

Price 25 Naye Paise

Indian Libertarian



Continuing the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Nation'
INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

The views expressed in the columns of the 'Indian Libertarian,' do
not necessarily reflect the policy of the Journal

Vol. IX No. 10

August 15, 1961

	IN THIS ISSUE		
	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL 1	Socialism	.. 9
Educating The Educators by M. A. Venkata Rao	.. 4	DELHI LETTER 11
Towards Freedom Or Slavery? by M. N. Tholal	.. 6	Book Review --	.. 12
Khasa Subba Rau—An Appreciation By A. Ranganathan	.. 8	Gleanings from the Press	.. 13
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT	.. I-IV	News & Views	.. 14
		Letter to the Editor	.. 15

EDITORIAL

PAKISTAN'S SABRE-RATTLING

After the return of President Ayub Khan from his triumphant American tour, we find increased evidence of Pakistan's determination to harass India on the Kashmir question.

Minor explosions of bombs are occurring on and near the Kashmir border. Pakistani soldiers in uniform and in civil dress have begun to fire systematically on Indian police outposts and patrols. The international observers' Teams have been informed but they have not yet located any such firing unit from Pakistan's side yet.

In Pakistan, among the general public, the old type of jihad campaign in the press and platform and mosque has been renewed. All this cannot happen without the knowledge, if not the instigation of Pak. authorities as they act under a dictatorship.

Field Marshall Ayub Khan is itching to use his new American weapons and bombing planes. When an Indian plane was shot down last year on the border areas of Pakistan, (within its boundary no doubt) Pakistan's officials said that the object in staging incident namely the test whether their fighter planes could shoot down enemy planes at that height was fulfilled! So it was deliberately done! Later it transpired that information about the timings and route of the Indian reconnaissance plane was supplied to Pakistan by some officers in the Indian Defence

office! Two of them were quietly (without naming them in public) dismissed. The proper punishment for such acts of treachery should have been death or long imprisonment with hard labour. But India with her Buddhist forgiving philosophy is tender to traitors not recognising that thereby she is cruel to innocent nationals and the country!

Now it is learnt that Ayub Khan has secured a few supersonic jet bombers capable of flying 1,500 miles per hour! There are no planes to match them in all Asia!

Ayub Khan might have been unseemly and vulgar in his open jealousy of India and expression of desire to diminish American Aid to India in his American Tour. But all the same his frank expression of firm loyalty to America has secured him significant advantages to the detriment of India.

He has said openly that so long as Kashmir is not secured by Pakistan (which is the conclusion meant by the solution of the Kashmir problem), Pakistan cannot live peaceably with India! This is his reply to Sri Nehru's exhortation to him to forget Kashmir and devote himself to the economic development of Pakistan.

Sri Nehru has advanced a step further to his public recognition of the true nature of Pakistan and her leaders, whether civil or military. He said in Srinagar that Pakistan was born in hatred and the

Muslim League of pre-independence set the pace for her people and that her people and leaders have never overcome that initial antipathy. They are crying hoarse neurotically for Kashmir ever since. Ayub Khan began a policy of peace and friendliness and even flattery of Nehru but he has now reverted to type and has begun to whip up the passions of his people like the League leaders of old.

Indian statesmanship demands that these characteristics of Pakistan should be evaluated at their true worth. Nehru confessed that he had hoped that they would subside and that more normal and friendly feelings would emerge but that he was disagreeably disappointed at the permanent nature of the Pakistani mentality of jealousy and hatred of India displayed by Pakistan. He referred to the deep enmity of Pakistani people and leaders towards India. But he did not go a step further and enquire into the possible explanation of such a mentality. If he did so, he would recognise the wisdom and insight of those of his opponents whom he despises as reactionaries and obscurantists.

WHY DO THE PAKISTANIS HATE INDIA?

Such hatred is not an inherited biological feature of the Pakistani people like a biological instinct. It is a matter of social inheritance coming down the river of history in crystallised form summing up the rival ambitions and aspirations of the Muslim people ever since they lost their hegemony in India to the Mahrattas and Sikhs and British.

It is natural for them to desire strongly to revive the glories of their past of rulership over the Hindus in India just as it is natural to Hindus to seek to

regain their dominance in the new era of contemporary independence.

If the Islamic people are to revive their tradition of rule, they must put the Hindus down and reduce them to a subject status.

Hence the jealousy of India—India which appears strong, prosperous and progressive and the favourite of the advanced nations of the world.

So Ayub Khan wants Americans reduce their Aid to India. He instigates the small neighbours with fear and suspicion of the intentions of India. He joins Portugal against India!

American statesmen, (particularly Prof. Galbraith) have been assuring India that America does not encourage Pakistan to use American arms to attack India. But India wants America to station military officials to watch and prevent Pakistan from preparing to attack India with or without American arms. It is not merely a question of using American arms but of breaking the peace of Asia and making war on India directly or indirectly through soldiers in civil dress under the name of volunteers and razakars.

The only answer to all this warlike intimidation is full preparation so that a devastating answer could be made to Pakistani aggressive tactics, an answer too costly for Pakistan. Is India prepared? The Indian people want an urgent and serious answer from Nehru and V. K. Krishna Menon free from verbal heroics and hypocritical rhetoric to this fateful question.

KUWAIT AND BIZERTA

As if the explosive points of Cuba and Laos were not enough, we have two new irritants added to the trouble spots of the international scene—Kuwait and Bizerta.

(a) Kuwait.

General Kassem of Iraq suddenly announced that Kuwait belonged by historical rights to Iraq and demanded that the Nawab of Kuwait should accept the suzerainty of Iraq.

The argument is that Kuwait and Iraq had originally belonged to the same province of Mesopotamia under the empire of the Sultans of Constantinople before the war of 1914-18.

General Kassem chose the moment when the principality signed an agreement with Britain which gave her formal independence under a treaty of alliance which bound Britain to go to her assistance in case of invasion by a third state.

Two years ago, Britain which had a similar treaty with Oman nearby went to the assistance of Oman when she was menaced by Saudi Arabia who invaded her territory.

The great attraction is of course OIL. Kuwait has large oil reserves now being worked by a consortium of Foreign Powers of whom Britain is the chief. If Kuwait passes under the rule of Iraq, Iraq will get the oil subsidies and become financially stronger. The Nawab could be dismissed with a pension.

The Indian Libertarian
Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by: D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.
 Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise
 Subscription Rates:
 Annual Rs. 6; 3\$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.)

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25
 One-eighth Page Rs. 15; One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER.....	Rs. 150
SECOND COVER.....	Rs. 125
THIRD COVER.....	Rs. 125

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

- Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
- Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

Write to the Manager for sample copy
 and gifts to new subscribers.

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

The Arab League of whom Nasser's U. A. R. is the leader is trying to pose in and obtain the right of interference in place of Britain. But this has not been palatable to Kuwait for he will lose his powers in either case, whether he accedes to the Arab Powers under Nasser or under Iraq. He has therefore applied for membership of the United Nations which is likely to be granted. Kassem had moved his troops to the border but the British were equally prompt and moved in their aircraft carrier and 5000 ground troops and a number of flying squads which gave a halt to Kassem who now asserts his non-military intentions! So also Nasser speaks of peaceful intentions but demands the withdrawal of British troops. The Labour Party in England has supported the action of MacMillan. Force has still a part to play in the defence of national interests! But diplomacy should go hand in hand and enlist world opinion and UN support in its favour. Britain has been successful in this regard in Kuwait in strong contrast to her blunder in her Suez Canal attack in 1956 under Eden.

(b) Bizerta.

Bourguiba was so far the most level-headed pro-Western Arab ruler. But suddenly, he declared a blockade of Bizerta port under French occupation by treaty. The French acted quickly and advanced from the base area and shot their way into Bizerta city killing a thousand Arabs and occupied two-thirds of the city. The UN ordered France to stop and De Gaulle stopped but Tunisia lay bleeding and helpless! Why did Bourguiba act hastily? To impress the Arab world? For the moment, there is an uneasy peace in Tunisia.

BERLIN.

America has taken measures to strengthen the ground forces of NATO in answer to Krushchov's threat to enter into Treaty with East Germany unilaterally by the end of the year. Krushchov has replied by stopping the process of demobilisation of the Russian armies and enhancing his military budget by a third. So tension mounts in Europe and the NATO region.

The world is no nearer Peace after President Kennedy's accession and the introduction of his new frontiers policies.

THE ORISSA ELECTIONS.

The mid-term elections in Orissa after the dissolution of the coalition Ministry there has restored the self-confidence of the Congress Party after the defeats in Delhi of the Jana Sangh.

The decisive victory at the polls giving the Congress a safe majority ensuring a stable ministry for the next parliamentary period has occasioned a spate of speculation. The surprise is caused by the fact that widespread dissatisfaction with the record of the party on account of high prices, corruption and nepotism and dictatorial monopolisation of power and patronage and the impact of socialisation policies particularly in regard to land—all these that are the stock-in-trade not only of conversation of people everywhere but also the staple of criticism in the mouths of opposition party critics—all seem to

run off the backs of the voter and seem to affect him but little!

Orissa is a backward tract with a large proportion of illiterate tribal population who can be influenced by the upper class. Money is largely decisive not so much to bribe them as to reach them in their hill areas and remote villages.

And big money was forthcoming with Sri Patnaik the prominent industrialist of the State as Chief Minister. It is said that he purchased 140 jeeps to cover the electoral districts in the whole State costing Rs. 20 lakhs.

The question has been raised as to how he could get permits to purchase such a large number of new jeeps simultaneously, whereas the position is that purchasers have to wait for motor vehicles for months on end after registration of their demand! The maximum amount of expenditure allowed by the Election Commission for an Assembly seat is Rs. 7,000/-. But each of these new jeeps costs in the neighbourhood of twenty thousand rupees! Mr. Patnaik is condemned out of his own mouth as having exceeded the legal limits of election expenditure.

