of a national party of the "Right" are the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. It is time for some of these leaders to form a national party of the "Right", with accent more on individual liberty and democracy and less on Hindu revivalism and Hindu religion. If such a party is formed at the earliest opportunity, there is a sporting chance to avert the economic chaos and the political crisis that are facing the country to be halted.

Planning Chickens Come Home To Roost

The immediate prospects that face the country on the tenth anniversary Day of Independence are definitely dark and ominous. The economic and political situation is overclouded with threats of external aggression from Pakistan and with labour strikes all over the country. This was foreseen by the independent and intelligent economists long ago and public-spirited industrialists. The Government is caught on the horns of a dilemma. If they grant the demand for increase in salaries to their employees it will encourage the industrial labour to follow suit, and the chain reaction could not be stopped. What the Government

employees and the Labour fail to see is, that even if their demands are satisfied, they will not benefit. In the present state of deficit financing and inflation, prices of necessary articles of daily consumption are BOUND TO RISE.

It is hoping against hope, that since very recently our Prime Minister has seen for himself the progress and prosperity of the Scandinavian countries, WITHOUT the aids of State Planning and WITH FREE ENTERPRISE in action, should have realised, too late, that he has taken the wrong path. If so, it would be a bold and courageous act on his part to admit the mistake publicly, and retrace the steps the Government has already taken. In Scandinavia he must have seen that the people there have achieved a very high degree of living, WITHOUT TOO MUCH AMBITION, NO DEMAGOGUEY, AND WITHOUT THE STATE WHIP FLOGGING THE PEOPLE. People have been allowed to work on their own initiative; private sector has been given complete freedom and YET THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE have attained prosperity and progress hardly excelled in any part of the world. THAT IS THE DEMOCRATIC WAY, AND THAT IS PRIVATE CAPITALISM IN ACTION.

Little minds and closed eyes do not go with great leaders. Let Mr. Nehru like a great leader, admit the mistakes of the hasty steps he has taken, switch back from regimentation and planning to democracy and free enterprise and lead the country back from chaos and anarchy to progress and prosperity. That is the thought uppermost in the minds of all lovers of the country.

INTEGRAL INDEPENDENCE

By "Sudarshan"

OUR Prime Minister is right in expressing a longing for emotional integration. He knows acutely what it is to be a split-personality—not knowing where one truly belongs. This lack of emotional integration is seen on a larger scale in the clash of half truths which go to build up the international tensions today. Our whole civilization needs an emotional integration—a balanced philosophy of integral independence. We need an integration of economic, political, military and cultural institutions, by subordinating all these functional differentiations of society, to Man the individual; Man the measure of all things and the builder of civilization; Man the maker of televisions and atom-bombs, capitalisms and socialisms, Churchills and Eisenhowers, Nehrus and Mukerjees. It is to this momentous task that the Indian Libertarian movement is dedicated.

Such a synthesis, to begin with, will dispassionately consider the merits of capitalism and socialism as historical phases of society, neither of which are pure specimen. Capitalism emphasises the necessity to economise and invest, to accumulate capital, expand and intensify production. It emphasises production

values. Socialism rightly insists that production, without consumption, is meaningless. A set of institutions, under which some people consume more than they produce, while most others produce more than they consume, is unfair. It emphasises the distributive values of an economy.

Where Socialists Go Wrong

But where the socialists go wrong is in their analysis of the cause of social inequalities. They mix up inequalities under historical capitalism with the operations of the free market. They forget the historical sequence of economic development, that capitalism came after feudalism, and yet retains remnants of feudal economy, which hamper the efficiency of the market mechanisms. The socialists conveniently ignore the fact, that socialism is later than and dependent on capitalism. John Bull can go socialist so long as Uncle Sam does not.

Consumption is later than and depends on production. Socialism, the steady increase of consumption per head, is guaranteed only by uninterrupted production. The 'evils' of capitalism are during the transi-

tion from feudalism to capitalism, and during the initial stages of capital accumulation only. Even socialism cannot avoid tightening-the-belt policy at its early phases. Witness our Second Plan. The evils of socialism tend to entrench themselves through Stalinism.

