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Editorial

THE FALL OF MAO TSE-TUNG

THE legendary 'Iron-curtain' has so long been associated with Russia and its satellites of East Europe that the vicissitudes of communism in China were viewed as subserving the pattern of progress as worked out by the Kremlin. In the earlier phases of the Chinese revolution it was customary, almost axiomatic, to take it for a pale imitation of the handiwork of Messrs. Lenin and Stalin. At the same time, a minority of writers both in the West and in the East, have been of the view that China is too big for the role of a satellite; and that, given favourable conditions, she might turn out to be the major partner in the communist conspiracy. Others there were who hoped wistfully for a reorientation of communism in China which would become more *Chinese* than *communist*—that is, that a kind of Chinese Titoism might crystallise out of the cauldron.

The actual course of events has belied prophets all round with a certain disconcerting thoroughness. The latest phase of development in China, spotlighted by the voluntary abdication of power by Mao Tse Tung, offers a clue to an interpretation of Chinese communism which is not without some hope for so-called uncommitted countries hovering eagerly over the brink. The immediate cause of the Chinese crisis is admittedly the too rapid and too-massive 'communisation' of the country which has recoiled on the planners so swiftly. In his interviews with Senator Humphrey, Khrushchev himself betrayed a degree of scepticism about the success of these communes which might be ascribed to doctrinal no less than to personal considerations. In theory it must be acknowledged that

the organisation of these communes is in the legitimate line of communist development. Khrushchev's opposition to them might also have been inspired by vulgar jealousy, in as much any success which might attend it would give an accession of prestige to China which would relegate holy Russia to the second place. But as the centre of the Communist church has to be in Moscow for global reasons, it was perhaps thought

We wish all Our Readers a Happy
and Prosperous New Year.
Ed. I. L.

expedient to soft-pedal the Chinese experiment. The fact that there have been no outbursts of invective or denunciation such as usually accompany the downfall of a Red hero lends colour to this theory. Mao Tse Tung is relegated, not liquidated.

From other sources, notably from the observations of an Indian economist and demographer, Dr. Chandrasekharan, we have learnt how the communisation has been resisted passively by the people at large, and how it has resulted in a steam-rolling process inseparable from regimentation. The learned doctor was a little too patently partisan in some of his remarks and assessments, though he did not deny the reality of material progress which the Chinese leaders have been able to achieve in the past few years. But the privations of the people being all in the region of the mind and spirit, they are said to have resisted the new proposals by adopting 'canny me-

thods. We have not yet heard that the policy of communisation has been abandoned; but we may presume that it will be superseded in a more gradual manner.

The chief lesson that the Chinese example or warning has for us is that there is not only no virtue in over-speeding, but that it can be a positive danger. Pandit Nehru and all the other minor prophets of our plan-frames are never tired of telling us that the sands are running out, that we cannot afford to waste even a second, and that we must raise the standards at heightened tempo to make up for lost time. It is this note of urgency and the factitious manner of its introduction that are at the root of all mischief amidst us. When the results are seen to be out of all proportion to the resources and energies dissipated, a reaction sets in which is fatal to the cause of progress itself. To obviate this, it is incumbent on our leaders to prune their plans, hasten slowly and allow for natural factors to exert their full force under normal conditions. Otherwise we too will be sailing into an uncharted sea of storms and stresses and end in wholesale disaster.

Behind the News

THE PUBLIC VS. THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The battle between the public and private sectors seems to have entered on a more acute phase with the disclosures concerning the deals of the Defence ministry with some foreign firms for the manufacture of vital Defence equipment. None of the arguments urged in support of the new deals is either wholly true or really convincing. Ostensibly the villain of the piece is the private sector which is alleged to have failed to fulfil contracts, or hasten the pace of self-sufficiency or bring down the prices of the finish-

ed articles. The term 'progressive manufacture' is eye-wash; for even the Government admits that it hopes to achieve only eighty-five or ninety per cent self-sufficiency by 1965 or so. Even at that distant date, we would have to depend upon foreign sources for the balance of ten or fifteen per cent. What this percentage would amount to in detail is kept a secret. For so long as we depend upon outside sources for even *one per cent* of parts or equipment, in times of crisis, whether at home or in the countries on whom we depend for our supplies, we may find ourselves denuded and impotent. That would be a very poor look-out indeed.

Pandit Nehru who 'intervened'—as usual to defend the indefensible—trotted out the attractive idea of competition between the public and private sectors as a means of improving quality and reducing prices. If the government really believed in that dictum and acted on it by abolishing some of its worst monopolies masquerading under tariffs and protective duties, we could appreciate such a sentiment. But it was thrown in merely as a debating point. He concluded with an ominous warning to the private sector to behave on pain of being subjected to further pains and penalties. This is not the language or attitude of a true democrat.

