

Indian Libertarian

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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
 AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

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EDITORIAL

NEHRU'S STATISM

OUR Prime Minister Nehru appears to have given a complete go-by to the ideals of Individual Freedom and Liberty in the name of which the Indian people who fought the British and won Independence. The least opposition to his new fangled ideas of State Socialism and building up heavy industries without taking into account the cost the nation has to pay for this venture in terms of human life and valuable capital resources, terribly irritates and upsets him. He tried at first to kill the Swatantra Party by sheer neglect and indifference. But under the able and wise guidance of Shri Rajagopalachari the Party grew from strength to strength. Mr. Nehru then challenged the Party's leadership to place before the country an Alternative to the Five Year Plans of the Congress. But the shrewd Swatantra Leader refused to walk into the trap by hastily drawing up an alternative Plan, when the Party was just building up its organisation and consolidating its position. Instead of a Plan, the Party, however, issued a statement of fundamental Principles which oppose COLLECTIVISM, STATISM and the SOCIALIST PATTERN of Mr. Nehru with its Liberal ideals of *Minimum Government and Maximum Freedom* of the people based upon *Free Enterprise*.

These ideals, as was to be expected, were not very much to the liking of Mr. Nehru, one of the greatest Statists going in the world today. He then began pouring ridicule and contempt on the devoted heads of Rajaji and other Swatantra Leaders and called them reactionaries fit to be "put into a museum." But undaunted the Swatantra Party steadily worked up a powerful movement based on a rational and practical programme against Nehru's Planned Chaos in the country and at last at its Agra Convention held last month it came out with its own manifesto which is at once a complete answer and a spirited and effective rejoinder to the challenge of Mr. Nehru to give an alternative lead to the people.

The Swatantra manifesto has been well received by all leading sections of public opinion that have not yet completely surrendered their freedom of thought and expression to the Almighty will of Nehru. This has virtually sent Mr. Nehru in jitters. Instead of offering a fair criticism of the manifesto and pointing out its flaws, if any, which, perhaps by the very constitution of his being and nature, he is incapable of doing, Mr. Nehru has started merely calling the Swatantra Leaders names which do least credit to his knowledge, intelligence and sense of fair-play. At a Congress Party meeting he is reported to have not only condemned Swatantra Party in a very

strong language but also called its leaders "Fascists." He is also reported to have said that under the Swatantra Party the country would go to pieces.

It is natural that Mr. Nehru, being a firm believer in the mystical powers of the State to suddenly transform India into a full-fledged industrial country at a forced pace, cannot but think in terms of Collective Philosophies like those of Communism and Fascism. His preoccupations which his Peace Mission abroad through Panchashila, and starvation and Hunger Mission at home through his unrealistic Plans, might not have allowed him sufficient leisure to ascertain the true facts about Fascism. If he had done so, he would have realised that Communism and Fascism are born on the same tree of Statism and Collectivism which he so much loves and admires but which the Swatantra Party so much abhors and detests. He would have then come to the conclusion that his Five Year Plans and the Licence-Quota-Permit Raj are nothing but the faithful rehearsals of the fearful and tragic drama enacted by Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin through their ruthless dictatorship over their countrymen.

How this authoritarian mentality has all but gripped the minds of Mr. Nehru and his Congress Chelas is clearly indicated by the reply given by the Maharashtra Revenue Minister Mr. Vasant Rao Naik in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly to a question asked by the Praja Socialist Member, about the undemocratic practice followed by the State Ministers of intimating their tour program-

me exclusively to local Congress leaders. The Revenue Minister is reported to have said blatantly and foolishly enough, that the Congress and the Government were IDENTICAL. These Ministers are only following in the footsteps of Mr. Nehru who publicly boasted at Cawnpore right after the Fascist fashion, that he symbolised the nation. As for Mr. Nehru's fear that the country will go to pieces under the Swatantra, the latter might well retort that there is no more work left over by the Congress to be done by other parties in this sphere, since the country has already gone to pieces under the Socialist Pattern, before Mr. Nehru's very eyes and under his very nose.

In his present frame of mind, it is obvious that Mr. Nehru the Statist, is not competent to think of a programme for the country's welfare except in terms of State Socialism (Communism) or National Socialism (Fascism)—in fact the line dividing between the two is very thin. But this does not mean that others should not think of devising other alternative Plans and methods of bringing prosperity and happiness to the country. In fact the Swatantra Party has rendered invaluable and distinct service to the country by placing before it a well-thought out and clearly formulated Political Philosophy and a Plan of action: PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM. This Liberal spirit which informs the Swatantra Plan, to quote the words of Rudolf Rocker, "is an outcry of human personality against all endeavours of absolute rule and centralism and blind belief in the State of Jacobinism."

MALAYASIA FEDERATION

In the disturbed conditions prevailing at present in South-East Asia, the proposed Malayasia Federation comprising Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei comes as a piece of good and happy news. As the joint statement issued by Britain and Malaya says, the proposed Federation is 'a good end' and a major contribution to the peace and stabilisation of South East Asia. Though there are many hurdles to be overcome before the Federation takes a final shape, the very fact that the two Prime Ministers of Malaya and Singapore have lent their fullest support to the proposal is not in itself a mean achievement. It is, in fact, a great victory for the British statesmanship and diplomacy, in that it has succeeded in bringing the various constituents to agree to give a fair trial to such a unique experiment. The joint statement seems to be confident of persuading North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei to join the Federation and for this purpose a Commission of Enquiry is to be appointed to ascertain their opinion.

That Britain has struck a very good bargain in this affair is quite evident. The 1957 Anglo-Malayan Defence Treaty will be extended so as to embrace even the other constituents of the Federation. Britain will continue to enjoy the present right to maintain Naval Bases at Singapore independently of its SEATO commitments.

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Though the joint statement wants to steer clear of Britain's involvement in the SEATO arrangement on the one hand and stiff opposition of Tengku Abdul Rahman to SEATO on the other, it is to be seen how far Britain will be able to reconcile the conflicting roles that she will be called upon to play in actual practice, when the Federation comes to be worked out.

All those who wish well by the South East Asian region will certainly extend the heartiest co-operation and sympathy to the Malaysians who are striving now to foster a sense of Malayan Nationhood under the auspices of this proposed Federation and lay a firm foundation for the consolidation of this region which has suffered so much from the evils of insecurity and instability.

NEEDED ACTION, NOT WORDS

India Government's pusillanimity in the matter of guarding our national frontiers and recovering areas which properly belong to India from the enemies under the garb of "Peacefulness" is once again under fire. The whole country not excluding the patriotic elements in the Congress seems to be now fed-up with the manner in which the Government is handling the problems of China's aggression on India and Goa's Liberation. China's intransigence is daily growing and she is threatening even to cross the McMahon Line on our Northern Borders. Even Salazar the dictator of a tiny, fourth-rate European power is repeatedly hurling defiance and challenge at our country which is so flatteringly described by President Kennedy as the natural Leader of Asian Nations. Some days back, it was simultaneously reported that the Chinese had newly encroached upon another 2,000 square miles of Indian territory on the Northern Border and Salazar's military stationed at an uninhabited small island of Anjad-wip near about the Karwar coast fired at a passenger steamer "Sabarmati" sailing towards Mangalore from Bombay, grievously injuring an Engineer on the ship and that within one week of this incident the Portuguese shot one fisherman of Karwar dead while he was fishing in his country-boat within some distance of the said island. What is most surprising in these tragic events is that both the Chinese and Portuguese are advancing preposterous claims to the land areas and territorial waters which are unquestionably Indian.

Thus the humiliation of India at the hands of foreign powers big and small is complete. The cup is not only full to the brim but is overflowing with wounded national pride anguish and sorrow.

If the Prime Minister's weak nerves and mental flabbiness are preventing him from taking strong measures against these aggressors, the people would even welcome that he should quit his office and make room for men of greater nerve, self-confidence and statesmanship, who would stand up to and ultimately overcome the imminent dangers that threaten India's very existence as a free nation.

HERE AND THERE

Mr. Asoka Mehta Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party talking to newsmen at Madras said "In Asia today Thailand Indo-China and Burmah constituted the only region which was surplus in food. This Rice-Bowl of Asia is China's target. India is hardly doing anything to counter these pressures which threaten our security." Mr. Mehta appears to be unaware of the Indian tradition which enjoins upon a householder to give a Rice-Bowl to any beggar that may come to his doors even at the risk of depriving himself and his family of their Rice-Bowls. Mr. Nehru must, therefore, be thinking that if India cannot feed the Chinese she should not at least deny the Chinese the freedom to appease their hunger by robbing and looting other countries.

The Congress Bloc in Bombay Municipal Corporation joined hands with the Communist-dominated Samiti to defeat an adjournment bid to seek to express concern at China's new aggression on India, amidst the shouts "Congress Communist Bhai Bhai" from the sponsors of the adjournment motion. This Bhai Bhaism we fear will soon make the whole country cry out in agony, "Congress Communist Bhai Hai Hai".