Other forms of corruption namely the purchase of votes for cash have also been made by prominent leaders who have called for a judicial enquiry into the alleged malpractices during the election. Of course no such enquiry will be held as the chief culprit is the chief minister himself and he is the favourite of the Prime Minister for having won Orissa for Congress and Nehru rule.

The victory of Congress does not mean that Congress has the support of the majority of the people, for only 35 per cent of the electors have voted and Congress has secured only 45 per cent of this 30 per cent! Anyway Congress is secure in the seat of power as the result of new blood, plenty of finance and vigorous organisation!

The avoidance of a split in opposition votes is essential if Congress is to be defeated in a sufficient number of places in the next elections. Also, the ordinary voter should be galvanised so that the volume of criticism and dissatisfaction could be fairly mirrored in the polling and democracy be saved. The voters should be organised by non-party leaders to vote intelligently after learning the programmes of rival parties.

FOR
FARM
FAMILY
FREEDOM

Support
The Swatantra Party

Educating The Educators

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE challenge of international communism led by Soviet Russia to the present world led by Western ideals and values embodied in liberal democracy (based on capitalism) is becoming everyday more and more massive. It is not merely a challenge of military might but the far more dangerous and all-prevailing threat of competing ideas.

Communist ideas receive immense prestige and suggestive force on account of the spectacle of their incarnation in the State and empire of Soviet Russia sprawling across the vast Eurasian land—mass from the middle of Europe to Japan and Alaska. They have acquired further emotional power as purporting to fulfil the deepest hopes of man, left cruelly unrealised by the last Revolutions in Europe and America—viz: that of the French and American Revolutions of the late eighteenth century. The promise of liberty, equality and fraternity inspiring them has been belied in Europe and but partially fulfilled in North America in the United States. Political democracy has called for economic democracy for the complete fulfilment of the rights of man. Plutocracy has conceded liberty only to the wealthy capitalist and his agents and servants e.g. the professional classes. Equality has been a mockery and fraternity a word without meaning. Fraternity has been violated shamelessly in the fratricidal strife of rival imperialisms during the wars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Western civilisation is now trembling on the verge of universal disaster with the dawn of nuclear weapons.

Communism comes with a full philosophy of life and society and a new pattern of values of Universal Man with his human powers burgeoning as never before under a social system where want has been abolished and the exploitation of man by man is banished to the limbo of history. Man at last is supposed to attain real freedom from nature's bonds in an economy of plenty achieved by the right use of science in a collective endeavour—free from hunger and free from the far more bitter curse of the fear of fellow man.

The old world has been increasingly unable to meet this challenge both in the realm of ideas and in that of military might supported by the fraternal union of free peoples sharing the horizons of nationalism and individualism. The enemy (if communism is the enemy) has entered the blood stream of the inner life of the free world. Mere military force cannot resist it. Resistance should be forged on the ideological level as well. Thinking men everywhere should be convinced that international communism is a false and destructive gospel and that there are better ideas and ideals for the healing of nations and the realisation of human hopes. The liberators of humanity fall there-

fore into two broad classes—1. creators of new ideas more comprehensive than communism including the element of truth that it contains but freeing it from its fateful errors. 2. Educators or those who have a special capacity (and are fired with a mission) for spreading the new ideas and ideals among thinking people everywhere.

On Independence Day, it is worthwhile to reflect on the deep problems of the world which lie at the basis of our own national problems though they receive a special turn and shape here on account of local colour springing from our present stage in national evolution.

The impact of communism is complicating our efforts for building a new nation on modern ideals welding the congeries of our peoples with so many differences of sect, language, caste, economic class far-flung in a vast subcontinent into one viable society with sufficient "consciousness of kind", psychological cohesion, like-mindedness and sense of identity.

Our best men as elsewhere are baffled by conflicting ideas whose implications they but imperfectly realise. The pull of sectarianism, caste, linguistic passions, sub-nationalism and class feelings.

Communism and the international solidarity of the working class attracts some who thrill to the call of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" They suppress even their national sentiments in favour of this class internationalism and even take sides with the invading Chinese communist State on our northern borders!

A few remain loyal to the ideal of nationalism and wish passionately to make a success of the present democratic dispensation and visualise India as a leading member, of the comity of nations, progressive and wealthy, with all the arts and sciences flourishing and the common man equipped with all the necessities and even comforts of life. They visualise, in a word, a land in which the vision of an "earthly paradise" has been realised through national and social integrity and co-operation, sound leadership and patriotic loyalty.

A few seek to revive the glories of the past great ages of Indian history—the Mauryan, the Gupta, the Chalukyan, the era of Akbar, the era of the Vijayanagar empire in the South, the times when Indians, particularly southern people of the Pandyan Chola and Chera empires crossed the seas and built Greater India in the whole of South East Asia e.g., the Vijaya and Kam-bodian empires (Cochin China) which lasted for a thousand years till the eruption of the Arabs.

If we were great once (many times), we can rise again—this is the slogan of the revivalists.

Others wish to build on nationalism and democracy with freedom as the warp and woof of the new web of life-avoiding the totalitarian commitments of communism and socialism of the Marxist variety. Others like Vinoba Bhave wish to weave a socialism of an Indian brand with *land communism* in the villages and the ideal of progress shaped in terms of *Sarvodaya*. Some pin their faith on central planning and the maximum use of the machine. Some wish to tame the machine to a decentralised economy and polity.

There are many other streams of thought or make-believe thought in the country. The ruling Congress party is committed to Marxist socialism under the lead of Mr. Nehru. With the addition of Sri Krishna Menon to the Central Cabinet, the influence of socialist ideas and leanings towards the Soviet bloc are becoming more and more pronounced, which is causing alarm in the minds of a few knowledgeable far-seeing thinkers. Even Congress legislators at the Centre are not all unanimous about this trend. They share the fears of the nationalists but are unable to assert themselves in party conclaves and parliament sessions effectively. Party interests (with which their own is willy nilly linked) silence their voice!

At such a situation, we need devoted work by a body of men to *educate the educators*, to give a lead to the leaders. Public opinion can only reflect the ideas circulating among the people. It cannot give a lead where great issues require deep reflection. A lead on the basis of a scientific synthesis of the elements of truth subsisting in all streams of tendency and nuclei of thought has to be given by creative thinkers.

The leading ideas and ideals of the world causing the extraordinary agitation in our midst (as everywhere else) have to be analysed and estimated at their true worth. *Their truth value* as well as their incidence on current situations in the country with a clear realisation of the go of particular doctrines or their logical culmination if adopted have to be grasped and placed before the thinking sections of the people. Truth and social good should be the sole motives animating these leading thinkers.

They should have *freedom of mind* and be able to transcend the particular vested interests attached to particular groups.

Karl Marx has introduced the false doctrine of ideas being determined by economic class interests. If this is the whole truth about the human reason, mankind has no hope of advance. Each economic class will believe its own "truth" as the whole and only truth. There will be no common truth verified by objective tests with coercive power on the intelligence of man (or rather demonstrative power on the mind of man). There will be no such thing as objective science. This is literally accepted in communist States where the State dictates views and theories even to men of science which they must accept on pain of punishment. This is Partitism in excelsis carried to an absurd degree. Marx was led to this doctrine as

part of his materialist dialectic of history. But materialism is not committed to this theory of the relativity of all truth to economic motivation of class. Marx had in view more the necessity for a plan of action in war which admits of no argument by the rank and file. Soldiers should not question the wisdom of commanders in the field. They should accept the orders and views of commanders and act upon them fanatically.

But in considering ideas for social progress, we cannot accept this pragmatic view of Marx.

We have to accept the normal idea of reason as capable of objective, universal and necessary truth, the same for all and verifiable by all who take the trouble to go through the necessary analysis and other scientific methods: observation of all relevant data without cooking the evidence, forming hypotheses, framing crucial observational instances or experimental arrangements, deducing the logical consequences of the hypotheses and so on. In the social sciences, experiment is not possible in any significant sense. Here we have to take resort to statistics and systematic observation as for example the methods formulated by J.S. Mill e.g. the methods of agreement, of difference, of joint method of agreement and difference, of residues, of hypothetical deduction. We can refine our data by the questionnaire method. We can use sampling and statistics where possible. We can approximate as nearly as possible to the mathematical procedures in their objectivity and rigour of inference.

It is necessary that social thinkers should pay particular attention to logical method. Social affairs and ideas are too often vitiated by wish-fulfilment, imaginative haste, emotional prejudices, and self-opinionated conceits. The personal factor plays too great a factor in social thinking. Bacon's picturesque classification of the errors to which social thinkers are prone into the idols of the cave, of the theater, of the market place are useful indicators of this tendency. Aristotle's list of *petitio principii ignoratio elenchi* etc. are also in the same field.

Men are prone to commit errors in thinking led by imagination, personal and class interests, emotional disposition and so on. This is the element of truth in Marx's economic determination of truth. But man has the glorious capacity, (godlike as Shakespeare puts it) by taking thought, of transcending these influences and seeing facts and ideas as they truly are and function in the world. Scientists use and function in the world. Scientists use the *personal equation* to correct this tendency of the observer in their investigations. Such personal equations play a greater part in social matters where experiment is impossible but statistics can serve to a certain extent to indicate the quantum and direction of the correction necessary for a more approximate grasp of the truth.

J. S. Mill was a very influential thinker of the mid-nineteenth century in social and political mat-

ters. He wrote works on political economy, on Liberty, Representative, Democracy and subjection of Women. It is interesting to note that he also spent much energy in writing a treatise on logic and Scientific Method with suggestions for the applications of scientific methods to social affairs. His Logic has been very influential in educating educators in Britain and Europe generally.

Dr. K. R. Popper the noted author of *The Open Society and its Enemies* has written a work on *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* in order to clear the ground about Marx's errors in his method of prophecy based on historical and dialectical method.