We have, therefore, to keep in mind, both the distinctions of productive and distributive values, and their interdependence. Expansion and intensification of industry can expand and intensify consumption. Expansion and intensification of consumption—through better distribution of purchasing power among different economic classes—can increase skill and morale of labour and thereby increase the rate of capital accumulation.

Place of Profit Motive

On the productive side, therefore, capital, labour and management should retain the profit motive. Profit is the excess of output over input after replacing what was consumed during production. But who should get the profit (or loss!), or rather in what specific proportion each grade of labour—management and skilled and unskilled work,—should get the profit should be treated as a separate question. We should first produce more than what is consumed during production and then quarrel about profits. The socialists would do well to note, that those who claim the profits should bear the losses as well. Both the carrot and the stick are necessary for human efficiency and justice.

A most valuable clue to the tracing of capitalist inequalities is given by Henry George. All surplus is absorbed by the landlord, the private owner of land. He is the non-producing consumer, who takes a toll on productive labour. Here is the parasite, the concentrator of capital and the creator of inequalities. A distinction has to be made between land and property. Private ownership of land should be abolished without hesitation. But private ownership of property which should include tools and machinery—should be recognised as a fundamental inalienable right in any humane society. Property, in this context, is any good or service, ready for direct or indirect consumption, after applying labour to land. Private ownership of land is the feudal remnant in historical capitalism. The socialists thoughtlessly make a scape-goat of the market system. Socialism merely makes the politician, very rarely an angel, the parasitic landowner. It is no progress!

Problem of Our Age

How to institutionalise the distributive sector of economy after abolition of private ownership of land without permitting the politician to get a stranglehold on the citizens?—is the crucial problem of our age.

Keeping the politician, within leash of society, is, therefore, the second and the correlative problem of our age demanding institutionalisation at the political level. This demands an uncompromising loyalty to the principle of separation of powers. No enduring

political structure can be built on the hatred of classes. It is like writing in water.

Spinoza, the great anti-totalitarian, vigorously upholds the libertarian stand: "The last end of the state is not to dominate men, nor to restrain them by fear; rather it is to free each man from fear that he may live and act with full security and without injury to himself or his neighbour. The end of the state, I repeat, is not to make rational beings into brute beasts and machines. It is to enable their bodies and their minds to function safely. It is to lead men to live by, and to exercise, a free reason; that they may not waste their strength in hatred, anger and guile, nor act unfairly toward one another. Thus the end of the state is really liberty." That means welfare legislation has to be re-scrutinised from this standpoint.

Realities of Cold War

The supporting ethical structure on the chess boards of power politics is a courageous acceptance of the brutal realities of the cold war — a clear discrimination between the Daivi and Asuri forces in the terminology of Sri Aurobindo. The Daivi is the rational associated with the ethical. The Asuri is the rational in the service of the anti-ethical. The emergency ethics of the Gita is the greatest contribution to world culture at the power game level. The ethical role of arms is brought out luminously by Sri Aurobindo in his Essays on the Gita:

"...It is impossible, at least as men and things are, to advance, to grow to fulfil and still to observe really and utterly that principle of harmlessness which is yet placed before us as the highest and best law of conduct. We will use only soul-force and never destroy by war or any even defensive employment of physical violence? Good, though until soul-force is effective, the Asuric force in men and nations tramples down, breaks, slaughters, burns, pollutes, as we see it doing today, but then at its ease and unhindered, and you have perhaps caused as much destruction of life by your abstinence as others by resort to violence; still you have set up an ideal which may some day and at any rate ought to lead up to better things. But even soul-force, when it is effective, destroys. Only those who have used it with eyes open, know how much more terrible and destructive it is than the sword and the cannon; and only those who do not limit their view to the act and its immediate results, can see how tremendous are its after-effects, how much is eventually destroyed and with that much all the life that depended on it and fed upon it. Evil cannot perish without the destruction of much that lives by the evil, and it is no less destruction even if we personally are saved the pain of sensational act of violence." (Page 53, Essays on the Gita, First Series).