The Inquiry Commission of five religious heads has found Master Tara Singh the Akali Leader guilty of violating the vow to fast upto death to achieve a Punjabi Suba and has ordered by way of expiation that he should clean the shoes of the congregation and wash the utensils of the community kitchen for five days. Another proof of Punjabi Suba being only a sectional demand of a religious community. By the way will Tara Singh come out of this ordeal of shoes and utensils as a purer and more respected Sikh Leader than before, as Sita came out with her name and fame unsullied after going through the ordeal of fire (Agni Divya)?

Clarifying Mr. Krishna Menon's statement in New York that "There was no active hostility" by the Chinese on the border, Mr. Nehru said that when the Defence Minister was asked if Armies were ranged against each other on the Northern border he only replied in the negative. So Americans will now appreciate that Indian Army is marching backwards and Chinese Army is marching forwards under a grand strategy of our Defence Minister to avoid "active hostility."

Rajaji said at Jaipur that under Sardar Patel's advice, the Princes agreed to give up their States and all the privileges they had enjoyed under the British and that as a man of honour, he would have kept his word, and if he were alive today, he would be ashamed of the treatment given out to them. This is exactly the distinction between pre-Nehruvian Congress leaders and Nehruvian Congress leaders. While the former were men of their word, the latter are men of mere words.

A News Item: Acharya Kripalani said at Poona "we have a Defence Minister in India who has to be continually DEFENDED every now and then by the Prime Minister."

Democratic Statesmanship Today

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE heir-apparent of a leading Princely State in pre-independence India wished to take philosophy as one of his optional subjects for the bachelor's degree after his intermediate examination. He got interested in the subject by the vista of problems opened by logic and the criterion of truth as expanded by his logic lecturer.

But he reckoned without his British tutor who had spent the greater part of life as head of a public school run after the British pattern. The tutor turned down the suggestion with the remark that a prince has no need of philosophical studies! He led the pupil to fill his leisure with fishing, golf, horsemanship and sports in general. The time devoted to higher studies was very small indeed.

He was surprised to see books on Plato in the town library where he expected only fiction and travel books!

But the Indian tradition has been that princes should be introduced to higher abstract studies in philosophy and ethics, reinforced by Purana and Itihasa, mythology and history in addition to the acquisition of proficiency in manly sports and the use of weapons of war.

This is the season of political interest in the country consequent on the approach of the general elections to be held in February. At such a time, it is desirable that the attention of readers should be drawn to the science and art of government and the larger horizons in philosophy and morality necessary for successful statecraft.

What kind of candidates do we need to contest for seats in the legislatures? This question amounts to the demand for a delineation of the mind and character of the future governing class, for members of government at the Centre and in the States will be chosen out of the legislators returned by the polls in February.

If a clear consensus of the qualifications required in members of the governing groups is arrived at through public discussion (drawing upon the best available knowledge distilled from historical examples from every country successful in its time in government and statecraft), it will help voters to choose wisely. It will set a high standard to candidates themselves and the parties that choose them to represent their principles and programmes in Parliament.

Plutarch's Lives of Roman statesmen and generals fulfilled this educative function for a long time in European education particularly from the time of the renaissance. Rousseau and the encyclopaedists like Diderot popularised the biographies and characters of Roman heroes like Regu-

lus who returned to his death to Carthage just to keep his word given to the enemy!

In modern democratic times, we have the examples of Abraham Lincoln and President Franklin Roosevelt to whom President Kennedy likened our Nehru.

There is great need for biographies of democratic statesmen drawn from all European nations and from North America to be published in the languages of the country and in English drawing attention to the virtues characteristic of democracy as a way of life and as a system of government.

Putting first things first, the first qualification of the aspirant for political power through the ballot box today may be said to be an adequate general view of world politics. The arena of world politics with its ring of Powerful Nations with smaller nations dependent on them directly or indirectly for protection in case of armageddon, the history that has brought about the present situation of the power blocs i.e. the bloc of international communism led by Russia and the cluster of free nations formally independent but broadly looking up to the USA for support in world war against the aggressive bloc should be familiar to the candidates.

The course of modern history with its appendage of the expansion of Europe over Asia, America and Africa, the results of the last two world wars, the story of the League of Nations and of the present UNO, the wind of change in Africa and Asia, the emergence of Russia as a colossal world power challenging the older powers shaping themselves on the ideals of the French Revolution—(liberty, equality and fraternity in terms of viable democratic procedures and conventions in day-to-day administration assuring the rule of law to the citizen body)—all this should be present in the subconscious background of the statesman or member of the governing class today if he is not to be merely a demagogue and politician of the day content to toe the line of party and leader.

Democratic leaders are apt to show impatience of criticism and of the demand for sharing in policy-making on the part of their followers. A chief minister who has made a mark in Congress politics and is expected to rise higher in all-India politics dismissed in a seminar this question of the robust and independent participation of members of party in the legislatures. He said that no government can conduct the administration in daily consultation with 200 members of the legislature. Their duty apparently was, according to him, just to acquiesce in the decisions of the lead-

er and his cabinet! This would reduce democracy to dictatorship by elected leaders responsible to the voter only at the polls. It cuts out the practice and privilege and duty of day-to-day participation in the discussions that issue in policies.

But democracy requires not only rule by elected governments but also a vigilant legislature that watches the actions and moves of the cabinet and ruling groups and tests them against the highest interests of the people. They must be ready always to move a vote of censure and turn the government out of office if misconduct is evident. Continuous responsibility subject to instant dismissal—is the condition of democratic government. This is a democratic convention that must be honestly observed and rigidly exacted by the legislators. Mutual back scratching and mutual indulgence for favours received and expected to the detriment of the popular interest will sound the death-knell of democracy.

The rationale of such democratic government ensuring the rule of law and not of mere majority or of cliques should be understood by legislators in the context of the history concerned in winning such rights.

Democracy is in danger everywhere today—even in America, for in America, democracy is in danger of being suffocated by plutocracy! But the most acute of the dangers confronting it in newly independent countries in Asia like ours is the incompetence of the elected members of legislatures. Knowledge of democratic rights and conventions of sovereign legislatures will fortify them in resisting the encroachments of their leaders! They should resist the cult of personality. They have associated government with absolute princely rulers too long. They should not bow their heads to their elected successors. They should resist paternalism and the comforts of Ma Bap government reducing citizens to the status of helpless, sheepish wards of government, unable to fend for themselves. Such dependence is the death of democracy.

Democracy requires courage and self-reliance and love of liberty. Democratic legislators should set an example of such behaviour and character and love of initiative to citizens.

It is said that democracy arises in envy of the wealthy and the powerful. In any case, it demands the habit and readiness of resisting authority suppressing the usual susceptibility to authoritative suggestion common to easy-going people.

It is not enough for democratic governments to act rightly and frame wise policies making for the good of the people. The acts and policies of the government should also appear wise and reasonable to the people in general. Democratic governments should not only publicise their policies among the public showing their reasonableness and beneficence but they should have taken the

people into their confidence from the beginning and have elicited their participation in the discussions that precede decision and policy-making. It is in this respect that Sri Nehru's Five Year Plans make such a poor democratic showing. They are framed at the top and thrust down the throats of the people through expensive mass propaganda.

In addition to such knowledge of democratic history and democratic conventions and procedures, the governing class should have a profound faith in democracy as a way of life and as a system of government.

As a way of life, democracy implies a feeling of the value and importance of the individual citizen, however poor and ignorant he may be. Democracy involves a profound realisation of the dignity of man as man. As the peasant poet Burns says—Man is man for all that: Rank is but the guinea stamp. Man is gold for all that.

This is a spiritual feeling of the ultimate value of the individual person. It is humanism in its deepest essence. Whether man is an immortal soul or no, as a human being he is entitled to all the conditions and opportunities necessary for making the best of his life. Such satisfaction may be defined in terms of happiness or pleasure, self-realisation or moral duty. To recognise such a duty to promote the self-development of all in society is the hall-mark of democratic leadership. The democratic leader as the spokesman of the people is characterised by a keen social conscience. He should be ever ready to contribute his best efforts to remove from society the dead weight of customs coming in the way of the people's advance in such natural self-development. He should be ever ready to cooperate in Parliament and outside in removing the social hindrances to the good life still obtaining in society.

Of course the greatest of such hindrances today in our midst is the back-load of caste as a system of taboos. The greatest need of the hour is to remove these taboos from the minds of the people through example and precept so that the transition to nationalism and humanism from sect and caste can take place as soon as possible.

Such removal will be facilitated by giving due place to the human relationships that spring up naturally in the neighbourhood in town and country cutting across sect and caste and blood relationship. Territorial relationship transcends blood relationship and establishes an open society based on actual relationship to commence and friendship.

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He should have a clear and accurate knowledge of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and their policies. If

he has not such a knowledge at the time of elections, he should have a desire to obtain such knowledge as soon as possible. He should call for books on the subject to be added to the legislature's library as soon as he is elected. He should form study clubs with his fellows in the House and acquire a correct knowledge of international communism. The trenchant book: *Peace or War* by the late Secretary of State for the USA, John Foster Dulles, written in 1951 is still a model of what a legislator should know. He gives a clear exposition in Stalin's own words of the international policy of communism. Stalin declares openly like Hitler the goals of communism's world ambition. He also gives a clear indication of the a-moral strategy and tactics whereby he recommends that his followers and officials should deceive the free world and overcome it for communism!