The real truth underlying these deals seems to be a tussle for power and a paying off of old scores by careerists out to aggrandize themselves at the cost of the nation. It is by now common gossip that Pandit Nehru's infatuation for Mr. Menon is dictated as much by ideological as by temperamental factors, and that he is using him to ride a coach and four not only at the UNO meets but also on the home-front. With a cynical brazenness which is nauseating to the decent and incredible to the simple, interested parties headed by Mr. Menon himself are eager to build him up into No. 2 in the national hierarchy. Being assured of the *gaddi* for the duration of his own life, the leader is perhaps enjoying a sort of Mephistophelian pleasure at the manoeuvrings going on around him. Big business is violently allergic to a rootless adventurer like Menon, and is using all its resources to pull him down. He in retaliation is showing that he can hit them with even greater punch, as disclosed by these deals which are calculated to weaken their position. In between, the country and its interests suffer, and no one seems to mind it!

THE POT AND THE KETTLE

A long-range duel between the orthodox socialists and the heretics like Tito and Nehru has been going on in communist high-brow circles for some time. It is mostly a case of the kettle calling the pot black. It may be recalled that Pandit Nehru formulated his objections to the Moscow brand of socialism not in regard to ends but only in regard to means. He has been out-Gandhi-ing Gandhi in his doctrinal devotion to non-violence, and has deplored the communist and Russian exploitation of violence as detracting from the value of their experiments and achievements. A crisp and conclusive answer has come from Communist sources to this exhibition of sanctimonious hypocrisy by our leader. For a Russian writer has called Pandit Nehru's bluff by pointing out how the Congress record of the last decade is disgraced by shootings, lathi charges, killings, detentions in jail without trial and

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other classical expressions of violence—the more reprehensible because they were directed against the proletariat at the behest of the capitalist bourgeoisie! The indictment is unanswerable, and is a valuable index of how Nehru is rated in high Communist circles. At the same time, an adroit attempt is made to keep him tethered to the communist stake by crediting him with a love of peace which is even more bogus than his love of non-violence. The writer ends up with the hope that the Indian people will achieve the right kind of socialism in due course, and not be lost in any heretical form of it which might isolate them from the progressive forces of the world. These, needless to say, are the patented products of Moscow!

SUICIDE SQUADS!

The result of the bye-election to the Lok Sabha from the Madhya Pradesh constituency of Hoshiangabad has been both bitter and humiliating to all lovers of sane politics and radical progress. The contestants were three—the totem bullock pair—whose human analogue has no significance at all, H. V. Kamath for the P.S.P. and another anonymous worthy, sporting the label of the Ram Rajya Parishad. Thanks to this ridiculous irrelevance, this fatuous *tertium quid*, the Congress nominee sneaked into success on a minority vote. For out of the total votes of nearly 120,000 polled, the Congress could only claim 45 thousand. Another curiosity of this election was that the number of votes declared invalid was more than 6,000! It would be interesting to know how such a huge number came to be invalidated. Incidentally, we doubt if even Pandit Nehru could congratulate himself on a democracy which (according to him has come to stay) and in which the results are stultified by such a terrific number of invalid votes. If he is amenable to reason and sensitive to informed and objective criticism, he ought to bow down his head in mute apology for a democracy which is worse than the most rabid type of dictatorship or autocracy. The bye-election thus keeps up the tradition of a minority party usurping sovereign power in the country by a crude jugglery with the ballot-box.

Triangular contests are the bane of democracy while the method of proportional representation also led to the *impasse* which made the French government the laughing-stock of all the world. The dissipation of the resources or the weakening of a united front against the Congress is so patently suicidal that we are surprised at spokes being put in the wheel which help the common enemy and weaken the progressive front. The slogans of the Ram Rajya Parishad are on a par with those of Congress. The latter exploited one set of man-made contemporary superstitions, while the other exploited another set of legendary superstitions which are of hoary antiquity. Had it been a straight contest, we have no doubt that Mr. Kamath would have won through. It therefore seems urgently necessary to have some sort of a working arrangement by which a single united front could be forged against the Congress. The historic role of liberalism in England has been to help in the emergence of the Labour party. As a rule it avoided dissipating the progressive vote by splitting it among progressive rivals! Unless the leaders of our parties also come to some such understanding, we can never hope to dislodge the Congress from power through constitutional means.

The disillusion against Congress is growing and spreading; but it is a thousand pities that it is not being properly exploited in the interests of national progress.

HOIST WITH THEIR OWN PETARD

The Bombay Corporation under its 'pink' control has come forward with proposals for raising the rate of taxation of urban property to provide for a widening series of civic amenities. As the new taxes are ostensibly connected with desirable social improvements, a volume of popular support for them is ensured in advance. But the Congress party which happens to be in the minority is faced with the uncomfortable job of forswearing itself whatever attitude it may adopt. As Congressmen, they are enthusiastic in supporting the multiplicity of taxes which the Congress ministries are levying in the name of planning. But inside the Corporation, they plead for the poor, over-taxed, property owner, and predict that if the new proposals are persisted in, then there would be a collapse of the city's prosperity itself. This is drawing the long bow with a vengeance. Secondly, the rates of taxation of urban property in Bombay are considerably lower than what they are in much poorer cities like Madras. In the latter, the percentage is a little over 20, whereas in Bombay it is not yet above 13! If anything, the disparity is so great that it should not be permitted in the interests of an equitable and well-distributed incidence of taxation. Fundamentally however, taxation cannot be a party-issue; but for tactical reasons, it is made into one so that pressure groups may profit at the public cost. For the rest, we may note Johnson's remark that to "tax and be popular is no more given to man than for him to be in love and remain wise!"