We are between the devil and the deep sea. This is no time for spineless Buddhism. We are yet to achieve integral independence, the consolidation of Indian independence won after heroic sacrifices.

STRATEGY & VULPINE EFFLUXION

By K. D. Valicha

THE world situation in its political aspect today presents a peculiarly paradoxical predicament. To say the least, things have come truly to a critical pass. Where does India stand on the threshold of her tenth Independence Day anniversary?

American opinion is quite clear on one point. That India is in the process of communisation. American thought shows an awareness of the prime cause of this metastasis which is Nehru. Yet the recent utterances in the U.S. indicate that communism of the historic variety is expected to pounce upon India only in the post-Nehru epoch. This seemingly egregious exigency has its roots in the amorphous world-situation.

Nehru In A Quandary

American thinking is not far-fetched. It is based on the strategic factors governing the political set-up. Kerala in India is communist. Kerala is going to remain communist; the Kerala communists are going to be clever by not violating any of our constitutional laws. They will abide by the Indian democratic constitution till the time is ripe, till they can declare independence. That time is the post-Nehru era.

Kerala can succeed too. In the first place, K. I. Singh has assumed Prime Ministership of Nepal. Singh is a hard-boiled communist and his success is probably going to count as one of the most decisive factors in tilting the balance of power one way. Nepal and China have begun their process of seeming co-existence. Kerala communists can avail themselves of this excellent opportunity. Probably the best thing in strategic control is the Prime Ministership of Singh, as far as the Kerala communists are concerned.

Nehru as the Prime Minister of India is equally good from the communist point of view. He is methodically undermining all resistance against communism in Asia. At home, he has made communism acceptable and, by so mobilising the economic forces, he has sought to create just the conditions which are historically responsible for a surer communist infiltration.

But why is Nehru doing all this? Nehru's problem is fairly simple. He is headed for what he somnambulantly imagines to be a sort of independent communism. He refuses to be just another satellite of Soviet Russia. But Russia does not care for ideas such as these. "If you are not with us, you are against us." Russia is not willing to help if Nehru pursues this independent Gandhian communism. Nehru is almost in a quandary. He cannot afford, in the circumstances, to break entirely away with America and the U.K. He seeks a middle way. To communise India on India's own resources is more than difficult, for political factors have to be taken into consideration.

But the funny thing is that there is no such thing as an independent communism. Communism is, in the first place, totalitarian. Totalitarianism is the essence of communism. No totalitarianism, no communism. For state ownership of the means of production means

vesting of all powers in the Government. Now there cannot be different types of totalitarianism just as there cannot be different kinds of basic economic laws. There is a rigid pattern that all totalitarianism follows and history is an evidence of that. It is no use pointing to Yugoslavia for Yugoslav communism is different from Soviet communism only in degree, not in kind. Besides, economic controls necessarily lead to controls in other spheres. There is no debating this. The political institution is basically meant to act as a safeguard to a particular economy. The totalitarian economy necessitates a communist state. The two are co-existent, necessary co-existent.

Another thing that Nehru ignores is that capitalism is the basic structure of all economies. British socialism is today festooning upon American capitalism. Similarly, the Russian economy is dependent upon state capitalism.

An Illusion

Finally, Nehru believes that democracy can be retained even without capitalism. This is entirely wrong. For capitalism is the only guarantee of democracy and free enterprise. The most important and the most decisive liberty is that of economic choice and voluntary exchange. "It is, therefore, no paradox but plain truth that freedom of purchase is more democratic than democracy itself. This for two main reasons. Firstly, the electorate always is and must be restricted by selective rules, whilst even small children can throw in their preference by buying. Secondly, general elections can only take part at intervals, whilst the economic choices of the people are daily expressed through the purchases made." (Wilhelm Keilhau, *Principles of Private & Public Planning*).

Economic choice—the freedom of enterprise, the freedom of investment and the freedom of ownership—confers on man the highest liberty. It is impossible to imagine an America enjoying all liberties and yet having alongside a totalitarian economy, just as it is impossible to picture a Russia with a totalitarian government which guarantees the freedom of enterprise, investment and ownership.