Unless the legislators realise clearly and tinglingly in their imagination the imminent peril in which Soviet Russia and its fifth columns in the free countries have put the free world, they will not realise the intensity of the struggle for the world now on in the entire international arena. They will not understand the moves on the international chequer board whether in Berlin, the Congo or Laos and South Vietnam. If Indian legislators had such knowledge together with social conscience to match, Sir Nehru could not have got away with his disastrous pro-Russian foreign policies and the country would have risen like one man and driven him out of office by unanimous protest. Both knowledge and will are essential for effective participation in democratic statesmanship.

Another aspect of necessary and relevant knowledge that must be possessed by candidates for the legislatures in our midst pertains to the nature and problems of industrial civilisation. The consequences of modern industrial revolutions in country after country beginning with Great Britain in the midst of the seventeenth century have been manifold and far-reaching, ramifying into every sphere of life, individual and social-marriage and family, education and morality, urbanism and religion etc. There has been a steady drift of populations everywhere into large metropolitan cities crowded into tenements and skyscrapers.

Technology has brought power which has reduced the feeling of dependence on God in urban workers and thinkers.

Overcrowding has broken the moral regulations and sentiments of the past. The entry of women on a large scale into industrial and office occupations has increased the rate of divorce and extended the use of contraception. The search for pleasure and excitement has exceeded all healthy bounds.

The period of education has had to be lengthened postponing the age of independent livelihood.

It has as a consequence postponed the age of marriage.

Socialists and communists and others have come to look upon marriage and family as off-shoots of property in its obsolete shape. They advocate free love and shifting personal relationships without the stigmas of the past stemming from religion.

Gregariousness in crowded cities has uprooted other interests and put in their place a fierce nationalism. It is said that it was the German women with empty hearts crowding the suburbs of cities that supported Hitler with frenzy!

Mechanisation begins to dominate life in all spheres—including philosophy which loses itself in a mathematical analysis of terms and morality which loses itself in a calculus of pleasures and pains.

The candidate for democratic office should have knowledge of these problems of civilisation. If he does not begin with such a knowledge, he should be ready and willing to take pains to acquire such knowledge. We should after election initiate study clubs for discussing sociological theories in terms of current problems in our country.

Then our governors will be able to appraise the real value and limitations of the great Russian and Chinese social experiments. They should put themselves in a position to grasp what is valuable and distinguished from what is evil in both Russian and American civilisations.

They should ransack the world's best sociological knowledge and make it available for social reconstruction in our country without becoming mere followers of either Khrushchov or the USA.

Then will our foreign policy begin to acquire a real logical basis in an independent outlook and will confer freedom and capacity on our rulers to choose what is best in both worlds and adapt them to our conditions to make life better for us in the present and future.

A DE-STALINIZATION JOKE

The De-Stalinization campaign is one of the themes of the latest crop of jokes in Warsaw.

One of the stories about the recent 22nd Soviet Party congress concerns the Polish Party leader, Mr. Wladyslaw Gomulka, and the Polish Premier, Mr. Josef Cyrankiewicz. The two were sleeping in the same Moscow hotel room when Mr. Josef was awakened in the middle of the night by Mr. Gomulka's shouts: "Down with Krushchev. Throw him out".

Terrified Mr. Josef shook Mr. Gomulka awake and asked: "Wieslaw, Wieslaw what are you saying?"

Mr. Gomulka looked around, blinking, and replied: "Oh, Josef, I was just dreaming that I was at the 23rd Congress."

Nehru's New Way Of Thinking

By M. N. THOLAL

A NY intelligent college student would have done better than our Prime Minister if he had been asked to address the UN General Assembly. Mr. Nehru is obviously no speaker, at least of the extempore variety, but he does not believe in delivering prepared speeches, perhaps because his inferiority complex tells him that he will lose his stature thereby. In any case, he must be aware that his sentences often make no sense and he leaves the reader guessing as to what he means. Perhaps it is as well, since he means precious little. Goody-goody bunkum seldom means much, except to those who are determined to admire a man either because it pays them to do so or they have not the sense of discrimination that distinguishes the chaff from the grain.

Mr. Nehru's speeches often remind me of a friend who used to borrow my English books to read and return them with the lament, "My difficulty is that by the time I come to the end of a sentence I have forgotten the beginning." He was very much offended when I suggested to him to read Urdu books, hoping that difficulty would not arise in the case of books in a language that was his mother tongue. Mr. Nehru likewise, it is obvious from the verbatim reports of his speeches, often forgets the beginning of his sentence by the time he comes to the end of it, and the result is far from coherent.

However, fortunately for him there is no limit to the number of people suffering from inferiority complex and blaming themselves for not understanding what Mr. Nehru says. And Mr. Nehru naturally goes up in their estimation. And the greater the number of his lapses the higher he rises in the esteem of his people. That being the process of rising higher and higher, we should not wonder at the stature he has acquired, though he himself sometimes does. Addressing an all-India assembly of scientists some years ago, he blurted out that there must be something in him to have made him rise so high. I am inclined to think that something is not in him so much as in his countrymen, who are easily misled by charlatans and tub-thumpers. The advent of democracy in India has seen the advent of demagogues. It is not only in India that the two advents coincide. They are there in the African as well as other Asian countries. Those who like clapping and cheering—and the vast majority consisting of the empty-headed, always do—do not stop to understand what they are cheering for, if they tried to do so, they would not clap at all. And, since the Afro-Asians now form a substantial portion of the UN Assembly, one need not wonder at Mr. Nehru receiving thunderous cheers for every thundering banality that he thunders there.

FRIENDLY APPROACH.

Mr. Nehru's solution of world problems is a very simple one, conditioned though it obviously is, by the circumstances in which he finds himself as a result of his promised plebiscite on Kashmir. The approach to world problems, he says, should be a friendly one. If it means anything, it means that it should be based on friendship and not on justice and fairplay nor even on principles which Mr. Nehru holds dear, such as anti-colonialism and the right of people to have the sort of government they desire. Our Prime Minister is one of those who do not learn even from their own experience. International problems often become world problems owing to this "friendly" approach. The sacrifice of Tibet (with all his principles) to China by Mr. Nehru was undoubtedly a friendly approach so far as China was concerned. (Perhaps friendship with Tibet could not come into the picture because China was much the bigger state and could help Mr. Nehru rise in stature.) But even so, what was the result of Mr. Nehru's friendly approach to China? Aggression by China, which still continues, and the grabbing by her of nearly 13,000 square miles of our territory, addition to which continues. So, as a result of Mr. Nehru's friendly approach, an international problem became a world problem and the man of peace, that our Prime Minister is supposed to be, has had to threaten world war in case China persisted in her aggression. I have been saying for some decades now that you can always depend on Mr. Nehru for creating problems, not solving them. Witness, for example, his offer of plebiscite to Kashmiris as a condition to Kashmir's accession to India.

It is not as if Mr. Nehru is unaware of that elementary political maxim, "There is no generosity in politics". For, in power politics at home he has been known to be not even fair, to say nothing of being generous. Despite a gentlemen's agreement with the Muslim Leaguers the latter were denied representation in the U.P. Cabinet in 1937, because, in the preceding year's elections, the Congress unexpectedly got a thumping majority, while the gentlemen's agreement for a coalition cabinet was based on the presumption that the Congress and the League together would with difficulty have a majority in the U.P. Legislative Assembly. Circumstances not only alter cases. They also alter gentlemen's agreements. But Mr. Nehru is always for a friendly approach where his own interests are not involved. He does not believe in being generous at his cost. But he has no hesitation in being generous at the cost of others, these "others" including his own convictions and his own country. That kind of generosity in him

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we have been witnessing now for years.

Unlike others, Mr. Nehru is wholeheartedly for the world's advancement. Therefore he cannot understand why the US and the Soviet Governments, despite a good deal of "commonness" in their proposals, should not take up this agreement—whatever that may mean—and divert all the great energies of peoples to the world's advancement. All that appears to be needed is determination. All that seems to be lacking is determination. "The great Powers," he said, "should turn themselves to the question (of disarmament) with a determination not to separate until they reach agreement." It is so easy, and it is a pity the great Powers do not realise it. Can any sensible man after that honestly call them great Powers? Has not our Prime Minister proved that they are foolish, very foolish Powers?

NEW WAY OF THINKING

Mr. Nehru said he had been conditioned to believe that hatred and violence were essentially bad and evil. His non-alignment and his utterances on international affairs lead one almost to believe that even hatred of evil is bad. It is only on that assumption that one can understand the attitude towards Communist governments of this passionate devotee of democracy. What is required, according to Mr. Nehru, is a new way of thinking, which would be a "new development" for humanity. A new way of thinking can only be born of a new kind of mind, and even a prophet cannot usher in a new kind of mind, as if by the wave of a magic wand. It was possible, he added, they were going through this crisis to wake up to a new way of thinking. And this new way of thinking, he indicated, would result from controlling the mind. A kind of mental brahmacharya, presumably. No "flashes of temper", mind you, like his own, which, to put it in his own words, are well-known. Their publicity was for home consumption, to drive terror into the hearts of his colleagues and co-workers. The world now requires a controlled mind and a new way of thinking, born of a friendly approach. (Between you and me and the lamp-post, for the sake of Kashmir.) That, minus the last sentence, is for foreign consumption, and that is why it is doled out in the UN Assembly.