Of course all thinkers need not be expert logicians in theory. It is enough if each generation throws up a certain minimum number of thinkers aware of the logical implications of thought. Such trained thinkers and others aware of logical reasoning on their own native capacity unschooled in college or other institutions will spread the practice of sound thinking among the public taking part in discussion of current affairs, orally or on the platform or in small clubs or in pamphlets and books and news papers and radio talks.

Society needs today in the free world, particularly in newly enfranchised countries like ours, leading thinkers able to probe current thoughts to their logical basis and to their origin in human experience and history. They will be able to grasp the extent and depth of the implications of large emotion-laden theories like socialism, nationalism and democracy. They will expound the element of truth they contain and the way they have to be adopted in current policies making for reconstruction.

This cannot be done by the busy politician. Nor can the bulk of teachers in schools and colleges do this work satisfactorily. Teachers (as vocal dealers in ideas and in touch with receptive youth) should be

exposed to the true methods of concrete social thinking informed by sound rules of scientific method. They should train themselves, irrespective of the subjects they teach, whether humanities or the sciences, to canvass social ideas and ideals agitating the world today that lie at the bottom of the policies urged by different groups of politicians and leaders.

But who is to furnish the deeper and truer ideas so directly needed to correct the hasty fallacies of the age and the "illusions of the epoch?"

People interested in social reform, political reconstruction and perpetual peace should train themselves for this task of *educating the educators* by furnishing the best ideas to the public-editors, writers, literateurs, artists, politicians, administrators, teachers and so on down to the wide anonymous mass of the general public who discuss public affairs in the streets and market places, buses and railways and so on. This intellectual elite will form itself if the ideals and qualifications demanded of them by the needs of the age are put prominently before the public mind in all the media of communication.

They will be the social scientists and philosophers who will educate the educators. Universities have a tendency to lean towards the accepted views and policies of the paymasters especially Governments.

Independent libraries not demanding allegiance to any crystallised dogmas should be founded to help such independent thinkers.

Mr. Lotvala's Library in Bombay contains mostly books on modern social and political thought. He is a pioneer in this direction in India. The Institute for Advanced Studies in the USA founded by the initiative of Dr. Flexner between the wars would be another. We need institutions without strings attached devoted to stimulating pure thought on the part of able thinkers who are led only by the scientific ideal of truth and scientific method.

Towards Freedom Or Slavery ?

By M. N. Tholal

COMMUNISTS have been shouting "Colonialism, colonialism" so loudly and so successfully and for so long that it is worth while examining the charge dispassionately and to see whether it is not really a case of a thief crying "thief, thief" to divert attention from himself. That the western powers have been colonialists would appear to admit of little doubt, likewise the fact that they are now divesting themselves of colonialism. Even if they are doing so (partly) for fear of Communism spreading in their colonies, the Communists cannot be allowed to take the credit for this historical fact, because they have not been setting an example to that effect. Indeed,

they have been setting the opposite example and some western statesmen might well be wondering whether the western camp would not have been stronger today with countries like India still under the iron heel of one of them. After all, Soviet Russia is stronger, not weaker, for all her neighbouring states, known as her satellites, remaining perforce under her iron heel.

Those who like Nkrumah, and even our own Prime Minister, are inclined to shout "colonialism, colonialism" cannot be unaware of the fact that, whereas in the colonies of the western powers the colonial people can agitate and even rise against their

imperial foes, those living in Russian colonies cannot do so for fear of being annihilated by the Imperial power. That shows how every honest man is bound to prefer the western powers to Soviet Russia in matters colonial. Those who remember the 1942 days before the August Resolution was passed by the Congress, can recall how Congress leaders used to admit openly the impossibility of functioning under Japanese rule which they thought was imminent. "With Japan, of course, we shall have to cooperate," they used to say, "or find ourselves hanging on the gallows." And they did not realise the tribute they were thus paying to their British overlords.

A WAY OUT

One way of getting out of this difficulty of having to recognise the superiority of western colonialism over Russian colonialism is to deny the existence of Russian colonialism altogether. Mr. Nehru has done so once, and may be presumed to be ready to deny again the fact that the dozen or so countries bordering East Russia or absorbed in the Soviet Empire, like the three Baltic States, are Russian colonies. But that is flying in the face of facts which cannot be done again and again without inviting ridicule and suggesting that the person concerned is not particularly devoted to truth or averse to brushing it aside whenever it suits his purpose to do so. One would like to ask Mr. Nehru what his definition of a colony is. But we all know how afraid Mr. Nehru is of Soviet Russia, since his mealy-mouthed and halting condemnation of the manner in which Soviet Russia dealt with Hungary in 1956, the mealy nature of which was forced on our attention by his own ringing denunciation of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt about the same time.

I do not deny that our Prime Minister has good reasons to be afraid of Soviet Russia, without whose veto in the Security Council we might well have been faced with a plebiscite in Kashmir. But the question that directly and very pertinently arises from this fear is: How far is it going to make the Government of India connive at the Russian subsidizing of the Communist Party of India and how far is it going to make India toe the Russian line in foreign affairs? Is not remote control of India already operating from Moscow to some extent? If we cannot prevent the Russians from pouring millions of rupees into the pockets of the Indian Communists month after month, the obvious answer to the question above is that remote Russian control is in operation already.

In any case, so far as Russian colonialism goes, there is no question of the colonial people raising their heads—the Soviet iron heel keeps them crushed to the ground. There is no question of even the knowledge of their abject condition reaching the world outside the iron curtain, or even that within it. But only an ignoramus will therefore conclude that those peoples, or the conditions under which they live, do not exist or that they have been transformed into really free countries who can choose their rulers. Indeed, every now and again we hear of prime ministers being deposed without any vote of

no confidence against them and without any reference to the wishes of their people, and secretaries of communist parties succeeding them at a word from the Kremlin. That shows how free they are.

On the other hand, many countries like India have gained their freedom from control by western powers mainly as a result of an emotional upsurge among western statesmen under the leadership of the United States or as a result of their own faith in democracy which took many things for granted, not the least of them being that the people inhabiting their colonies were democratic like themselves. It is easy for an honest man to be duped again and again, for he naturally thinks others to be honest like himself. One cannot as easily dupe a dishonest man, for, being dishonest, he legitimately suspects others to be tarred with the same brush, and is on his guard against him.

So our friends the democrats are easily duped. See, for instance, how easily, Stalin duped Roosevelt and won for him concessions for Russia, which a cynical Churchill, left to himself, would not have conceded—and thus laid the foundations of all kinds of troubles for the world which we are witnessing now. Roosevelt forgot that there is no generosity in politics and that, in any case, British colonialism was no ground for making Russia a colonial country. Russia is the only country among the victors of the last war which has made territorial gains as a result of the victory of 1945. And Roosevelt's successors are now paying the price for that great lapse in American statesmanship. He believed Stalin of all people! He believed him to be a man of peace. But that was before he showed the world what kind of a man he was. Our Prime Minister, however, even after his death, gave expression to his belief—not shared even by Khrushchev—that Stalin was a man of peace. Obviously not all are wise even after the event. Or they are too clever to be wise.

PREMATURE FREEDOM

Dr. Syed Mahmud in a signed article in a Delhi paper recently bore testimony to the fact that Mahatma Gandhi was of the opinion in the latter half of 1947 that India had got her freedom too soon. Every one knows that he was in favour of rejecting the freedom the British offered in 1947—once going so far as to say, "Jinnah will not live for ever". Whatever the reasons for Gandhi's coming to the conclusion that India had got her freedom too soon, the conclusion itself was a great tribute to the retiring rulers, and hardly a tribute to himself who promised Swaraj in six months in 1921 and who asked the Britishers to quit India in 1942 and thus make way for the Japanese. In fact Gandhi's opinion in 1947 that the British had left too early was an indirect condemnation of all his movements, aimed as they were at the freedom of the country at one stroke.

When I read Col. Nasser's "Philosophy of the Revolution" I came to the definite conclusion, which I still maintain is a valid conclusion, that the British had left Egypt too early. No man who believes in reviving the glory of Islam, as Col. Nasser does, should be allowed to find himself the dictator of

a country. It is a retrograde step for the country concerned as it is for the world. Reviving the glory of Islam can have only one meaning for those who are conversant with the history of Islam and of its expansion east and west from the eighth century onwards, and that was well summed up by Iqbal in his famous line:

Kat kar rakhdiye kuffar ke lashkar kisne?

(Who was it that decimated the armies of the kaffirs?) Indeed, Col. Nasser does not leave any one in doubt as to what he is aiming at in his "Philosophy of the Revolution". Hegemony over Arabs is only the first step to hegemony over the Muslim world—of course in the name of unity, without which the necessary strength for reviving the glories of Islam will not be attained. I have a shrewd suspicion that his hatred of the western bloc is due to the fact that its missionaries have been instrumental in preventing the Muslimisation of Africa which was going apace before the Christian missionaries stepped on the scene. But a Leftist need not take into account all these facts, for, for him, all facts are irrelevant.

Let us throw a glance at Congo where the slogan-shouting Lumumba rose to premiership from the position of wineseller in a Belgian shop. Mahatma Gandhi and his movement showed how jail-going became an investment which is still producing dividends. In a sense that jail-going put a premium on brawn rather than brain, because it was only the hefty who could afford to go to jail again and again. For those with brawn it has indeed proved to be a

most sensible investment, as the fact of Mr. Nehru's prime-ministership shows. As a lawyer he was a disappointment to his father and took to jail-going as a duck takes to water, and every one knows how profitable his preference has proved. But nothing can surpass the scenes witnessed in Congo during the last twelve months. One gifted with memory can hardly believe the fantastic scenes that have been enacted in Congo within less than a year after the Belgian withdrawal. Yet it will perhaps be considered blasphemy on my part to give expression to the opinion that Congo does not deserve to be free and some kind of an international trusteeship would be better for the people of Congo than all the blooming wisdom of all the bloody Congo tribes put together. People who do not deserve to be free soon prove the fact by welcoming a dictatorship. Howsoever benevolent the latter may be—for some time—the fact remains that it is only exchanging one kind of slavery for another. As for us Indians, we did not take long to show to the world by our adulation of the Mahatma—which resulted in the division of the country—that we did not really deserve to be free. Could any one have imagined before freedom that there would be so much rioting after freedom? And Heaven only knows how much more of it is in store for us. All these facts lead to the conclusion that subject countries are not ready for freedom and, as dictatorship is only a form of slavery, the best course is for international trustees to take over from the colonial powers, and thus prevent Communism from spreading through flattery and support of dictators.