Nehru's idea of an independent communism is self-stultifying. It is ultimately quackery, an ideological, chimerical Utopia.

Nehru may consider himself the creative element in India's march towards progress and prosperity. But, with all his abundant *nulli secundus*, he has his human limitations. To try and exceed these indicates megalomania. Even the world's greatest statesmen can be duped; the instance of Eduard Benes is a glaring case of the effectiveness of the Judas kiss of communism and spells clearly the scope of the moonshiny, nursery romance of the communist Delilah.

The historical dictum of all tyrants comes easily to the mind. "After me, the deluge." Nehru is the creative embodiment; he is the initiator; he is the Bharata Bhagya Vidhata—and after Nehru, the deluge. Nehru seems not to care: he is in the present and the present is nice and to hell with the future.

Indian News Parade

PAKISTAN'S LATEST CHARGE AGAINST INDIA

United Nations (New York): Pakistan told the UN Security Council today that India was moving many non-Muslims into Kashmir to complicate the holding of a plebiscite over whether the State should be Indian or Pakistani territory.

Mr. Gulum Ahmed, Pakistan's permanent UN representative, made the charge in a letter to the Council President, Mr. Francisco Urrasia of Colombo, to be brought to the notice of the 11 countries on the Council.

He charged that India has violated the Council's resolution of January 17, 1947, calling on India and Pakistan to refrain from acts that might aggravate the situation in Kashmir.

—Times of India

NEW DELHI REACTION TO THE LATEST PAK CHARGE

New Delhi: While no official confirmation was available on Pakistan's latest complaint to the UN Council on the Kashmir issue, parliamentary circles described it as "propaganda". Pakistan in her complaint has stated that India is settling non-Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir State to reduce the Muslim majority and also to complicate the plebiscite issue.

They quote an agreement signed between the Government of India and the Kashmir Government under which non-Kashmiris are debarred from purchasing property or settling in the State.

—Times of India

COMMUNIST MEMBERS LEAVE NATIONAL CONFERENCE EXECUTIVE

Srinagar: Mr. Gulam Mahomed Sadiq, Vice-President of the National Conference and former Education Minister and five other today resigned from the 15-men Executive of the National Conference. Signatories to the joint letter of resignation besides Mr. Sadiq were Syad Mir Kasim, Girdharilal Dogra, D. P. Dhar, Motiram Baigra and Rampariyal Lal Saraf.

The letter giving the reasons for the resignation would be released tomorrow.

—Times of India

CONGRESS MLA ARRESTED AS A PAKISTANI SPY

Berhampore: Congress MLA Haji Abdul Hamid, has been arrested for Pakistani propaganda and released on bail.

His house, about 8 miles from here at Bhavda, was raided by the Police when bombs, explosives, two Pakistani flags and receipt books of the Muslim League (Dacca) Bhavda branch were seized.

—Nava Shakti

PERSONALITY CULT OF NEHRU

London: The Delhi correspondent of the London Times commented on the Government of India's Film Division's "Our Prime Minister" documentary captioned "Indian version of the Personality Cult."

"The despatch began by mentioning that the personality cult, no longer approved in Russia and the satellites, has just received official endorsement with the issue of a film entirely devoted to the intimate glimpses of Nehru's daily life and routine.

Under the sub-caption, "Ceaseless Publicity" the despatch said: "It would seem wellnigh impossible to outdo the sycophancy the excerpts quoted above but Ezra Mir's 50-minute documentary rises successfully even to this challenge. It is put together with sufficient technical proficiency to deprive it of any claims to artless charm."

"The fastidious apologists of Nehru frequently claimed that he had no personal hand in ceaseless publicity of which he is the object but throughout the film he obliges the cameraman without apparent repugnance."

SHEIKH ABDULLA TO BE RELEASED

According to the "Hindustan Times" and the "Free Press Journal" Sheikh Abdulla, who is under

detention, would be released before the end of this year.

"The Government of India and Kashmir Premier Bakshi Gulam Mahomed appear to be holding the view that the continued detention of the former Prime Minister of Kashmir was perhaps the most vulnerable aspect of our Kashmir policy, which was being made use of, by both Pakistan and her allies, to paint the Bakshi regime as unrepresentative".