This new way of thinking based on friendly approach equates evil with good—for personal profit. But, says Mr. Nehru, there should be no question of profit and loss for this or that nation, since the choice is not of profit or loss but of survival for everybody. He realised that that sounded "rather vague and amorphous," but his new way of thinking did not permit him to offer any solution or to come down to brass tacks. Had he done so, the cat might have been out of the bag. He could not, however, refrain from observing that "no solution could be found that was based on wounding the honour or self-respect of a country." That is where war starts, with honour or self-respect.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

respect, better known as prestige, "Danzig is ours", said Hitler and its possession became a matter of honour and self-respect for Hitler and Germany. Britain and France said "NO" and the drums of war started beating. Similarly Kashmir is a matter of honour with Mr. Nehru—not the plebiscite which he emotionally promised! Unfortunately, it seems to have become a matter of honour with Pakistan also, for even a military ruler is as keen on getting it as any of his predecessors holding the reins of power in Pakistan by virtue of the people's verdict!

Of course we should not wound people's honour and self-respect. For example, if the Communists prefer to call their dictatorships people's democracies, we should not try to expose or even question their claim, for to do so would be to call them hypocrites, at least indirectly, and that kind of criticism is an assault on one's honour and self-respect. There is one thing about the honour and self-respect of hypocrites, and that is that it is easily wounded, even when the alleged honour and self-respect is a mere pretence, as it usually is. We should therefore be doubly cautious about wounding their honour and self-respect, for the sake of peace, which is synonymous now with our own survival. This is good advocacy for Russian blackmail. One now begins to understand why Messrs Nehru and Menon do not include Russia and China among colonial powers. Mr. Nehru said this same thing more clearly some years ago when he said, with reference to Russia, that it was no use criticising people who couldn't take it and who boil over with rage at criticism. Had he a sense of fairness, he would have said we should criticise them everyday to get them accustomed to criticism. But he preferred to put a premium on bugbearism. Since he himself is a bugbear by choice, it is only natural that he should not be for lashing out at fellow bugbears, or for making them get off the high horse they ride.

People who practise what they preach, like the Americans cannot have their honour and self-respect wounded by criticism, either at home or abroad. There is one more reason why the Communist dictators or their parties should not be criticised or exposed. When they do not allow their own countrymen in their democratic republics to criticise them, how can they allow outsiders—colonialists at that—to criticise them? How can they tolerate their "slander" which is always wounding their honour and self-respect? No wonder our man of Peace is all for protecting the honour and self-respect of the rulers at the Kremlin and declines—except momentarily to please American pressmen—to include Soviet Russia, the greatest colonial power on earth among colonial Powers.

CHINA'S ADMISSION

So great indeed is Mr. Nehru's insistence on the approach to problems being a friendly one

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ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

The Swatantra Manifesto

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

THE two year old party, namely, the Swatantra Party has just released its election manifesto to the press with a clear cut programme. What distinguishes it from other parties is that it makes no tall promises to the people in spite of the fact that its leaders are fully aware that there is little chance of its being voted to power. It will be welcomed by the intelligentsia of the Country because it is based on certain objectives and policies for which it will work, if given the opportunity. It is a challenge to the ruling party who by the acts of commission and omission and with a rule of dictatorship in the name of democracy has brought about misery, suffering and hardship to the people. In the preindependence era miseries and hardships were attributed to the British rule and it was expected that our national leaders would set the matter right but now the people have realised that the sufferings of the preindependence era were more enjoyable than the present ones. The British at least had some ideals and principles which are thrown to the wind by the present rulers. "Hoarding and unscrupulous black marketing are resorted to as a social menace to keep the position and influence and the distressed are overlooked for the privileges of a few. Character is thrown to the winds as against wealth. Justice is getting blinder and there is growing of a wide disparity amongst individuals. Unemployment is on the increase, the able-bodied men have to beg and live on doles; honesty is more a disqualification for a peaceful living and all is in turmoil. The country is being driven towards Communism and communalism and the democracy we dreamt of is now only the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a few people supported by Yes men and if this state of affairs is allowed to continue teeming millions of India will have to face more and more miseries in times to come." This is the sad experience that we are facing during the last fourteen years of Independence. This is mainly due to the fact that we have no strong opposition party either in the Centre or in the State. The various parties that exist today are not quite different from the ruling party and they have no proper programme and policies to be placed before the electorate for their support. The present opposition parties in Legislature are too weak and powerless. There is an urgent need to

put a brake to the statism of the ruling party and the manifesto of Swatantra Party has offered the country "for the first time with an opposition with a clear cut alternative way of governance which can take over from the present ruling party whenever the people call upon it to do so." The manifesto says "every voter who realises the importance of such an opposition and who does not want the all embracing statism of the Congress party will refuse to give it a fresh lease of untrammelled power, which would be tantamount to perpetuation of one party rule and will give their support to Swatantra Party candidates whenever they offer themselves for election, so that democracy may be safeguard."

The manifesto says that the primary obligation of the Government is to provide the common man with food, clothing and shelter and also fuller employment, more schools, more minor irrigation projects and more small industries. It also gives top priority to clean drinking water to rural areas and to housing in both rural and urban areas. It has also realised the supreme importance of the development of roads and inland water transport. The manifesto realises the urgent need of mobile ambulance facilities in rural areas. The leaders of the Swatantra Party rightly believes that all these objectives are within the reach of the country provided the large funds which are now spent on spectacular and gigantic projects are properly utilised for the welfare of the common man.

At present the prices of consumer goods and especially of foodgrains are rising day by day and during the Second Five Year Plan they have increased by 42% and ruling party has miserably failed to stabilise them. The Swatantra Party rightly believes that the prices should be stabilised. It also promises that there should be a drastic reduction in heavy and reckless taxation and wasteful expenditure. It is against joint farming because of the official control that it involves and of its conviction that individual ownership and effort will be more conducive to better results than collective ownership and organisation of production. It has also made attractive promises to the farmers. It promises abolition of land taxes except to the extent necessary for maintaining ownership records; support to an adequate level

of agricultural prices relative to the prices of industrial commodities; establishment of insurance fund against natural calamities; adequate wages to the landless agricultural labour and protection of permanently employed labour in agriculture; speedy electrification in rural areas; establishment of small scale modernised industries in the country in order to absorb the surplus agricultural labour.

The manifesto of Swatantra Party is against Trading, bureaucratic controls, centralised planning and "extra constitutional dictation of the Planning Commission." On the other hand it is in favour of the development of small scale industries, consumer goods industries, rural electrification and road transport. The party is against monopoly and concentration of economic power whether in the public or in the private sector.

From this it is quite clear that the leaders of the Swatantra Party have rightly realised the difficulties of the common man. He is suffering from the rising prices but greatest peril according to the manifesto is statism which has expressed itself in "permit-licence-raj." This concentration of political and economic power has resulted in reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and blackmarketing. It is a fact that the ruling party has sacrificed the urgent needs of common man by adopting near communist planning. It must be admitted that the Swatantra Party is fully aware of the fact that it has to give a tough fight to a party well entrenched in the seats of power. It has to fight against the prevailing mood of the country in which large scale State intervention and initiative are taken for granted. This mood of looking up to the State for everything has to be changed if a libertarian society with minimum of state control is to be achieved. The chief merit of this manifesto lies in the fact that it has refused to make impossible promises in a bid for popular support. The manifesto may not have glamour but to say that it is uninspiring is nothing but nonsense. The party does hope not to come to power in the immediate future but to play the role of "missing component in the democratic framework of our national life." In other words it seeks to function as a strong Opposition Party which will serve as a check on the growing statism of the ruling party. The manifesto is a challenge to the people because it is based on different outlook and ideology. It may be called a manifesto of Opposition and not the manifesto of Government. Economic development of our country cannot be rapid unless the present trends are reversed and that can be done only by Swatantra Party as a strong, vigilant opposition party. Economic development in India requires both accelerator and a brake. The public sector has provided an accelerator by increasing purchasing power through deficit financing and now time has come to apply a brake and a wise and

intelligent voter will recognise that Swatantra Party in opposition is quite essential at this stage if the individual liberties as guaranteed in the Constitution are to be safeguarded. It is the duty of every voter to cast his or her vote in favour of Swatantra candidate. That is the only way to allow our democracy to function properly.

One must congratulate those who have framed the Manifesto of the Party because "in that they have concentrated in a concise form both a philosophy and a plan of action which is new to Indian political life. It is hoped that it will have significant success at the polls to achieve its prime function, namely to place a brake on the monolithic power of the Congress effectively to promote individual effort and freedom." The party is to be judged by what it offers positively and this Swatantra Manifesto is a unique one because it has not only indicated what it will do and what it will not do but also how it proposes to implement its promises. It is the manifesto that will lead our country to prosperity through freedom. An impression is gaining ground that Swatantra Party is against Planning, foreign aid and development of heavy industries. But a careful study of the manifesto shows that it tries to show to the public the shortcomings of the approach of the party in power on a number of issues and to suggest workable alternatives such as would not offend the traditional and spiritual values that have always been prized by the people of this country.