Khasa Subba Rau :

An Appreciation

By A. Ranganathan

THE death of Mr. Khasa Subba Rau, Editor of 'Swarajya' (which occurred on June 16, 1961) constituted one of the saddest events in the history of contemporary Indian journalism. One of the most distinguished journalists of our country, he had also played a valuable role in the struggle for freedom. Born on January 23, 1896, Khasa (as he was affectionately known to his friends) was educated at the Presidency College, Madras. After graduating in philosophy, he took a diploma in teaching and had a brief spell as the private secretary to the Raja of Amaworn in North India before switching on to teaching as the headmaster of an obscure school in Andhra. Surprisingly enough, his journalistic career (which began in 1921) was sparked off by an unusual circumstance. It so happened that Mr. Prakasam (who was then editing 'Swarajya') requested him to write a guest editorial for that day's issue of 'Swarajya'. And the impulsive Prakasam (who was obviously pleased with the editorial) appointed the young teacher as the leader writer of 'Swarajya'. Since his appointment as the leader-writer of 'Swarajya' in 1921, Mr. Subba Rau has held the attention of the

public by his skilful combination of the whip-lash and rapier; indeed this talented young Editor developed a kind of militant journalism and stirred upon intense nationalistic feeling against the foreign regime with all the resources of his brilliant invective. However, he was never given to hitting his political adversary below the belt. He also played a notable part in Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement. While picketing foreign cloth shops Mr. Subba Rau was severely charged with lathis; and he spent three years in jail as a political prisoner in 1930, 1932 and 1942.

Khasa's journalistic career was as varied as it was colourful. He served the 'Indian Finance' of Calcutta as Associate Editor and subsequently the 'Free Press Journal' of Bombay. As Editor of the 'Free Press Journal', he defied a Government order banning the publication of uncensored news on the Quetta earthquake. And the 'Free Press Journal' had to forfeit the security of Rs. 40,000 which the paper had been ordered to furnish for its anti-Government reports. However, he was able to recover the amount by an appeal to the public! Small wonder that

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Third Plan And Take Off

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

Economic development of the underdeveloped countries had become an important objective of international cooperation during the war and in the post war period. Many underdeveloped countries of the world are striving with varying degrees of determination and intelligence to develop themselves economically. Economic development is now of immense practical importance not because there is poverty but also because these countries are also experiencing phenomenal growth in their population, with little left over for a rise in per capita income. Underdeveloped countries have made of economic development a high ideal. They are filled with feeling that it is possible and practical to overcome the persistent hunger, the preventable disease, death and misery which among them is commonplace. Many people in these areas want real national income to grow. Many who believe that development is desirable are turning to the study of the economic development to find policy measures that development requires and the criteria by which to judge the merits and demerits of the various policies now being pronounced. It is also realised that accelerated development in poor countries is also in the interest of richer countries. But the development of the countries proceeds from stage to stage. Prof. Rostow in his book "Stages of Economic Growth" has analysed five stages of growth where all societies fall in. Economic development is a continuous process which consists of period of between 20 and 30 years during which the economy undergoes changes which make the economic growth more or less automatic. This breaking of the vicious circle of stagnation and consequent chain of motion towards prosperity is called "Take OFF" stage leading to self-sustained growth. Prof. Rostow maintains that all societies pass through one of the following stages, namely the Traditional Society which is lacking initiative and efforts towards invention; Traditional Society in which foundations of change are being laid down. Then comes the process of Take Off. After that crucial process the traditional society is converted into Maturing Society in which scientific outlook is fast developing which gives forward push to the growth. In the last stage the stage of mass consumption is reached.

It is assumed that India has passed through the second stage and the Third Five Year Plan will usher in the Take Off Stage. It must be remembered that Take Off stage is different from the earlier stages because in this stage there must be an increase in the rate of investment to about 10 to 15 per cent of national income. It is now believed that under two Plans investment has increased from 5 per cent in

1950-51 to 11 per cent by 1956-61. In the Third Five Year Plan the Planning Commission wishes to increase the rate of investment to 14 per cent by 1966. But the question remains whether India can attain Take Off stage in the Third Five Year Plan under present circumstances when prices are rising due to expansion of money. Increased expenditure by the government no doubt expands effective demand but unless there is a corresponding increase in output the increased expenditure will lead to inflation and that is what actually is happening. As a consequence of the inflationary spiral the cost of production is tending to rise and per capita income of the people especially of the middle class which forms the backbone of the society tends to fall. The net result of this policy is that saving capacity of the large number of people is diminishing and the capital formation which is essential for expanding the activities does not take place. At present our plans are financed by the foreign countries and if this policy is continued the situation will become very serious in the near future. A large expenditure on social overheads will not increase the supply of consumer goods which are scarce in supply; they will increase the effective demand and if this demand is not matched by an increased supply, inflation will go out of control and the Take Off process will be seriously retarded. So in order to achieve the take off stage the price level should be brought down by increased production but production cannot be increased unless private enterprise is given free scope. At present the private enterprise has to undergo various formalities before the production starts. At present private enterprise is "more closely" controlled by the government than most other developing countries outside the Communist orbit. There is not much difference in the ideology of the ruling party of India and the Communist countries. Various Acts like Industries Development and Regulation Act, The Essential Commodities Act, Supply and Prices of Goods Act come in the way of private enterprise. It may be argued that these measures are to suppress the inflation but the rise in the price level cannot be controlled by these measures; on the other hand they will encourage to create artificial scarcity in the market. "These controls obstruct the most efficient use and growth of resources; they cannot account for the differences in the circumstances, opportunities and resources of different firms. They, therefore inhibit the growth of the more efficient and protect the less efficient. Because of India's diversity of social and economic resources blanket measures increase the economic waste by these controls. The restrictions on the supply of consumer goods retard the progress of pro-

duction for the market by decreasing inducements to produce for cash sale".

Prof. Bauer maintains that such controls over private enterprise are not necessary to extend the scope of the public sector. "Their effects have been to increase the profits of existing enterprises by shielding them from competition by new entrants and they have created controlled sellers market and market sharing agreements. They have strengthened previously existing private market sharing schemes. They have secured large windfall profits to the edipients of controlled supplies as the market prices of these resources were often far higher than those at which they were allocated. Thus controls have been welcome to existing firms. These controls are mixed blessings even to those firms which enjoy the benefits because along with the rest of the economy these firms suffer due to retardation of the economic growth. The close control of their activities including production methods, raw materials purchase and output disposal, helps to spread the idea that private firms are functionless automatons and this makes more plausible political demands for their expropriation. The controls also facilitate the replacement of individual firms by state organisations. Businessmen may welcome controls which protect them from competition but they should remember these controls prepare the ground for their displacement". The businessmen should be aware of this simple truth otherwise they will dig their own grave. Do they not remember how the fly came to grief by walking into the parlour of the spider?

Besides controlled economy affects the saving and investment adversely. Under such a system setting

up new enterprises many be refused or the existing firms may not be allowed to expand on the ground that they do not serve the national interests. Saving is undertaken for a specific purpose and if the object is frustrated then the money may be diverted to increased consumption or to buying gold and silver.

Under the present conditions it is rather difficult to say whether we will be able to achieve the take off stage even in the Fifth Five Year Plan. To reach that goal we must remove the obstacles that stand in the path of rapid economic development. At present we need a revolution in agriculture. This is necessary in order to meet the increasing demands of the industries and to achieve a surplus to get foreign exchange. So the first thing we should do is to adopt improved methods of production to raise the productivity of soil. Then we must see that price level does not rise. Every attempt should be made to control the prices especially of the agricultural commodities. This is important because a "rising price level will reduce our ability to exploit and aggravate the balance of payments difficulties, jeopardise saving drive, increase the financial cost and administrative expenses and hamper progress in all directions". To achieve the take off stage we have to break the vicious circle of low savings and low capital formation by proper techniques and these can be achieved by adopting free economy and not by controlled economy. Controlled economy based on socialist pattern of society has done more harm than good. Controlled economy has expanded the powers of the government of life and death over any individual enterprise. This process should be reversed and then alone India can achieve the Take Off stage.

Economic Policies Of Parties

If only people understood, not one vote would be cast for the Congress.

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

Though our elections are influenced a great deal by emotional considerations and organisational efficiency, economic consequences argue for themselves with many voters. If they have not done so fully, it is because changes have been so many and rapid that they have been bewildering, and to some extent deceptive. In the coming elections, unless the damage from floods is overwhelming, the spurt in Government expenditure under the Third Plan is likely to create an impression of prosperity which will obscure the attrition of incomes of all but a small section. It is, therefore, necessary to examine economic policies for a longer period, both on figures and facts.

There is little difference in the economic policies of the Congress, socialists and communists, except in respect of emphasis. The communists laid emphasis on land reform, education and labour amelioration. In Kerala, their land legislation was first held up under objection by the President, and is now under

appeal to the Supreme Court, which has issued stay orders. The issues raised in the appeal touch most of the provisions of the Act. Even if the Supreme Court upholds the legislation, or if the Government subsequently amends the Constitution to overcome the objections of the Supreme Court, the cultivators will gain little or nothing on their rents, since government itself profits from the difference of compensation paid by the tenants and payable to the landowners. The tenants lose, first, because the alienability of holdings reduces their borrowing capacity, while the provisions for resumption may reduce the land now in their occupation. Since the land legislation of other (Congress) State governments is not very different from the Kerala legislation, it will be in the interests of tenants if it is stayed till the Supreme Court clears the Keral Act. It will also be in the interest of tenants if the results of the Keral Act are studied over a period of time, while permanent tenure and fair rents are given in the meanwhile.