MUSLIM "LOYALTY" TO INDIA

Lucknow: About 149 Government servants in U.P. escaped to Pakistan with Government funds between August 15, 1947 and July 15, 1956.

This was disclosed by the Chief Minister Mr. Sampurnanand in a written reply in answer to Shri Pratap Chandra Azad during question time in the State Council.

—U.P.I.

MERELY "A STUNT"

Bombay: The president of the Indian Muslim Youth Kashmir Front Abdul Quayum Ansari, expressed his hope in Bombay that the Fronts efforts to enroll 1,00,000 Muslim "volunteers" in India for the "liberation" of Pak-held Kashmir would be fulfilled.

Mr. Ansari hastened to "explain" that the Front had no plans other than to organise opinion amongst the Indian Muslims only in favour of India and against Pakistan.

—Times of India

WORLD NEWS

SAMPLE OF ISLAMIC "JUSTICE"

Beirut: A Muslim couple making pilgrimage was found guilty of misconduct by a Shariat Court held by the wayside, a Jewish report says.

The judgement was given in accordance with Islamic law, and the couple was ordered to be stoned to death. After the judge had thrown the first stone, a Saudi Arabian Army squad completed the execution of the sentence, and the couple died under a torrent of stones.

—NAFEN

SOVIET AID FOR SYRIA

Damascus: The Damascus Independent daily newspaper, "Al

Alam", reported in a despatch from Moscow that the negotiations of the Syrian Government delegation with Soviet leaders was "successful".

The paper quoted its Special Correspondent in Moscow as saying that the Soviet Union has agreed to supply Syria with a radio station, chemical laboratories and railway equipment.

—Times of India

YEMEN RECEIVES SOVIET ARMS

London: The Soviet bloc is sending arms, including tanks, to the Arab kingdom of Yemen, whose tribesmen are skirmishing along the border with British protectorate of Aden, a usually reliable source said here today.

According to the sources, a dozen Russian-made T-34 tanks, together with rifles and ammunition, had been unloaded during the two months at the Yemeni port of Salif.

—Reuter

R. L. FOUNDATION RESEARCH DEPT. HOLDS A SEMINAR

On August 6, 1957 the libertarian research students got together. Mr. C. G. Shah, a prominent Marxist thinker, was one of the visitors. Mr. Shah suggested a study circle be formed so that it will be possible to discuss certain current problems on a high level. Mr. Shah urged that various University students who had a sense of the times might be tempted to join the circle, and certain prominent personalities could also be invited. Mr. Shah also stressed the critical nature of the current political situation. With regard to the recent Prime Ministership of K. I. Singh in Nepal, he said that much depended on K. I. Singh himself. Either K. I. Singh was a petit bourgeois nationalist or he was a communist. In the latter case, he might make his position clear.

The libertarians welcomed the idea of a study circle and offered their co-operation wholeheartedly. Mr. B. S. Sanyal pursued the point raised by Mr. Shah with regard to K. I. Singh. Mr. Sanyal said that it was more likely that

Singh was a communist, especially because his pro-Indian bias proclaimed the time-honoured camouflage that all communists are given to. He said: "Whatever be the inconsistencies of the communists all over the world, in different situations, at different times—all are perfectly coherent in relation to the final goal."

Mr. J. K. Dhairyawan, who was among the visitors, pointed out that communist infiltration was on the march in view of Prof. Haldane's decision to make India his home. Prof. Haldane was a communist and his condemnation of British Universities was indicative of his excellent propagandist mastery.

Mr. M. V. Balakrishna Rao spoke on the productive values in economics. He said, "On the productive side, capital, labour and management should retain the profit motive. Profit, in this context, is the excess of output over input after replacing what was consumed during production. But who should get the profit, or rather in what specific proportion each grade of labour, management, labour skilled and unskilled,—should get the profit be treated as a separate question. First produce more than what is consumed during production and then quarrel over the profits. The socialists would do well to note that those who claim the profits should bear the losses as well."