"However impressive the manifesto of a political party may be, its import and implications cannot be expected fully to percolate to the man in the street or the people in the remotest village. The voting will not therefore necessarily reflect an appreciation or understanding of the manifesto but it is bound to reflect at least in part, in the disapproval of certain policies and actions of the party in power, and if the section registering such disapproval is sufficiently large, the feeling in business circles is that it is probable that the political party benefitting largely by this will be the Swatantra Party. It would then be for the Swatantra Party to prove how effective as an opposition it will function. For it is not only the leaders and spokesmen of the Swatantra Party that want an effective opposition but all lovers of parliamentary democracy generally."

We are sure that manifesto will infuse courage in the minds of the electorate and we have no doubt that a large number of voters will vote in favour of the Swatantra Party because it will lead the country to prosperity without destroying the individual liberties. All lovers of freedom are therefore required to cast their votes in favour of Swatantra.

* Equalizing Opportunities—II

NEXT STEP FOR MANKIND

By Wendal Bull

A government's domination over a certain geographical area is of no consequence until it becomes a factor in the rulership and "orderly" exploitation of some men by others. Speculating in land and the notorious wealth accruing to shrewd/and or lucky landowners in the U.S.A., all under protection of law, points up the land tenure problem. (See Chandler: Land Title Origins). This is a problem in government in economics and in ethics no more than it is a problem in education. How can people be educated to realize that our unalienable rights to life and liberty are involved here? Surely no man is reasonably persuaded that these rights can be realized in a vacuum. Yet we have acted as if man could enjoy equal rights to life within customs which deny equal rights of access to the elemental means of livelihood, the land.

Regardless of whether he is a city dweller or a backwoodsman, every man's moral existence necessitates his occupancy and use of certain sites on the surface of the earth. Continuation of his existence necessitates his daily consumption of certain parts of the mineral, vegetable and animal fruits of the earth. The earth and all the fullness thereof are naturally free provisions. Men's right to life is inescapably compromised so long as a legal toll-gate stands between them and these provisions of nature, apart from which human life cannot exist nor be carried.

Moreover, it appears obvious that equal rights to life cannot be realized where some men enjoy the privilege of commanding land rent while others must pay the toll or else join the Eskimos.

Legal titles to land are a form of privilege granted by governments—a kind of sub-letting of the governments' dominion over the land. To be sure, "dominion over the land" is a euphemism which tends to make the actuality—dominion over the inhabitants—less unpalatable. Like all privileges granted by the U.S. government, land titles (granted by states usually) are maintained under the ultimate sanction of armed might on the one hand, and with the "consent of the governed" on the other hand.

Why do "the governed" consent to privileges for some and privations for others? Largely because the custom is so well established that it seems natural, and therefore unquestionable. When challenged, property in land may be de-

fended in the same way that property in men was defended a hundred years ago, namely, as a necessity to the good life.

Land value and land rent are commonly regarded by political economists as natural phenomena. Ricardo's law of rent was called by John Stuart Mill the *pons asinorum* of political economy. Henry George said the law of rent "has the self-evident character of a geometric axiom." All of this makes good sense within the frame of reference of the political economists. But we are under no obligation to accept their premise. Indeed, if we see errors of fact or of logic in the thinking of "the authorities," it is our duty, in serving the fuller discovery of truth which they also served, to expose their errors and to set up an amended frame of reference.

I will set forth premises in the light of which land rent represents pure oppressive power. Men who willingly pay other men for the right of access to natural resources, which Nature provides free, are following an inhuman custom. Equality of opportunities can never be realized among men who honor the value which is represented in land titles.

NEW PREMISES AND DEFINITIONS

I have just used the word "value". This is the most misleading word in the political economists' vocabulary. In my opinion the phenomenon of land rent would never have come into existence but for the equivocal and confusing conception of "value" which grew up in the ancient beginnings of economic commerce. To untangle the various meanings of this word is at the same time to reveal the artificial and unethical nature of land rent. To accomplish these purposes a digression is necessary in order to indicate the frame of reference in which my position makes sense. (For the essential insights which follow I am most heavily indebted to Warren E. Brokaw: *Equitable Society and How to Create It*—out of print).

In making a living, or in the production of human satisfactions, there are two, not three or more, prime factors involved. The first is land, under which head we mean to include all natural resources, or all of the things and forces which exist without human exertion. The second is human effort, the exertion of brain and brawn in any proportions, commonly called labor.

To reject capital as a third prime factor in the production of wealth is to contradict the most eminent authorities in the field. For example, Henry George said, "...for as land, labor, and capital join in producing wealth, it is between

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these three that the produce must be divided." There is an error of logic here. It is clear that all capital goods are produced by the exertion of human effort applied in natural resources. It is not permissible in logic to classify some of the products of the two prime factors in the same category with the prime factors themselves. George tries to justify the breach of logic in this way. "...production does not merely mean the making of things, but includes the increase of value gained by transporting or exchanging things." (Emphasis added). Let us not be deceived by that term "value gained." Either transporting and exchanging things involves some expenditure of labor or it does not. If it does not, then no one should be paid and no one should reap a "value gained" for it. If it does cost labor to transport and exchange things, then these expenditures of human effort should be recompensed on the same basis as all labor contributions to the total production. But in neither case is there any third factor involved which can properly be given the same status as land and labor.

Proceeding now on the premise of two prime factors in production, it is plain that the first, land, was originally available to all men without cost. I have already suggested that equal rights to life and liberty cannot be realized among men who do not enjoy equally free access to the land. I would now suggest that the land-tenure problem will not be solved until access to land is again available to all men without cost. This is not to intimate that we should return to the primitive conditions of the Stone Age. We need only to understand and to correct the mistakes of our predecessors.

Adam Smith saw that, where land was free, labor was the first price and the only just price paid for products. If labor is the only cost of producing human satisfactions, then the exchange-value of all products must be directly related to the labor costs. Smith observed this too. He said, "Labor is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities." But Smith did not pursue this line of thought. Josiah Warren did. Beginning in 1827, Warren operated a retail store in Cincinnati for a period of about three years, where his famous dictum, "Cost the limit of price" was practised to a certain extent. Later, attempts were made to promulgate this idea, along with other libertarian ideas, in intentional communities in Ohio and in New York state.

All efforts to put into practice this conception that true exchange-value and equitable price should never exceed the labor-costs of production have been hamstrung by two facts. First, the entire surrounding economy has always been operating on the profit incentive. Thus Warren's customers were plentiful because they could see it was to their advantage to trade with him, but his suppliers were not persuaded, as Warren himself was, that serving the general welfare was

more attractive than garnering private profits. Second, Warren did not have, nor did Owen or Stephen Pearl Andrews have, a clearly objective means of measuring labor-costs. This point will be elaborated later.

It should be clear that where land is free, all prices in excess of labor-costs—all prices bring a net profit to the seller—must include a charge, or charges, other than for labor and in addition to labor-costs. To distinguish such prices from equitable prices we call them market-values. Thus market-value which means a combination of true exchange-value of things in order that the businessman may gain an interest return, is the same kind of value which attaches to land, fetching the landlord a rental income. This other kind of value which is very distinctly different from exchange-value because it bears no relation to labor-costs, may be called expropriate-value or exploitive-value or plunder value. (Marx called it surplus-value).

Brokaw analyzed and clarified the confusing concept of value in a slightly different way. He said the core meaning of the word is power (from Latin Valeo, be strong), that exchange value is the power of human work to satisfy human desires; that market-value is a combination of exchange-value and tribute-compelling power; and that land-value is pure tribute-compelling power.

This digression on the prime factors of production and on the meaning of the enigmatic word "value" was begun in order to make clear what was meant by the statement that equality of opportunities can never be realized among men who honor the value which is represented in land titles. This statement can now be made more explicit. Equal opportunities, or the certain unalienable rights with respect to which all men are created equal, according to the American Declaration of Independence, cannot be understood, therefore cannot be struggled for and demanded by the people—much less can they be made secure by government—among men who honor land-value by willingly yielding tribute for the right of access to land.

(To be continued)

THE PRICE OF NATIONALISATION

Enquiries made in Indian Airlines circles, here reveal that there is a tremendous rush for seats from Madras to New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. All IAC services are going full from Madras to various destinations in the north. There is a constant waiting list of about 20 passengers daily on each of the flights to Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi of whom about five "chance passengers" may be lucky to board the plane at the airport due to last minute cancellations. The situation has been further aggravated by the grounding of many Viscounts due to one reason or other.

—"The Hindu"

Nehru Beaten By China On All Fronts

(From Our Correspondent)

DEFENDING the indefensible is no easy task and it is not at all surprising that Congress MPs should have several times found themselves breaking into laughter at their Prime Minister's statements on December 5 when he intervened in the debate on the latest Chinese incursions. An irrefutable line of argument was open to Mr. Nehru, but he did not resort to it. Having regard to the fact that almost all parties support the policy of non-alignment, he could have very well turned round and asked his critics, "What other policy is open to us under non-alignment, which is an article of faith with almost every one in Parliament?" Although that is an article of faithlessness rather than faith, his critics would have been hard put to it to give even

(Continued from page 8)

that he told UN reporters in New York that India did not propose to raise the question of Chinese aggression at the UN if China were admitted to that organisation. That throws a flood of light on Mr. Nehru. His countrymen, who still have some faith in his patriotism, have been of the opinion that he wants China admitted to the UN so that the pressure of world opinion there may persuade China at least to refrain from further aggression, if not to vacate the territory wrongly occupied by her. But that is not the reason for Mr. Nehru's advocacy of China's admission into the UN. What then is the reason? Just flattery of the Communist Bloc?