In respect of education, the Communists tried for political purposes, to force teachers on a caste basis on schools, as if all children should be sacrificed so that a few undeserving Harijans should have employment. The net result of trying to nationalize education was on the one hand, deterioration and, on the other, an unbearable burden on the State which has compelled the present Government not only to moderate discrimination against private agencies but to approach them to take over government schools. Other States also are following this policy.

The favour shown to unionised labour in Kerala, including even the suspension of the ordinary criminal law against it, meant that many enterprises closed down, no new ones being started in their place. No private industrialists are disposed to establish industries though Kerala needs them more than other States, because so many are without employment.

The emphasis in socialist policy is mainly in respect of unionised labour. While it is good to set high standards in wages and conditions of work, the socialists ignore, first, that unionised labour is a small part of the labour force, and that favours to it are paid in higher prices by the entire population of consumers. The Congress copies the communist labour policy with a view to securing votes.

Other economic policies of the Congress are competitive with those of the communists and socialists. If they are not as thoroughgoing, they are more extensive, involving far greater expenditure. The first is nationalization of industry. Already a third of the corporate sector is owned by the Government, while over the rest, its licence laws and taxes exercise a virtual stranglehold. Of the many consequences the more important are, first, that the Rs. 700/- crores invested in State enterprises, which had a return of only 0.5 per cent profit last year, squeeze the population for loans and taxes, reducing not only their living standards but also the money for their own requirements which is now obtainable only at fantastic rates of interest. Secondly, the monopolies created by controls have introduced a high cost economy, the prices being 50 to 100 per cent higher than the world level, which reduces the external market and prevents the internal one from expanding. The economy is only sustained by the 'blood transfusion' of foreign aid and loans, in spite of which only a part of the established industries are employed, notwithstanding the scarcity which is maintaining the blackmarket. There are seeds of catastrophe in our industrial economy, which is not only overcapitalised but so badly located, selected and co-ordinated, that only high taxes, loans and prices can sustain it. There is only one thing for the Congress to do, to leave industry to itself, its own enterprises being denationalized as soon as possible. This will also ease the foreign debt and exchange position because whatever comes in the country will be on the responsibility of private parties and not of the common tax-payer.

The Congress has also interfered in trade, first through licences which have fostered the blackmarket and raised the prices. Secondly, the State Trading Corporation has lost foreign markets and raised the internal prices.

In finance and banking, the never-ceasing changes

have hit the common man and allowed the astute to make fortunes. Investments have become gambling, worse than any other forms of gambling the Congress has tried to suppress. The result is a retardation of the economy and high prices, which the common people have to pay.

Even other projects, like irrigation, have been conceived and executed in haste and waste. The recent floods have shown how badly new dams obstruct the watershed and cause disaster. The direction of the Planning Commission that water-rate may be collected, whether the cultivators take water or not, proves that much of the irrigation created is for the Plan, not for the people. In agriculture, much of the expenditure, is for educational purposes, which also have not succeeded, as productivity is not higher now than what it was in 1933.

The National Debt was Rs. 949 crores in 1939; on 31st March 1961, it will reach Rs. 5554 crores, excluding Rs. 1,868/- crores in various deposits like savings banks, provident funds. It is estimated that the National Debt may reach Rs. 11,000/- crores at the end of the Third Plan which will put on future generations the burden of paying as interest, at only 3½ per cent, an amount of about Rs. 400/- crores, so that the talk about serving the future is deception of those who cannot understand. To the extent the debt is foreign, the country is mortgaging its independence because our exports will never be equal to it, for which reason repayment will mean only more borrowing, as the alternative of repudiation will involve us in loss of imports we cannot do without. The present generation is not spared because during the Second Plan the additional taxation was of the order of Rs. 1,040/- crores, and during the Third Plan it will be Rs. 2,000 crores. This is in addition to the inflation caused by loans. If only the people understood how they are being bled, not one vote would be cast for the Congress.

—Swarajya.

A NEW STUDENT REVOLT?

Thirty years ago America's "angry young men" were angry at a system which did not do enough to cushion the individual against the risks that are a part and parcel of being a free man.

They demanded that government do something about it—and government did.

The economic risks were reduced, and so was economic freedom.

Today, America's "angry young men" seem to be angry at a system which does too much for the individual and does not allow him to do enough for himself.

On college campuses, from coast to coast, the tide of opinion is rising.

The 1960 presidential campaign, with both parties supporting the present paternal system, seems to have brought this revolt into focus.

These young people are openly challenging the ideas taught to them by their professors of economics and political science.

This is "flaming socialism" in reverse.

—'Economic Facts of Life'.

Agrarian Justice

By Thomas Paine

This was written 150 years ago by this great political and social thinker. His words are as pregnant today as then.

To preserve the benefits of what is called civilized life, and to remedy at the same time the evil which it has produced, ought to be considered as one of the first objects of reformed legislation.

Whether the state that is proudly, perhaps erroneously, called civilization, has most promoted or most injured the general happiness of man, is a question that may be strongly contested. On one side, the spectator is dazzled by splendid appearances; on the other, he is shocked by extremes of wretchedness; both of which it has erected. The most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found in the countries that are called civilized.

Poverty, therefore, is a thing created by that which is called civilized life. It exists not in the natural state. On the other hand, the natural state is without those advantages which flow from agriculture, arts, science and manufactures.

It is always possible to go from the natural to the civilized state, but it is never possible to go from the civilized state to the natural state. The reason is that man in a natural state, subsisting by hunting, requires ten times the quantity of land to range over to procure himself sustenance, than would support him in a civilized state, where the earth is cultivated.

When, therefore, a country becomes populous by the additional aids of cultivation, art, and science, there is a necessity of preserving things in that state; because without it there cannot be sustenance for more, perhaps, than a tenth part of its inhabitants. The thing, therefore, now to be done is to remedy the evils and preserve the benefits that have arisen to society by passing from the natural to that which is called the civilized state.

In taking the matter upon this ground, the first principle of civilization ought to have been, and ought still to be, that the condition of every person born into the world, after a state of civilization commences, ought not to be worse than if he had been born before that period.

But the fact is that the condition of millions, in every country in Europe, is far worse than if they had been born before civilization began, or had been born among the Indians of North America at the present day. I will show you how this fact has happened.

It is a position not to be controverted that the earth, in its natural, uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, **THE COMMON PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE**. In that state every man would have been born to property. He would have been a joint life proprietor with the rest in the property of the soil, and in all its natural

ductions, vegetable and animal.

But the earth in its natural state, as before said, is capable of supporting but a small number of inhabitants compared with what it is capable of doing in a cultivated state. And as it is impossible to separate the improvement made by cultivation from the earth itself, upon which that improvement is made, the idea of landed property arose from that inseparable connection; but it is nevertheless true, that it is the value of the improvement, only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property.

Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated lands, owes to the community a **GROUND-RENT** (for I know of no better term to express the idea) for the land which he holds; and it is from this ground rent that the fund proposed in this plan is to issue.

(Space limitations will not permit giving Paine's financial plan of taxation from which many reforms were to be financed, among them Social Security pensions for everyone at age 50, and these matters were not to be regarded as charity but as rights. Blind and crippled persons were to be pensioned. Young persons reaching age 21 years would each receive a sum of money to buy a cow and implements to cultivate the land. Working men and women would be entitled to adequate wages from their production. The costs of these things were shown to be entirely feasible on the basis of the then existing national production, population and income of Great Britain. The reader may object that this plan is out-dated in modern times. But remember that in Asia, Africa, the huge islands of the East, and in many parts of Europe conditions are little different than when Paine wrote, and the misery and poverty on the one hand, endured by the masses, with the luxury and comfort enjoyed by those who have usurped ownership of the land, as in colonial countries, is creating the same revolutionary conditions as then. Paine's warning to the possessing classes then is valid today.)

The state of civilization that has prevailed throughout Europe, is as unjust in its principle, as it is horrid in its effects; and it is the consciousness of this, and the apprehension that such a state cannot continue when once investigation begins in any country, that makes the possessors of property dread every idea of a revolution. It is the hazard and not the principle of revolutions that retards their progress. This being the case, it is necessary as well for the protection of property as for the sake of justice and humanity, to form a system that, while it preserves one part of society from wretchedness, shall secure the other from depredation.

—Reprinted from 'Liberal'.

Sadanand (who owned the paper) is reported to have quipped that an article of Khasa was worth a security of Rs. 40,000. And when the 'Swarajya' was revived in 1935 he became its Editor and on its subsequent closure, he joined the Indian Express in 1937. Mr. Subba Rau started his own English weekly known as 'Swatantra' in 1946. After editing it with distinction for a decade, he launched the political weekly 'Swarajya' in 1956.

Mr. Subba Rau wrote a singularly fine and effective style. And Prof. Edward Shils had written in the 'Sewanee Review' that Khasa Subba Rau had cultivated a style "which for economy, trenchancy and force is not inferior to the best prose written in contemporary English and American journalism". Khasa was a pioneer in the art of personalised journalism. And his well-known weekly column entitled 'Sidelights' was one of the distinctive features of contemporary Indian journalism. His first book on 'Men in the Limelight' established him as a writer of considerable distinction. Mr. Subba Rau's second publication entitled 'Sidelights', is, perhaps, his finest collection of pieces. In these delightful essays, he has written on a variety of subjects ranging from his assessments of political leaders to his perceptive reflections on the various aspects of journalism. And his third publication "Sidelights on Rajaji" (a collection of his recent pieces on Rajaji published this

year) moves at a terrific velocity. And while it registers a characteristically high emotional temperature (occasionally emitting flashes of white heat), he never consciously strives for any rhetorical effect. Although there is a rapidity of movement in his style, no deliberate attempt is made on the reader's emotion. Indeed, it is the transparent sincerity of the man which makes him effortlessly succeed in his task. It is well to reflect that in his tempestuous career he has violently disagreed with many distinguished leaders including Prakasam and Rajaji. One may or may not agree with all that he wrote; but there can be no doubt that he always upheld the "precise and exacting standards of honour and integrity" (the words of Mr. J. A. Spender, who was Khasa's hero). Mr. Subba Rau believed that the success of democracy depended not only on the strength of vigilant public opinion but also on the high level of thinking in the various debates and discussions which form a regular feature of a parliamentary system of Government. A widely travelled man, he spent some of his happiest days in England and in the U. S. A. He was not only cast in a heroic mould as a journalist's journalist but was also a lovable figure whose charm always lingers in one's memory. There can be no doubt that a chapter in the history of modern Indian journalism has ended with the passing away of Mr. Subba Rau.