Mr. K. D. Valicha talked on Asia and the Western World. He said, "Three men stand out who roused Asia from its slumbers. They are Gandhi, Sun Yat-sen and Lenin. With these names go also Nehru, Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin. Lenin probably found his logical culmination in Stalin. Chiang Kai-shek's is almost a helpless struggle. Much now depends on Nehru. Whether he will succumb to his communist leanings or retain the nationalist traditions of Gandhi, will decide the future history of Asia. Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek are almost failures. Nehru to-day can decide the future course."

Many other points were raised and Mr. C. G. Shah patiently answered a number of them. The meeting lasted for nearly two hours. A vote of thanks was passed for Mr. R. B. Lotvala, who left for Deolali on the same day.

THE COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Several readers have sent in their queries about the certificate course in social studies we announced some time ago. It is not possible to answer them individually. To begin with, we would like to make it clear that the course has nothing to do with social service, labour welfare etc.

It is a course in libertarian social theory and practice. And it is informal in nature. The members of the Libertarian Social Institute may make use of the services and findings of the Research Department. Outsiders may do the same by becoming members of the Institute. They may then send in queries about the various problems of the day. Pending the publication of our monographs, we shall try to acquaint our readers and members of the Institute by giving short notes on libertarianism in ethics and philosophy, politics and economics. The notes will appear in the Research Supplement columns of this journal and in the Libertarian Feature Service. Copies of these will be sent to members who are not in a position to visit the Institute in person. These will also be sent to other readers on request.

Many people both inside and outside the ranks of various political parties have now been disillusioned about communism, democratic socialism, Gandhism, Nehru's socialist pattern, the various kinds of 'dan' movements, etc. They do not know what is the safest and surest way to a free and prosperous life for all Indians. Libertarianism as formulated by us is intended to be a pointer in the right direction.

For libertarianism in economics, we recommend the study of the following authors: i) Henry George, for abolition of Feudalism or monopoly in land, and land-value taxation. (ii) Ludwig von Mises, for a defence of the unhampered market as necessary and sufficient for social welfare. (iii) Jeffrey Mark, Henry Meulen, Silvio Gesell, J. D. Unwin, Hugo Bilgram, and others, for abolition of money monopoly, monetary reform, free banking, etc., for efficient ways and means of abolishing monopoly capitalism.

The works of these authors can be had at our library.

Libertarianism in politics may be studied through the systems of Locke, Bentham and Mill among the classicists and the works of Karl Popper and M. N. Roy among the moderns.

In Ethics, libertarianism may be identified with the utilitarianism of Bentham, Mill and Sidwick and with the ideal utilitarian rationalist systems of Moore and Kant.

For a quick yet correct grasp of libertarian philosophy one can do no better than study three naturalistic systems (atomistic materialism of Epicurus, mechanistic materialism of Herbert Spencer, and logical materialism of Bertrand Russell) and three humanistic systems (egoistic humanism of Nietzsche, pragmatic humanism of William James, and radical humanism of Auguste Comte).

The above course of studies will prove to be a fairly good introduction to the libertarian world-view and way of life.

R. L. FOUNDATION LIBRARY AND FREE READING ROOM

With the object of awakening the interest of the people in public matters and with the object of driving away the general economic illiteracy amongst the intelligent people, the R. L. Foundation was founded by Mr. R. B. Lotwalla. It has been in existence for the last few years, and is attracting more and more interest amongst the people, specially the intelligentsia. The R. L. Foundation and Free Reading Room at the Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, 4 has become the rendezvous of the young and old persons, interested in getting knowledge, and also to widen their general range of thinking through the different newspapers and periodicals that are available in the Library and the Free Reading Room. Daily from 300 to 400 readers take advantage of the Free Reading Room, where they get an intelligent and select collection of newspapers, periodicals and magazines, both Indian and foreign, numbering over 150.

The Library is open from 8 to 11 in the mornings and from 3 to 7 in the evenings. In addition to the

reading facilities for the newspapers and the magazines that are kept there, additional provision is made for separate reading rooms, well ventilated and airy, for school and college students for quiet studies and doing their home work. These facilities are highly appreciated by the student community, specially in view of the chronic housing shortage in the City and the lack of space at home for reading and study. These rooms are always well patronaged, and knots of students are seen daily pouring over their books and doing their home work. It is really a boon in a City like Bombay to the student world.