In his address to the UN Assembly there is not one plea for justice and fairplay, not one plea for the people's right everywhere—including the Communist Bloc—to have a government of their choice, while there were references to French imperialism and colonialism in Algeria and Portuguese imperialism and colonialism in Angola. Could partisanship go further? And yet it must be admitted in fairness to Mr. Nehru that he has good reasons to be frightfully afraid of Soviet Russia without whose aid Kashmir would look like slipping out of India's hands. But this should make all Indians think furiously. How far should we allow this Russian stranglehold to direct our foreign policy?

As for Mr. Nehru's new way of thinking, it can be briefly summed up. It consists in making a virtue of necessity, in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds in pursuit of personal glory, and, above all, in straining at gnats while swallowing camels.

a plausible reply.

Mr. Nehru said he avoided saying things in an offensive way. Yet when Prof. Ranga made the most pertinent observation of the day while interrupting the Prime Minister "the northern border was not looked after for a hundred years," as the Prime Minister had complained, "because Tibet was protected by the former British Government" — Mr. Nehru made the senseless observation, "I find it a little difficult to follow the tortuous working of the Acharya's (Prof. Ranga's) mind". Prof. Ranga had referred to a historical fact which every one knows, and it is obvious that as a result of that protection of Tibet, there was no need of looking after the frontier for a hundred years. Against whom was the frontier to be protected? Against the protected?

The abandonment of Tibet to the tender mercies of the Chinese Communist Government was the initial blunder, both morally and politically, from which flows all that has been happening on the Indian border since the occupation of Tibet by China. Mr. Nehru denied being an unmitigated fool, but that was an act of unmitigated folly. President Truman, to see whom Mr. Nehru went about that time to the USA, had then warned him of the consequences of abandoning Tibet to China, but our Prime Minister did not heed his warning. Not only had President Truman warned him. He had also promised full American support against Tibet being occupied by China. The Prime Minister said he would like members to consider what exactly India could have done in Tibet. He should have left the UN to decide what had to be done in Tibet. There was a power vacuum and he should have asked the UN to take charge. There was no question then, as he suggested, of condemnation of Chinese actions in Tibet, for the simple reason that these actions were yet to begin. The condemnation or action had to come from the UN. There was no question either of "bewailing our lot", as he said. He could have said to the UN, "India does not want to protect Tibet as her colony. But there is danger to Tibet's independence and the UN should take up the task of protecting that country from possible aggression." What was wrong in that for a great anti-colonialist like Mr. Nehru? What is the UN for, if not to protect the weak against the strong? In any case Mr. Nehru would then have done his duty by the world and India and followed his own professed convictions. He did not do so and preferred to take chances, to trust the untrustworthy, and now he says, "I am completely unrepentant

about the policy we adopted towards Tibet," although he himself admitted in one of his previous speeches in Parliament on the subject that Tibet and China have precious little in common. Can obstinacy and pig-headedness go farther? Not only that. He said in the course of his latest performance, "We are friendly to every country, including China." Here is China occupying thousands of square miles of our territory after occupying thousands of square miles of our territory and he and his Government are friendly with China. Such is our Prime Minister! Are not statements like these a hint to the Chinese Government to go ahead?

TORTUOUS WORKING

Mr. Nehru said he knew right from the beginning that a fundamental change in the situation on our borders was a historic change which might affect our frontiers and bring danger. Why then did he court that danger? Why then did he take chances in the matter of the security of the country? He admitted that the Chinese aggression in Ladakh took place mainly because of various developments in Tibet. Why did he allow those developments to take place? And yet he accused Prof. Ranga's mind of "tortuous working" when Mr. Nehru himself said the same thing in other words. When a man cannot give a reasonable explanation for his action, one has to probe his mind and find an explanation for his doing something contrary to all that he has been swearing by for fifty years. And that explanation is not usually complementary to the doer of the most amazingly extra-ordinary action.

All who know Mr. Nehru know that the motive springs of whatever he does is self-glorification in the pursuit of the cult of personality and the desire for international leadership. Before independence it was the desire for national leadership and he used to excuse himself by saying that the developments could not be anticipated. How can the developments be anticipated when the approach is corrupt, when it is not the good of the country? The Chinese had prepared Mr. Nehru for taking up a negative attitude to what they shrewdly expected President Truman to propose in regard to Tibet, by accusing Mr. Nehru in advance of being "a running dog of American imperialism". And our Prime Minister succumbed to their tactics, without the least consideration for the right thing in the circumstances. The fact is we have been beaten on all fronts by the Chinese, the tactical front, the diplomatic front and the military front. That is the plain truth of the matter. And that has happened because Mr. Nehru does not think in terms of the country. And he hasn't got them because he doesn't want them. Men with brains are not lacking in India. Only he has a natural aversion to them and doesn't like his whims and fancies to be led astray by patriotic cogitation.

It is true that, as Mr. Nehru said, reconnaissance parties consisting of two, three, four or five people concentrate on getting information and do not spread out to engage themselves in warfare, but reconnaissance in mountainous regions is not in these modern times done by men on foot or even on horseback. It is done by airplanes. These reconnaissance planes from high up in the air can do in a few minutes what men on foot cannot do even in months. Modern cameras can take pictures which can even tell whether a man thousands of feet below is smoking a cigar or a cigarette. And yet apparently they are not sent for the purpose over our own territory. Why? For fear they may be shot down, as the Prime Minister said on a similar occasion a few years ago. What else can be the reason? That sums up the deplorable situation in which India finds herself today. The truth is that militarily we are a very weak nation and cannot defend the country against the Chinese without an alliance with some Big power, but that is ruled out by all parties with their commitment to non-alignment. Non-alignment is the ideal best, without doubt. But we should not make the ideal unpracticable best the enemy of the practical second best. That is the mistake we made when Congressmen rejected Mohammad Ali's formula of candidates for elections securing a certain percentage of votes of both communities among Hindus as well as Muslims—in favour of the ideal joint electorate system. We are making the same mistake again. That being the situation there is no point really in any Opposition argument and the Prime Minister is doing the best he can—his lonely best, our lonely best—and that best includes submission to Chinese aggression whenever and wherever it might take place. Non-alignment is our dharma, our suicidal dharma, and we are following it to the bitter end.

BRAVO RAGHUVIRA!

One Congress M. P., Dr. Raghuvira, has had the heart to resign from the Congress Party by way of protest against the Government's handling of the Chinese incursions. It is like a dim candle lit to make the darkness visible, and yet one wonders if the darkness is really visible to Congressmen. That he has done so on the eve of the general elections does him credit. Mr. Nehru's critics are not wanting in the Congress camp itself. What is wanting is courage, what Mr. Nehru may or may not do. It sometimes looks like being a question of mobilising opinion in the Congress Party. Perhaps Dr. Raghuvira would have done better to canvass support among fellow MPs in an attempt to rope in some others too to demand Mr. Menon's resignation. Perhaps that was ruled out by the approaching general elections making every one anxious to get a ticket for himself, nervous about his chances of getting it. With Congress MPs it is not a question of what the country gains or loses, but of what the MPs as individuals gain or lose by being frank at this critical juncture in the country's history.

TARA SINGH ON TERRA FIRMA

Master Tara Singh, who had been demanding an inquiry into the grievances of the Sikhs, has had an inquiry set upon him and, what is more, has been found guilty of violating the sacred vow he took before the Akal Takht that he would either die fasting or attain Punjabi Suba. That is what comes of mixing religion with politics. For bluff and bluster may be permissible in politics. It cannot be indulged in the sacred precincts of the Golden Temple with impunity, without making a mockery of sacred shrines. The violation of the vow, repeated several times, was flagrant, and the verdict of the five Sikh high priests was a foregone conclusion. What, however, is a matter of surprise is that even after being found guilty of violating his sacred vow and being punished therefor, he has almost immediately after the sentence been elected President of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee unopposed. Need of unity in frustration may be conceded, but Master Tara Singh would have been well-advised not to stand for the Presidentship of the SGPC as a self-imposed penance. We may not have seen the end of the Punjabi Suba agitation, but it is to be hoped that India has seen the end of fasting as a political weapon, her spirituality notwithstanding. If that is so, Master Tara Singh would appear to have inadvertently done a distinct service to the country.

As for the boycott of the Commission appointed to persuade him to give up his fast, the Home Minister had made it perfectly clear that the personnel of the Commission was for the Government to decide and this statement by him had found ample publicity in the country's Press. After that the plea of private assurances cannot hold water, as the Home Minister's statement on the subject should have been impugned at once in the face of private assurances to the contrary. However, it is a case of "Jan bachi aur lakhon paye". (Life saved is millions gained.) And no one should grudge Master Tara Singh a longer leadership. Even Master Tara Singh with all his exuberance would take a long time to forget what he has gone through during the unfortunate fast and the still more unfortunate aftermath of the fast.