Socialism

SOME years ago, Burma's respected Prime Minister U Nu told the story of a wonder medicine-man. He had a medicine called Diamond Dagger which he gave for all illnesses. One day, a small boy came and asked for medicine for his ailing mother. The medicine-man asked the boy to give her a dose of Diamond Dagger. Half an hour later, the boy came back in tears and said that his mother's condition was worse. The medicine-man said: "Repeat the dose." Fifteen minutes later, the boy came back sobbing and said that his mother had collapsed. The medicine-man told him to give one more dose. Ten minutes later, the boy returned with a sad face and cried that his mother was dead. The medicine-man turned aside and said: "Damn it! Every time it acts the same way."

U Nu, a disillusioned socialist because he was a practical man, told this story to teach his countrymen the lesson that socialism would not work any longer. More government undertakings, like additional doses of the quack remedy, Diamond Dagger, meant more chaos in the economy. Socialism had become out-dated.

Shall we take a hint from our neighbour Burma? Today, in India, socialism is prescribed like Dia-

mond Dagger for all economic ills. Instead of curing, will it not kill the patient?

The plain fact of the matter is that socialism is out-dated. Shall we look around the world to find out how far this is true?

The Labour Party claimed that State ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange would end social injustices and lead to a society of the free and the equal. When it came to power, it nationalised several industries towards that end. Today, the Conservative Government is in for a third term of power because the people of Great Britain are fed up with rationalisation, the era of controls and Statism, which were the result of socialism. There is rethinking of socialism even in the Labour Party. For instance, a leading Labourite, Mr. Douglas Jay, who is a close associate of Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell, said after his party's defeat in the General Elections: "The word 'nationalisation' has become damaging to the Labour Party. This is a fact; and it is no use denying it, even if you deplore it... The myth that we intended to 'nationalise' anything and everything was very powerful in this Election—any canvasser will agree. We must destroy this myth decisively; otherwise we may never win again."

Mr. Kelf-Cohen, a long-time ardent believer in nationalisation who was in charge of some nationalised enterprises for ten years, says the following: "Looking back and rereading some of our best efforts, I am astonished at the slight intellectual effort we put into the work. There was magic in the words 'Public Board' or 'Public Corporation.' They were to be staffed by selfless men of outstanding ability, devoted to the national interest. We also assumed that the workers in the industries would be transformed by the Act of Nationalisation and devote themselves to the national interest. Thus the combination of selfless management and selfless workers would bring about the brave new world of Socialism—so utterly different from Capitalism."

Indicating the failure of nationalisation, Mr. Kelf-Cohen poses the present Socialist dilemma as follows: "The more independent the nationalised boards, the more they will exercise power without 'accountability,' the less they are independent, the greater the risks of centralisation and lack of enterprise."

Mr. Kelf-Cohen is not the only disillusioned man in Great Britain. The composition of the House of Commons by age groups shows which way the wind is blowing. The free enterprise Conservatives have more young men; the socialist Labourites are an ageing group, as shown by the following table:

Age Groups	...Conservatives	...Labour	...
20-29	9	1	
30-39	62	18	
40-49	140	55	
50-59	118	106	
60-69	35	57	
70	3	20	

The free market economy which Dr. Ludwig Erhard, as Minister for Economic Affairs, implemented in West Germany has resulted in the West German "Economic Miracle." His success can be judged by contrasting West Germany's prosperity today with conditions when he assumed power: "It was a time when it was calculated that for every German there would be one plate only for every five years; a pair of shoes every 12 years; a suit every 50 years; that only every fifth infant would be in its own napkins; and that every third German would have a chance of being buried in his own coffin. That seemed to be the only life before us."

Today, stunned at the success of the free market economy, the party in Opposition, the Social Democrats, have renounced socialism. Here are some of the interesting things they have said in their Manifesto: "The free choice of consumer goods and services, free choice of a place to work, free initiative for employers are decisive foundations and free competition an important element of a free economic policy . . . Totalitarian control of the economy destroys freedom. The Social Democratic Party therefore favours a free market, wherever free competition really exists. Where markets come under the domination of individuals or groups, however, manifold measures are necessary to preserve the freedom of the economy. As much competition as possible — as much planning as necessary."

This is but a paraphrase of the corresponding passage in the Swatantra Party's Statement of Policy published earlier: "The Party believes that, in the field of production, the free choice of the producer and the consumer must be given basic place and importance. In industry, the Party believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends, where there is no competition or where competition does not secure the necessary corrective."

Yugoslavia started on the path of so-called "scientific socialism" or communism. (Incidentally, there is very little difference between socialism and communism. No less a person than the high priest of communism, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, made this clear when he recently told a United Arab Republic delegation: "If you want socialism, you should not say you are against communism.")

Today, accused of revisionism by the Kremlin, Yugoslavia stands for a revolt against doctrinaire socialism as such. The collective farms have been disbanded and a return to competition and "the laws of the market" has been encouraged in many sectors of the economy.

BURMA

Burma was among the first Asian countries to get disillusioned by socialism. In a public speech Premier U Nu said: "Our policy must be one of gradual withdrawal of the State from economic activity until its scope becomes narrow enough for our available man-power resources to handle it with efficiency, or alternatively strengthen our civil service to the required extent. In concrete terms, we propose during the next four years that we shall be in power not to embark on any new State enterprise without paying special attention to the limiting factors I have described above and in particular, not to nationalise any existing industry or enterprise which is in private hands. *We propose, accordingly, to hand back to private enterprise such of the existing State enterprises and organisations as after due inquiry appears to be incapable of efficient operation by State agencies.*"

WHO IS OUTDATED?

In the light all this, the answer to the question "Who is Outdated?" is clear. Wherever they have the opportunity, the people of the world are turning away from the out-moded idea that the State can, by ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, solve economic problems. The result of State ownership has been, everywhere, bureaucratic despotism. Socialism has turned out to be State Capitalism. Nobody has described this process better than Djilas, the Yugoslav communist leader, in his book "The New Class". A glimpse of the truth that has thus been established had been obtained two decades back by the veteran communist Leon Trotsky who wrote that, wherever the State had become the only employer, the old slogan: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat", had been replaced by the slogan: "He who does not obey, neither shall he eat."

The Master And His Mission

(From Our Correspondent)

By the time this despatch appears in print Master Tara Singh, according to all present indications, would have gone on the fast unto death, notice for which he gave several months in advance. Those who recall the fast of Srimalu, which preceded the formation of the state of Andhra, are likely to have the impression that Master Tara Singh is counting upon Mr. Nehru's surrender to his demand lest the Master's death is followed by similar violence in a part of Punjab. Indeed, Sikh leaders have not been averse to predicting the "horrible" consequences likely to follow the death of Master Tara Singh as a result of his fast, doubtless to remind Mr. Nehru of what happened in Andhra, in case he should have forgotten it. Sant Fateh Singh has also been reminding the powers that be that his fast unto death will follow the death of Master Tara Singh, and other Sikh leaders have been declaring from the house tops that the process of martyrdom will be continued by other Akalis after Sant Singh.

Master Tara Singh has been vehemently denying that he envisages a Sikh state. In fact he now says that a Sikh independent state would be harmful for the Sikhs. There has been much talk of commissions of inquiry for which the Government would appear to be prepared insofar as least as the question of discrimination against Sikhs is concerned. Master Tara Singh would like this discrimination to refer

(Continued from page 10)

It would appear as if an awareness of these truths is already touching our own working class. According to Acharya J. B. Kripalani, till recently the leader of the Praja Socialist Party in Parliament, the Indian worker "now realised that the private employer did have a soul while the Government had only a machinery."

We cannot apply yesterday's creed to tomorrow's world. The real path to prosperity is clear and historically vindicated. It is to release the creative forces of initiative and enterprise of the individuals. Let the State function as a catalyst of economic action. Let the government *regulate* but not *regiment* economic activity. Let the weapons in the armoury of the modern State, like taxation, be made use of to see that there is fair share for all, equitable distribution of wealth as well as dispersal of economic power. Only then will there be *prosperity with freedom*.

That is the way of the Swatantra Party and it therefore deserves your support. If India is to prosper and advance there is no other way.

—Swatantra Public Education Series

to the denial of a linguistic state to the Punjabi-speaking people. From the manner in which Master Tara Singh has been carrying on the controversy, it would appear that a commission is called for, first and foremost, to determine whether Master Tara Singh's words can be relied on. It is strange that neither the Punjab Government's Publicity Department nor that of the Government of India has yet undertaken the publication of a pamphlet exposing the chameleon-like changes that the demands of Master Tara Singh have been undergoing since the arrival of the Cabinet Mission in India. He has even recently been jumping from one argument to another, regardless of whether the succeeding argument contradicts the preceding. So far as the Sikhs are concerned, they know what they want and they know what Master Tara Singh wants really, and the desire of both is identical. They therefore can put up with any amount of self-contradiction from Master Tara Singh. But surely the rest of the world counts and it is high time that the Government concerned woke up to the need of proving to the hilt what kind of a man Master Tara Singh is.