Membership of the Libertarian Social Institute entitles a person to the select well-kept books on Economic, Social, Political and Historical subjects. Every month nearly 100 new books are added to the Library to make it up-to-date and well stocked with the latest publications. The membership of the Libertarian Social Institute and the R. L. Foundation Library are MUST for every intelligent citizen of Bombay, and specially for College students. A postcard addressed to the Secretary of the Libertarian Social Institute or a personal visit to the Arya Bhuvan during office hours (8 to 11 and from 3 to 7) will bring the particulars of the Institute and the Library, to those desiring to become members.

Letters

To The Editor

THE FUTURE

Dear Madam: The Government while imposing new and higher taxes asks us to make sacrifices for the future generation. Due to long foreign rule the present generation is demoralized and physically weak, and it is impossible for us to make sacrifices any more. By taxation and owing to the poor housing, the process of demoralizing and dehumanising still continues, and this is most dangerous for the future progeny.

Further it should be noted that we are already burdening our future generation with the huge

national debt, incurred to secure capital goods, which would be obsolete within a decade or two, because automatism and atomic energy will usurp the place of the present type of machines.

So why not allow the future to fend for itself, and we to take care simply that the future generation should be stronger physically, mentally and morally? This calls for totally different type of planning in which there is no place for heavy taxation. If we ignore this fact today, it will be at the cost of real democracy.

College Wadi
Rajkot

Nautamlal C. Tejpal

"AUSTERITY" MOVES OF CONGRESS

Dear Madam: Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari who called himself as the poorest person in India is said to have occupied during his recent visit to Bombay an air conditioned suite No 440/441 at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the cost of which is said to be Rs. 115/- per day. Is this the austerity living which is being preached by T.T.K. to the Nation? Before asking the people to tighten their belts, will Mr. T.T.K. tighten his own first? T.T.K.'s visit to Bombay being an official one, the public has a right to ask and know whether the bill for suits No 440-441 was paid from T.T.K.'s pocket or out of Tax-Payers' money. Instead of indulging in cheap stunts like cuts in salaries, will our Ministers kindly stop wasting public funds?

Instead of wasting peoples' time and money in globe flying for peddling peace, will Mr. Krishna Menon kindly devote his attention entirely to his defence ministry?

Was there any necessity for neutral and peace loving India to send a 6-man high-level delegation to Moscow just to witness an Air Display there and is this not waste of Tax Payers' money? Is this what Congress means by Austerity?

Can we call Bombay Government's purchase of 17 brand new luxury cars at Rs. 22,000/- each as Austerity?

A report appeared in press recently about Pt. Nehru's decision to give up his present residence and move into a smaller house. But, as none could be found, a new

money-saving house was proposed to be built at the cost of several Lakhs !!! Instead of saving money, Pt. Nehru's money-saving scheme and his uneconomic economy drive will involve an additional capital expenditure and cost the Nation several Lakhs !!!

Spending more in the name of economy and wasting public funds appear to be the Congress interpretation of Austerity. We find a yawning gulf between the slogans shouted by our rulers and their deeds.

Bangalore S. S. Bankeshwar

HEADING TOWARDS TOTALITARIANISM

Dear Madam: The transition of democracy to absolute red dictatorship goes more or less on the same line, which all freedom lovers must beware.

It always begins with a plan to nationalise everything. While implementing, it will be discovered there are 'enemies of the people' who simply wouldn't allow the promised heaven to come down. Then it becomes the main concern of the Ministry of Interior (Security) and Ministry of Education (Propaganda) to meet this challenge. The former decide the enemies, imprisons or bumps them off, while the latter "educates" the rest.

When the two together plan the "elections" as well as its 'results', you know the process is completed and country made safe for "democracy" and "counter-revolutions."