As for leadership we all know that in India mistakes and blunders count for little in the matter of leadership and it is not the Sikh community alone that can be blamed for not discarding its leader even after flagrant breaches of promises. We have Messrs Nehru and Menon, who had vowed not to yield another square inch of territory to the Chinese and now they have been forced to resort to quibbling in the matter of the latest addition to Chinese territory out of Indian territory. Indeed, in India leaders rise in stature after Himalayan blunders. There is no reason why Master Tara Singh should not do so.

Swatantra Party Convention At Agra

CLEAN GOVERNMENT IF ELECTED SWATANTRA PARTY'S PROMISE TO PEOPLE

THE General Council of the Swatantra Party, which met at Agra on November 24, approved the party's election manifesto as drafted by the Central Organising Committee with a few minor amendments.

The council added a clause to the draft manifesto declaring that the party would work for the democratisation of the administration in Union territories.

By another amendment, the council expressed its opposition to the nationalisation of industry.

STATE TRANSPORT

Another amendment sought to add the State Transport Corporation to the list of Government undertakings whose monopoly would be ended if the party was voted into office.

The council hoped that the "electorate will rise to the occasion and be guided by those who see the dangers implicit in the present situation and will refuse to give a fresh lease of untrammelled power to the Congress as it will otherwise be tantamount to the perpetuation of one-party rule."

The council assured the people that, if returned to power, the party would give a clean adminis-

tration and rid the country of the "tyrannical regulation of national life through controls, permits and licences."

It maintained that there was a great deal that the Government could do in a developing economy such as improvement of roads and other forms of communications, transport and making cheap power available.

The council maintained that the economic policy pursued by the Congress had "proved disastrous". "It means heavy and oppressive taxes and higher prices", the council said.

It has also resulted, according to the council, in "reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and black-marketing."

The Swatantra Party's way of governance, on the other hand, the council declared, was based on faith in the people leading to orderly progress. It opposed "near-communist planning by subordinating the interest of the common man through spectacular long-term projects."

The council condemned the "erroneous policy of placing citizens at the mercy of officials, Ministers and party bosses."

The policy, it said, fostered wide-spread corruption resulting in the break-down of moral values.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

The council adopted a resolution demanding the immediate severance of diplomatic relations with China if the Union Government was not competent to make effective measures for the vacation of Chinese aggression.

It placed on record the party's condemnation on "the drift in which the Congress Government had allowed itself to be bogged in respect of Chinese aggression."

The council viewed the "present martial talk" about Goa as "an attempt to divert the attention from the indefensible errors of the Government on Chinese policy on the eve of the general election."

It maintained that not only had there been no defence against aggression, but that the Union Government continued its policy of "keeping the public in the dark until forced to make an admission."

By another resolution, the council recorded its disapproval of the "feeble and inadequate" gesture of the Government to the "defiance by Russia of the appeal of the Western Powers and the United Nations to maintain the moratorium on nuclear test explosions."

At the suggestion of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur, the council decided to reduce the annual party membership fee from 50 nP. to 25 nP. with effect from January 1 next.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES UNDER FIRE

Strong condemnation of the Government's national and international policies marked the proceedings of the opening session of the two-day national convention of the Swatantra Party held at Agra on November 25 and 26.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and the Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, were the special targets of attack. The former was denounced as a virtual dictator and the latter as a pro-Communist. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's appeal to members to avoid personal attacks in their speeches remained unheeded.

Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur received a big ovation when she entered the convention hall.

Among those seated on the dias were Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Maharaja of Ramgarh and Mr. M. R. Masani. The proceedings began with the recitation of Vedic mantras by a film artist, Prem Nath.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was cheered when he rose to move a resolution condemning Chinese aggression. The resolution, seconded by Mr. Nagoke, was carried unanimously. About half a dozen amendments to the resolution were either withdrawn or rejected.

The convention, technically described as a delegates' session, also adopted resolutions deploring the Government's attitude towards nuclear tests

by Russia; demanding further democratisation of the administrative machinery in the Union Territories; reducing the party's annual membership fee from 50 nP. to 25 nP., and extending support to the hill people's demand for the protection of their economic, social and cultural interests.

In his opening remarks, the chairman Mr. Ranga, said that his party might capture power in one or two States. In some other States it would be strong enough to offer resistance to the ruling party and protect the interests of the masses, he added.

Mr. Ranga maintained that the country during 14 years of Congress rule had considerably weakened. Corruption had increased and prices of essential commodities had shot up.

The convention finally approved the party's election manifesto as drafted by the central committee and modified by the General Council without incorporating any change.

Discussion on only one clause, which sought to abolish land taxes in the event of the party returning to power, generated some heat. Some members held the view that no government could efficiently function and discharge its numerous responsibilities without realising land revenue.

Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Lobo Prabhu, a retired I.C.S. officer, emphatically pleaded for the retention of this clause. Mr. Prabhu said that land revenue constituted only 2.5 per cent. of the Government revenue. The Government spent at least as much on realising land revenue as it received, he said.

The clause was retained by an overwhelming majority.

PREMIER BLAMED FOR CHINESE AGGRESSION

The national convention of the Swatantra Party ended its two-day session on November 26 with an appeal to the people to remove the Congress from power.

The convention charged the ruling party with having "miserably failed to protect the territorial integrity of India, interfered with the freedom of the individuals and progressively denied opportunities to the people to participate in the economic development of the country."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. N. G. Ranga exhorted the people to be brave, shed all fears and support the Swatantra Party if they wanted the aggressors to be thrown out and the cult of "proletarianism of the Nehru pattern and socialism of the Congress brand" destroyed.

The session was held at Swatantra Nagar, an artistically-designed township set up here. About 10,000 people packed the spacious pandal long before the proceedings began.

Earlier, Mr. Ranga, chairman of the Swatantra Party, was taken out in a mile-long procession

through several decorated streets of the town. The procession was led by two elephants, followed by 12 camels, several horses and a few dancing parties. Peoples from house-tops showered rose petals on the procession.

At the convention, the formal announcement by Mr. Ranga of the merger of the Gantantra Parishad (Orissa) with the Swatantra Party was greeted with thunderous cheers.

Book Review

THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY by Dr. F. A. Hayek. Published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 1960. Pages 570. Price 45s. net.

Dr. Hayek is the author of the much-discussed and provoking book: **The Road to Serfdom** which was published in London during the latter part of the last war. That book challenged in a sharp and uncompromising way the ruling socialist assumptions that swayed the governing classes in England during the war, silencing even Conservatives with the argument of war necessity. With the cessation of the war, Churchill was thrown out by the electorate and Attlee's Labor Government wedded to "socialism in our generation" was installed in office.

Economic and social thinkers were permeated by the Fabian school of thought and supported socialist policies without compunction and hesitation. But experience soon caused second thoughts to emerge in thinking minds.

Meanwhile Dr. Hayek's book, though pooh-poohed for a time as reactionary, began to sink into the national subconscious and the earlier values of liberty began to regain their ascendancy gradually over independent minds.

Dr. Hayek pointed out that what seemed new and apparently progressive ideas of socialist policy in welfare economics (through nationalisation of key industries geared to public service rather than private profit) were all tried out in Bismarckian Germany two generations before the Labour Government in England and one generation before the New Deal of President Roosevelt in the USA. And they had ended in disappointing results. Far from yielding abundance, efficiency declined catastrophically; labour did not experience the dreams of an earthly paradise forecast by socialist prophets. And government as employer was found to be as ruthless and unmindful of the working man's demands as the private capitalist or joint stock company! Meanwhile the cost of administration grew enormously by the proliferation of bureaucracy to manage new welfare services and instead of expansion and prosperity, failed to deliver the goods. So Dr. Hayek pointed to the moral that freedom is best for economic prosperity as well as for yielding a surplus that can be used for welfare through high taxation.

Now in this effort: **The Constitution of Liberty**, Dr. Hayek completes his argument for freedom with a full-fledged science of liberty. He describes in detail the primary functions of Government as consisting in maintaining a sphere of freedom to the citizens in their private life by preventing by lawful force any attacks on individual liberty by each other. The State has to provide a system of counter-coercion and restraint whereby the aggressive coercion and constraint of citizens on each other's liberty can be checked.

Dr. Hayek passes on to the new departments of welfare and points out that the State should observe certain inherent limitations in this field. It should enter only where individual and group action are not available or are insufficient as in public health, road-making, company law, the law of property and contract, criminal law, etc. In every field, law should be general in nature, certain in operation and should enable individuals to plan their own lives within its limits. He reviews the modern departments of health and medicine, law and labour legislation, money and currency, economic policy, education and research, agriculture, taxation and so on. He makes out a case for the observance of principles eschewing monopoly on the part of the State and for the promotion of private initiative to individuals.

The book is a comprehensive text-book of liberty that should become the constant companion of the citizen as a guide to his relations to the State.