In their latest declarations the Sikh leaders have been at pains to emphasise that nothing should be done to antagonise the Hindus or to embitter relations between the Hindus and the Sikhs, as if they do not know that nothing can antagonise the Hindus more than the insistence on the demand for a Punjabi Suba. The threats that the Sikh leaders have been holding out of horrible consequences following the death of Master Tara Singh imply that there will be violence and the sufferers will be the Hindus. What other conclusion can be drawn from their threat of "horrible" consequences? Surely, those perpetrating violence are not going to kill or loot their fellow-religionists? Surely they are not going to invade Pakistan? It stands to reason to conclude that the horrible consequences will have to be borne by those who are standing in the way of the formation of the Punjabi Suba. And yet there are at the same time appeals to Hindu sentiment and for Hindu-Sikh unity.

Regarding the proposal for a plebiscite, Master Tara Singh said he would not like to say at this stage whether the plebiscite should be held under international auspices to make its fairness acceptable to him. In other words, he has reserved the right to have the plebiscite, if and when the Government agrees to it, under international auspices, on the presumption obviously that the Sikhs are a nation. The fact of the matter is that Punjabi is only a style of Hindi and the same treatment should have been meted out to that language as has been meted out to Urdu in U.P. But fanaticism grows on what it feeds. He further maintained that the proposed plebiscite

must be held only in the Punjabi region of Punjab. If that is conceded, there is nothing to prevent Muslims in districts where they predominate, for instance, in U.P., to demand a state of their own, beginning of course with a suba. And the same holds true of other small communities predominating in districts all over the land. And what can be the ultimate aim of all these petty states when formed except to wage war on one another as in the good old days?

THE BIZERTA CRISIS

While it may be readily admitted that it is not natural for those who have been under colonial domination to sympathise with Tunisia over the Bizerta crisis, it can hardly be forgotten by any one with a modicum of justice and fairplay that the crisis has been provoked by the Tunisian Government. The Tunisian President's declaration that the problem concerned should be solved peacefully is itself an indirect admission that Tunisia was in the wrong in ignoring the obligations it undertook in agreeing to a French base in Bizerta. If all Governments were to refuse to acknowledge their international obligations, on pretexts which they consider to be sound, and take unilateral steps to abrogate treaties signed by them the world would soon come to a pretty pass. The fact seems to be that the French offer to withdraw from a part of Algeria made the Tunisian Government feel that in the present French mood the French Government could be made to withdraw from Bizerta without risking warfare. Events have proved that was a grave miscalculation—as grave as that of the Iraqi Government in claiming Kuwait as part of Iraq. Under the circumstances the wisdom of Mr. Nehru's declaration that his Government's "sympathies are with the Tunisian Government and people", without a hint that the method adopted by the Tunisian Government to force the French out of Bizerta could have been less open to criticism, is being questioned here as hardly consistent with non-alignment and the basis on which the policy of non-alignment is being allegedly practised here. The acclamation of appeals to Soviet Russia on an issue on which the Soviet Government is a much greater sinner can only be considered one-sided and devoid of all canons of fair-play, and these cannot be said to include the dictum that necessity knows no law. Perhaps the Tunisian Government thought that was a good way out of the imbroglio in which it found itself by claiming a part of Sahara resolutely claimed by the Algerian Provisional Government. The role of the Soviet Government as a protector of the countries recently freed by the western powers is too transparent to need emphasis and only sheer political short-sightedness can afford to make that role seem genuine to the gullible.

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

The affection in which the personality of the President is held was suddenly brought into focus by his recent illness which made his health the most important news for us Indians day after day for nearly a fortnight. Indeed, there were complaints that the public was not being given as much news of the President's health as it had a right to expect. Doubtless there were reasons for the health bulletins being confined to major details, and the fault for not sup-

plying the public with minor details, full of human touches, can easily be laid at the door of the Press, but the Nursing Home where he was taken at the onset of his illness had to be guarded against newspapermen as much as against the public for obvious reasons. The satisfaction of the people was all the greater for the critical conditions in which he lay for quite a few days and prayers for his recovery were much more widespread in the capital and outside it than could possibly be reported in the Press. A tribute this doubtless to his humility and his winning personality.

THE 20-YEAR RUSSIAN PLAN

The 20-year Russian plan can only convert the converted to Communism. To the average newspaper reader it has come as a surprise that Communist Russia is seeking to establish within a period of ten to twenty years free services which most of us, thanks to Communist propaganda, thought the Russian already had. It is indeed a confession of failure for those outside Russia while, for those inside it, it is a utopia full of future promises deemed necessary for publication because of present failures. The need of continuing the iron curtain with all its rigours is made all the more evident by Mr. Khrushchev's bombast. He does not seem to be aware that he is publicising the failure of socialism which, he claims, is bound to overtake all countries in the near future. With promises of help to all and sundry, which in any case have to be at least partly fulfilled if universal ridicule is not to be invited, it is obvious that the plan is intended more for publicity than for fulfilment. The Russian lead in space is a morale booster no doubt but it remains to be seen how far and how long it will make up for shortcomings all round at home.

Book Review

THE LAW AND THE PROFITS by C. Northcote Parkinson. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960. 246 pp. \$3.50.

The Sixteenth Amendment, which saddled us with the national income tax, wrote absolutism into the Constitution, observed Albert Jay Nock shortly after the event. And so it did, as we are coming to realize, nearly fifty years later. Those who opposed the progressive income tax on this ground were no doubt laughed at as alarmists, but time has shown how right they were. The Amendment does not limit the percentage of a citizen's earnings the national government may legally take, so, naturally, the rate has risen steadily. Initially a tax taking a small percentage of high incomes only, the income tax is now a substantial levy even on low incomes—not to mention the 91 per cent "take" on the incomes of the very wealthy. Needless to say, government expenditure rises to meet income. This is Parkinson's Second Law and, "like the first, is a matter of everyday experience, manifest as soon as it is stated, as obvious as it is simple".

One of the points Mr. Parkinson makes out so well is that when taxes take too high a percentage of people's income, they will, in time, reduce the amount of work they perform. In other words, taxation beyond a certain point will so discourage the producer, the wealth-creator, that he will cease any effort beyond what is necessary to maintain a modest existence. This does not happen overnight, of course, so the tendency is not clear to some persons. Men whose incomes are taxed 50, 60, 70 per cent—and more—still continue to work as hard as ever. Likely out of habit, for one thing, and also because of the satisfaction they may derive from doing the job as well as they are able. But after a generation or two, what then? Will the youngsters of today, accustomed to the ever-present paternal hand from Washington administering to their every need, continue to work hard (if they ever start!) when taxes take a great proportion of their income?

Bureaucracy, which Mr. Parkinson dealt with in Parkinson's Law, subsists on huge amounts of money. It never gets enough; it is always demanding more. Private individuals, unless they wish to end up in bankruptcy court, tailor their spending to their income; to some extent at least, they budget their money. Bureaucrats, however, decide how much they would like to spend and then set about trying to raise the money, one way or another—they place another levy on the taxpayers or they run the printing presses overtime. They adapt to their purposes any so-called crisis which lowers the resistance of taxpayers against an increase in Washington's take.

Mr. Parkinson writes in a light humorous vein (the Robert Osborn illustrations also bring many chuckles), but his message is a serious one.

—Robert M. Thornton (The Freeman).

Gleanings from the Press

MR. MENON'S OMINOUS OMISSION

Much of what President Ayub of Pakistan said about the purpose and disposition of India's armed forces was too hysterical to deserve serious notice. It could only be a fevered imagination that prompted him to imply, for instance, that this country's sole aim was to destroy Pakistan. Indeed in the last two years there had been evidence of India's keenest interest in Pakistan's prosperity and viability. To take only one example, the Government of India, in the teeth of opposition at home, agreed to make a very substantial contribution to the development of Pakistan's irrigation system disrupted through the folly of partition of this subcontinent in 1947.

Nevertheless it would be difficult for any right thinking and farsighted person to endorse the logic our Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, used to rebut President Ayub's "absurd" and "nonsensical" utterances on the subject. Describing President Ayub's contention that eighty-five per cent of India's armed forces were facing Pakistan by those strong adjectives, Mr. Menon said the disposition of our troops was in consonance with our frontiers "eighty-five per cent" of which were with Pakistan!

We do not know if Mr. Menon intended his statement to be a refutation or confirmation of President Ayub's complaint.

Factually also Mr. Menon does not look having been very correct. If one only cares to glance at the map one should have no difficulty to believe that Mr. Menon's quantitative assessment of our frontiers with Pakistan is woefully wrong. We have about 2,500 miles of common frontier with China now that Tibet is no more. The Indian Ocean, including both the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, would seem to account for at least three quarters of the rest of our frontier line. What could then be the basis for Mr. Menon to present to us a picture of veritable encirclement by Pakistan?

The singular lack of foresight and imagination that the leaders of Pakistan have recently displayed tend to make it well-nigh impossible for public opinion in India to challenge such a distorted picture of our defence strategy. But Pakistan's hysteria or paranoia can be no excuse for the Defence Minister to indulge in half-truths. Pakistan may be a horse inclined to run berserk, but it is not without a halter. How about the Chinese? The omission cannot be wholly fortuitous. Mr. Menon is far too intelligent for that.

—Thought.

FIGHT STATISM AND DEFEND FREEDOM

Rajaji's Message to the People on Swatantra Second Annual Day

"When this issue of Swarajya reaches readers, the Swatantra Party will have finished its second 'First of August', the day hallowed by Lokamanya Tilak's memory every year, since forty years ago. 'Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it', said our Lokamanya. Swaraj is the birthright of every citizen, and we have to save it from the expropriatory hands of a party which has arrogantly confounded itself with the State.

If the dread Tempter of semitic theology, plotted to corrupt simultaneously the finest public service corps in Asia and a whole nation that had been brought up by long tradition to follow dharma, each individual and group in their respective walks of life, the Devil could not have devised any better plan than the socialist pattern and the permit-licence-quota scheme of economy now enforced in India.