We are in the "enemies-of-the-people" stage. It is the Private Sector now. The turn of opposition parties would come later. What next? Let us think of it, and think fast and act before it's too late.
Hubli G. Shanti Bai

LIBERTARIAN "INTOLERANCE"

Dear Madam: As a would-be friendly reader of any periodical making for more freedom and happiness for mankind, especially is puzzled to know what precisely "The Indian Libertarian" stands for. It is so much engaged in denouncing other persons, papers and ideas and the attacks cover such a wide area that I am left in doubt what positive values, if any are covered by the "free" economy and

"Liberal democracy" for which you stand.

A specific instance of this negative and rather spiteful attitude which leads me to write is the article by "Vigilant" entitled "Neither Radical nor Humanist" in your issue of the 15th March, 1957. This is an attack on "The Radical Humanist" for an article on the Kashmir question which appeared in that paper in February. When I originally read this article I was impressed by its broad-minded treatment of the moral and democratic issues which are involved in this problem, in particular the right of the people of Kashmir, to determine their own political destiny. It was refreshingly free from the religious prejudice which reaches almost pathological extent in the article by "Vigilant". This makes it the more extraordinary that an anonymous writer in a paper describing itself as "libertarian" should be so insensitive to the rational and ethical plea of "The Radical Humanist": "Kashmir faces India with a great moral test.... Do we reckon freedom to be more important than power? Do we value justice more than... patriotism? If freedom and justice be our highest values, then we must have no hesitation in agreeing to a fair plebiscite under United Nations auspices."

Surely both India and Pakistan have suffered enough in loss of life and destruction through religious strife to heed such calm advice. Writers like "Vigilant" betray the cause they profess. It is "The Radical Humanist" which here shows itself to be the true guardian of Liberty.

J. Henry Lloyd

THE SHOE IS ON PAKISTAN'S FEET

We published above the whole letter of Mr. J. Henry Lloyd, one of our British readers, who seems to have missed the whole point in the article by "Vigilant" criticising the article in the "Radical Humanist". If Mr. Lloyd suffers from the basic ignorance on Kashmir issue, he can be excused, for the fault lies more with our Government publicity on Kashmir and the Pak. propaganda and smear-campaign against India.

India has NEVER ANNEXED nor has forcibly occupied Kashmir.

READERS, PLEASE NOTE

The Editor of the "Indian Libertarian" invites letters from readers on topical subjects and matters of public interest. All letters meant for publication should be brief and to the point, preferably type-written and on one side of the paper.

Letters that are adjudged as good and interesting will be awarded prizes. The writers of such letters will be sent the "Indian Libertarian" free for One Year.

Here is an opportunity for the intelligent readers to try their hand at journalism and also win a prize.

Letters should be addressed to the Editor, the "Indian Libertarian" Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

India sent her Defence Forces into Kashmir on the appeals of the Maharaja and the people as represented by Sheikh Abdulla, to DEFEND the State against Pakistani inspired and engineered "tribal" invasion. That Pakistan was the aggressor in Kashmir, and still forcibly occupies more than one-third of the State, is A FACT admitted by the UN observers. India has never defied UN and is still prepared to hold a plebiscite but the conditions precedent to it ARE NOT CARRIED OUT by Pakistan.

In the circumstances for the "Radical Humanist" to equate Pakistan with India and pose as the champion of "justice and fairplay" was ridiculous in the extreme. India does not face "a great moral test." The shoe is on Pakistan's feet. What was worse was that the Calcutta journal went so far as to back an Indian national who by all accounts has been guilty of treasonable acts.

As for Mr. Lloyd's "puzzle" and his inability to see what the "Indian Libertarian" stands for, our sympathies go to him. Any issue of the "Indian Libertarian" carries a lot of matter advocating Free Economy and Liberal Democracy. As for finding fault with "Vigilant" and stating that he is an anonymous writer Mr. Lloyd should know that pen names are a recognised and well established practice in journalism all over the world. —Editor

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This is a book that analyses the basis and foundation of Usury. Today in Capitalist countries the control of credit is monopolised by banking system. This is a perversion, for the community is made to pay large sums of money by way of interest to banks for hire of money which in the last analysis, is its own credit. On the other hand Socialists understand this perversion but Socialism is corrupted by political and personal ambitions and its leaders.

This book suggests a way out

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