It is full of creative hints on how to draw the line between individual and State action. It is in a class with Mill's classic of nineteenth century liberalism, brought up to date. It is indispensable to political journalists more than to any other group unless it be that of active parliamentarians and lawyers.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

HAS CONGRESS KILLED PATRIOTISM?

It was admitted in Parliament that after the Prime Minister had given an assurance, that the Chinese would not be allowed to occupy one inch of our land, they have recently occupied 2,000 square miles. The Defence Minister who had boasted that our troops, with better arms and shorter lines of communication could hold the Chinese, was not in Parliament to explain why the army had failed. He was indulging in what the army could do against Goa, with probably another underestimate of what Portugal and its Nato allies could do to our troops and to the economies of the country, in case of unprovoked aggression.

Nehru informed the Parliament that "the Government would not take any reciprocal action because of the many restrictions imposed by the Chinese Government on the Indian embassy in

Peking and other Indian missions in China." No one asked why when he threatens Goa and Pakistan constantly, he is not prepared to retaliate in equal measure for the humiliations we are suffering from China. There is no question of war from reciprocal diplomatic measures.

The question that arises is whether Nehru and Menon are not more communist than the communists themselves, when they support China in the U.N., in Tibet, in Laos, and conceal or ignore their communism, they will not forgive their communism; they will not forgive their betrayal of the country's territory and dignity. That much of patriotism is in the people, which will probably change the Congress prospects at the elections.

—Insight

News & Views

MUSLIM PLOT FOR NEW 'HOMELAND' CALCUTTA

Fifty-six Pakistani Muslims were arrested by the Calcutta police from one single house in a Muslim majority locality of the city in the early hours of November 25, for unauthorised entry and residence in India during a combing of the city following reports of large-scale Pakistani infiltration in and around Calcutta.

The police bid to unearth Pakistani pockets in the metropolitan and port area of Calcutta coincided with reports published in a local daily yesterday that a section of Indian Muslims under the leadership of three influential Muslim leaders was secretly organising their community to put up before the Government of India the demand for a separate "Muslim Homeland in India."

A few secret meetings held in different parts of the city devoted to popularising this "Muslim Homeland" idea as a prelude to precipitate a demand backed by the Muslim community have been held in different parts of the city, according to information in possession of the Government.

The protagonists of the "Muslim Homeland in India" are canvassing that a separate Indian State for Muslims, where the Hindus and other communities may also stay but as minorities, is a necessity for the safety of Indian Muslims in the present situation in the country, brought into sharp focus by happenings in Aligarh and other places.

"HELP FINLAND"

CALL TO NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

WASHINGTON, Mr. Louis Fischer, author and political commentator, has asked non-aligned nations to go to the aid of Finland.

In a letter to *The New York Times*, he says: "If the non-aligned countries do not defend non-alignment everywhere, their own may suffer."

He suggests that the Afro-Asian countries should introduce a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly on the question of Finland.

Mr. Fischer adds: "It seems to me that the champions of non-alignment—Nehru, Sukarno, U Nu, Tito—all heads of States and Governments of the non-aligned world would naturally and logically make their voice heard when a small country with a fine record of non-alignment is in the process of being forced out of non-alignment into a military pact which it clearly does not want."

The distance of Finland from other leading non-aligned countries does not dismay Mr. Fischer. "The wish to help erases distances", he says.

"NEO-IMPERIALISM OF RUSSIA"

TORONTO, Nov. 23 (AFP).

"Communist Russia to pose as the champion of human liberty and the liberator of the captive peoples is a complete travesty of truth," Mr. John Diefenbaker, Canadian Prime Minister, said here last night.

Soviet colonialism, as colonialism elsewhere, must be equally condemned at the United Nations. "There should be no double standards in the U. N.," the Canadian Premier said, while addressing a meeting of ethnical groups.

The Canadian Government would try to obtain sufficient support at the United Nations "to brand the Soviet and Communist slave regime imposed on a great many countries," at least by the next session of the General Assembly, Mr. Diefenbaker said.

He added: "For too long the USSR and its satellites have been permitted to take the offensive against colonialism elsewhere while concealing their own. Why should the Soviet Empire be more sacrosanct than any other?"

The Prime Minister said that since the First World War, political evolution had taken place in two opposite directions. On the Western side, the trend had been "towards the light of freedom," while on the other side it had led "into the darkness of subjugation."

BRITAIN'S RECORD IN GUIDING NATIONS TO INDEPENDENCE

Britain had in 16 years brought independence to nations with three times the population of the Soviet Union, Sir Hugh Foot told the United Nations General Assembly on November 5.

During the Assembly debate on colonialism, he said: "We are the experts in enfranchisement. The Soviet Union is the expert in suppression."

Speaking of the "neo-slavery" of countries under Soviet "domination", the British delegate asked: "Who would suggest that the satellite nations are free?"

GUJARAT EDUCATIONIST CRITICISES GOVT. FOR DOWN-GRADING ENGLISH

AHMEDABAD,

Mr. T. S. THAKORE, a prominent Congressman and president of the Gujarat State Secondary Teachers' Conference, in a statement has attacked the downgrading of English in secondary schools of the State.

He criticised certain Gujarat Congress leaders for the undemocratic way in which they have handled the status of English in the educational set-up of the State.

Mr. Thakore, who is a member of the Gujarat University Senate, was a former M.L.C. of the erstwhile Bombay State. He accused the State Government of having succumbed to pressure tactics.

According to Mr. Thakore, many Congressmen, including Ministers, favoured the teaching of English from the fifth standard instead of the eighth. He quoted in this connection the opinion expressed by Mr. Vadilal Mehta, a former city Congress president.

TAKE SUPPORT

He deplored the State Government for allegedly trying to cloak the decision by a show of endorsement from a conference of "so-called educationists." These persons, he asserted, were selected for their "conformism" with the anti-English group.

He charged the State Government with having deliberately excluded representatives of the Secondary Teachers' Federation and of the Gujarat State Head Masters' Association because of their opposition to the degradation of English.

He opined that this policy had doomed the chances of Gujarati young men in civil and military services, in technology, science and industry.

He added he proposed to create public opinion in Gujarat in favour of English teaching through public meetings in big cities such as Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, Rajkot and other towns.

He claimed that his crusade for English had the full support of the Gujarat Secondary Teachers' Federation and added that he would try to avoid party politics in this campaign.

SCIENCE ON THE MARCH MEALS BY RUDDER

A firm of electronic engineers have developed a simple radar-heater which heats pre-frozen foods in a few seconds. The food, frozen on plates, is placed on a moving belt which carries it through the cooker emerging ready-to-eat at the other end. The secret of the radar cooker is that it heats the food uniformly throughout. This idea is an advance on earlier radio-frequency heaters.

The radar cooker will sell for around £5000. The firm plans to install the cookers in public houses and cafes which at the moment are unable to serve hot meals after working hours.

LIFE BEYOND EARTH

A meteorite that fell in France a century ago has just been subjected to modern analysis. It has been found to contain chemical compounds closely akin to the chemicals in the living processes of plants and animals on earth. One hydrocarbon found in the meteorite is a chemical

cousin of a sexhormone, and another is a chemical cousin of cholesterol. Scientists have termed the discovery the first physical evidence of life forms beyond the earth.

Dear Editor

THE PROBLEM OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Since the past decade, our Prime Minister and his so-called friends as also his CHUMS, the Rus-sy and Chink Commies, have been throwing accusations against the European Colonial Powers, that they are Imperialists, Colonialists, Capitalists etc. But though these Commies are themselves RED and YELLOW, I think that the epithets BLACK and BLUE are also suitable and applicable to them, because of their Hypocrisy as also the ZULUM towards their own people and the Satellites.

We are now CERTAIN that most of the European Nations have been "STAMPEDED" into granting Independence to the VERY BACKWARD AFRICAN COUNTRIES. Many of these have only a few THIRD RATE LAWYERS AND DOCTORS and TECHNICIANS and a few hundred Semi-EDUCATED CLERKS who have managed to take-up the GOVERNANCE of these Countries. Can anyone say that these people are ready for INDEPENDENCE? Can it be properly governed by the few THIRD-RATERS?

I say NO. Therefore the only proper course in the matter of granting them Independence was and is to follow GO SLOW POLICY. That means that FIRST DESERVE AND THEN DESIRE. Most of these small nations are UNFIT to rule themselves and fall an easy prey to COMMUNISM, which promises them the 'Seventh Heaven'; but gives them only more SLAVERY AND GOONDA-RAJ. Congo is the latest example, for there we find that "The Law of the Jungle is Supreme".

These BACKWARD AND IGNORANT Africans are now encouraged to indulge in their BESTIALITY AND CRUELTY, because their few leaders also being of the same 'Kind and Class', they do not know and cannot appreciate anything better. These people have within one year of their independence, murdered their Benefactors of the U.N. Swedes, Irish, Malayans, Indians and now the Italians. Why does the U.N. put-up with this kind of Rampage and Bestiality? Why dont they LIQUIDATE all the renegades from Free and Civilised world and treat Congo as Mandated Territory under the U.N.? After a few years they can hand over the administration to the people themselves when they are found to be ready and prepared for the task. It is high time some such steps were taken by the U.N. IMMEDIATELY.

Poona: 18-11-61.

Homi N. Driver

ATTENTION !!!

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