This is not rhetoric. Promising paradise through controls, the Congress Government has contrived to sap the moral stamina of public servants by bringing them into contact with men filled with a newly encouraged hunger for making money in the shortest possible time, by buying a monopoly from the issuing officers, and thereby putting other greedy people at a disadvantage.

If I did not see the Devil in this scheme of contact between officials and businessmen and the issue of small and big relative monopolies going by the fanciful name of 'socialistic pattern', I would not have revolted. But when I saw a great corrupting movement set in motion and all national and individual life brought under its baneful shadow, I felt it my duty to throw away all other considerations, and revolt

without enquiry as to whether I shall win or lose in this battle against heavy odds. When one sees a great evil, one must fight it. Otherwise, there is no purpose in life. I am not exaggerating the corruption. I had seen the finest official cadre in Asia working splendidly, and I have seen it now ruined completely under this evil system, and in a very short time. I have seen landslides of moral standards like mountain sides toppling down during an earthquake. I have seen callousness and greed replace all traditional sensibility and restraint, all ideas of swadharma. My great age and varied experience have enabled me to see the changes and contrasts, and the consequent distress is great.

But should we not defend freedom, should we not defend democracy, should we not defend dharma? We must not allow India to be debased, mistaking mass selfishness for patriotism. We must love India and learn why we should love India. We must fight Statism, we must fight one-party rule, which has devised self-generating power to perpetuate itself, and we must stem the tide of greed and corruption. We must bring again into being a cadre of sternly honest officials to administer our affairs as was done till recently. It is a sacred duty, if there be any purpose in life and if we are not just spinning tops, spinning till death overtakes us and we go down to be reabsorbed into dead matter, fools mourning around the body that once was alive. When the morality of the nation and its elite is being undermined, and threatened with destruction, there is no question of any alternative or surrender to superior force. We must fight and protect the soul of the nation from being overwhelmed and destroyed. It is the duty of each citizen to resist it to the utmost without waiting for others or counting the cost. For if the nation's morality is lost, there will be nothing thereafter to save.

—C. Rajagopalachari
(Swarajya, August 5, 1961)

News & Views

NON-PARTY PROGRAMME FOR FIGHTING NATIONAL DISINTEGRATION CREATED BY THE CONGRESS

Urged by Swatantra Party.

Madras, August 1.

The organisational sub-committee of the Swatantra Party, in a statement on national integration issued here today, said that the situation in the country as a whole demanded immediate rethinking on the part of everyone who desired to arrest the process of disintegration. It said the issue of national integration must be removed from the sphere of party politics and a national and non-party programme for integration, positive in its content, should be devised.

UNHEEDED WARNING

The statement continued: The incidents in Cachar, the tension between Assam and Bengal, the recrudescence of communalism, the bid for new States and the growth of regional chauvinism all indicate that under the present regime and by reason of its policies disintegration has been on the increase.

"Linguism, to which the Congress surrendered when the linguistic States were set up, was considered a transient and harmless phenomenon. However, it has emerged as an aggressive weapon and protective cover, for the majority in power in a State to place all the minorities in the position of permanent aliens.

INSULARITY

"Several universities in the country are switching over from English to the regional language as the medium of instruction. As a result the psychological and social unity of educated men and women all over the country, which has rendered Indian nationalism possible, is being undermined under pressure of regional linguism, working for the dubious glory of the particular region.

Communalism, the statement said, was another unfortunate malady which had come to the fore in recent months. "The implications of a democratic system are that while religious communities should be free to organise themselves for social and religious purposes, any attempt on their part to enter the field of politics through such organisations is fraught with grave danger. All realists must see that this will only preclude the members of those communities from the opportunity of being absorbed into the body politic as citizens of a free country."

The statement said the issue should not be allowed to divert the attention of the people from vital economic and social issues, and from the immediate task of opposing statism, which was the greatest enemy of freedom.

SWATANTRA ANNUAL RALLY AT BOMBAY

"Tall Talk" of National Integration Denounced.

The need to reinforce efforts to resist the process of national disintegration was stressed by various speakers at an overflow meeting of the Swatantra Party held in Bombay at C. J. Hall on the occasion of the party's second anniversary on August 2, 1961.

Mr. Homi Mody, treasurer of the party, said that the country was ridden with linguism, casteism and all sorts of groupism at present. He charged the Congress with being responsible for such a state of affairs due to its "miscalculations and misdeeds," and said that "integration was all tall talk."

Mr. K. M. Munshi said that although the Prime Minister had been saying that the Swatantra Party's influence on the people had been waning, "it is very much alive and kicking."

During his speech he touched upon the forcing out of English from the higher administrative and judicial spheres, corruption, internal and external disintegration, and said that it was all due to the policies of the ruling party, "which no longer believed in parliamentary democracy."

CONGRESS ROAD TO COMMUNISM

Mr. M. R. Masani, general secretary of the party, who spoke on "Congress Path to Communism," pointed out that the emergence of the Swatantra Party was the best guarantee against the country being taken over by the Communists. Communism was taking deep roots on Indian soil and once the Communist Party established its foothold in New Delhi there was an end to democracy.

Mr. Murarji Vaidya, chairman of the Bombay Branch, presiding over the meeting, appealed for more funds so that the Swatantra Party could give a successful fight to its opponents in the coming General Elections.

FREEDOM OF BERLIN NOT NEGOTIABLE

"We have previously indicated our readiness to remove any actual irritants in West Berlin, but the freedom of that city is not negotiable. We cannot negotiate with those who say, 'What's mine is mine; what's yours is negotiable.' But we are willing to consider any arrangement or treaty in Germany consistent with the maintenance of peace and freedom, and with the legitimate security interests of all nations.

"For it is not the freedom of West Berlin which is 'abnormal' in Germany today, but the situation in that entire divided country. If anyone doubts the extent to which our presence is desired by the people of West Berlin, compared to East German feelings about their regime, we are ready to have that question submitted to free vote in Berlin, and if possible, among all the German people. And let us hear at the same time from the two and a half million refugees who have fled the Communist regime in East Germany, voting for Western-type freedom with their feet."

—President Kennedy

BOWLES REITERATES POLICY

New Delhi:

Mr. Chester Bowles, United States Under-Secretary of State, declared that America would "certainly support India if there is any aggression, from whatever source it may be."

He was replying to a question at his Press conference whether the U.S. still held the position that America would support India if Pakistan committed aggression against India.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF COMMUNIST SYSTEM

Dr. Edward Younger, eminent American historian and University professor, said in Bombay on Friday that the true revolutionary aims of the developing countries—national freedom, personal liberty, religious tolerance and equality of economic opportunities—were those which the U.S. and the West wanted for themselves and had largely achieved, while the Communist system was counter-revolutionary because it threatened to impose upon the world its tyranny, destroying in the process, the aims of true revolution.

Dr. Younger was speaking on the "Origin and nature of the world situation" at a meeting organised by the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs at Tata Auditorium in Bombay House.

The Communist upheaval, he said, was only one of the three revolutions, the other two being, the perpetual revolution of the West, and the revolution of rising expectations in the developing countries.

Finally, even in their efforts to modernise their countries, they have not proved that their systems can provide the kind of high standard of living for

the masses that have already been provided in the western societies in their perpetual revolution," he pointed out.

INFILTRATION BY PAKISTANIS

Government Indifference

Shillong, August 1.

The capital of Shillong is today full of misgivings and apprehensions about the future of this strategic State on account of regrettable negligence on the part of the authorities to take any serious notice of the activities of legal and illegal Pakistani nationals in Assam.

Unauthorised infiltration of Pakistani nationals into Assam continues merrily without any effective check exercised on such entry, or steps taken in pursuance of the recent orders reported to have been issued by the Government of India to deport Pakistani nationals forthwith, if found without any valid travel documents and, without any reference to Pakistan High Commission in India.

(Congressmen always develop cold feet where Muslims are concerned. 1962 Elections are, to them more vital than protecting frontier States. Absolute power absolutely corrupts and verily demoralises!)

CONGRESS-RED SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

In Bangalore Nehruji attacked PSP, Swatantra and Jana Sangh, but not CPI. Why?

—Organiser.

The answer is simple. Nehru believes in Russo-China-Hind Bhai-Bhaism and of course, cannot afford to displease Indian 'Bhais' and their friends in his own Cabinet. Moreover recent elections have shown this spiritual kinship between Congress and 'Bhais'.

Letter to the Editor

NATIONAL UNITY

Dear Sir,

The following are my suggestions to fight the evil of Communalism.

1. The conception of majority and minority based on religion is basically opposed to nationalism and it should not therefore have any place in democratic politics.
2. The major political parties should affirm that they would not make any compromise with communalism, nor would they give any quarter to such tendencies in selecting their candidates for the elections.
3. Organisations whose membership is not open to all Indians (Bharatiyas) and whose activities are confined to the protection and advancement of the rights and interests of people following a particular way of worship, should not be given recognition from the political point of view, nor should any heed be paid to the complaints and demands of a political nature coming from them.

If the above suggestions are followed, the communal parties will be isolated from Indian Politics.

Bangalore.

M. Amarnath.

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.
Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker.
God and the State by Bakunin.
General Idea of the Revolution by Proudhon.
What is Mutualism by Swartz.
Causes of Business Depression by Hugo Bilgram.
Challenge of Asia by Ralph Borsodi.
Education and Living (2 vols.) by Ralph Borsodi.
Socialism by Von Mises.
Human Action by Von Mises.
The Conquest of China by Sitaram Goel.

ASK FOR A FREE CATALOGUE OF OUR PUBLICATIONS AND PRICE-LIST

LIBERTARIAN PUBLISHERS,
1st Floor, Arya Bhavan,
Sandhurst Road West, BOMBAY 4.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

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



Write to:

THE MANAGER
THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4

Telephone :70205

Telegram : LOTEWALLA