AFRICA ON THE MARCH

We are a notoriously hospitable people, but this unending succession of visitations by foreign notabilities is getting to be a bit of a bore, worse still—a racket. By all means if they bring us much-needed foreign exchange let them go round and see things that are worth seeing and meet people whom they wish to meet. But why, oh why, should they inflict on us their third-rate sentiments and platitudinous philosophies and noxious theories? Mr. Nkrumah is the latest of these 'wonder-boys' from abroad to furnish our gaping crowds the equivalent of a free circus. He has advertised himself as a Gandh-ite with an aromatic dash of Nehru to give savour to the composite personality that he has been building up for himself. In one unexpected sense, he is as good as his Indian prototype. For even while he is going about our country spouting the choicest sentiments and ideals, news comes in of opposition groups in his country announcing their boycott of their legislature because this paragon of Freedom, Mr. Nkrumah, is said to have kept in preventive detention, without trial, a large number of his political opponents! A true admirer and disciple of Pandit Nehru indeed!

Mr. Nkrumah is promoting another myth for which too there is a ready public. This is the cry of African nationalism. One suspects that it is more an invention

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OUR BORDERS WITH CHINA

By M. A. Venkata Rao

MAPS AND CHAPS!

OUR northern borders run with the Chinese all along the Himalayan North from Ladakh to the northern tip of Burma abutting Assam. Now that Tibet has been frankly annexed by Red China, we are confronted with China all along the immense extent of the boundary.

A fresh issue of a map of this area in Moscow's journal *New Times* recently became the occasion for an excited hour of questioning in the Lok Sabha. The Indian public had noticed with misgivings earlier issues of maps of the area by China in which Sikkim and Bhutan and the North East Frontier Agency Tracts of Assam were shown as part of Chinese territory. Indian official protests and inquiries elicited the reply that they were *old maps* or reissues of old maps, and that the Red Government had not yet given their mind to a consideration of their border in these areas; and till then no importance need be attached to any differences with Indian maps and claims.

PANCHSHEELA AT WORK?

This attitude of the Red Government of China poses an intriguing problem to Indian diplomacy and brings into question the supposed wisdom and efficacy of the much-boasted foreign policy of Panchsheela which is supposed to have been ratified by China and Russia. Indeed it is held out to be an example to the rest of the world in the matter of peaceful intentions, non-aggression and mutual non-interference with each other's internal affairs. Now these maps imply a surreptitious claim for a considerable part of Indian territory which may be raised explicitly and in earnest any time suitable to the Chinese. The fact that the maps have been reissued in *The New Times* of Moscow registers the endorsement of the Chinese claims on Indian lands by Soviet Russia. Thus are the flowers of Panchsheela fading before our eyes, and the grim realities of the international jungle revealed to our champions of peace and ahimsa.

The Government of India, to judge from Nehru's replies in the Lok Sabha, have no answer to this situation in their diplomatic bag.

WE MUST ACT BETIMES AND REGISTER OUR HISTORIC CLAIMS

It is to be realised that the answer of the Chinese Government to the Indian protest to the effect that till they pay attention to this border question, they propose to retain their version of the matter and show part of Indian territory as coming under their political jurisdiction means that they do *in fact recognise the Indian border-line* as shown in Indian maps. This means that according to China, Sikkim, Bhutan and the NEFA Tract belong, not to us but to China! This claim should instantaneously be repudiated and our rejection of it and reassertion of our border-line as understood by us should be intimated unambiguously to all the Governments of the world. It should be broadcast to the public of all nations, so that when the subject comes alive in a dispute with China, the world should know the background of India's rights.

It is all-important that the Indian public should be taken into confidence by the Government by means of a White Paper. The practice of issuing White Papers on controversial questions to inform the public of the historical and political background of Policy seems to have been discontinued after the White Papers on Hyderabad and Kashmir. It is time that it is renewed. It is an indispensable part of the democratic way of educating public opinion by the government.

AS SUCCESSOR TO BRITAIN

The British Government were in continuous diplomatic communication with Russia and China from the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly after the Crimean war of 1855-6. They had entered into a series of treaties with these Powers to constitute Tibet into a buffer state guaranteeing its local autonomy subject to the suzerainty of China acknowledged from ancient times. But it was made absolutely clear by the British that such suzerainty did not confer any right to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet. Similarly the Tsar of Russia agreed to refrain from territorial encroachment into Tibetan territory from the North and North-West. And British India agreed to respect the territorial integrity and local autonomy of Tibet on its part, subject only to trading rights and the maintenance of small military contingents on the Lhasa-Gangtok trade route to guard against robbers.

OUR EASTERN FRONTIERS

Meanwhile for over fifty years, British military explorers and land surveyors were penetrating the highlands along the Himalayan peaks and valleys from Sikkim to the Assam-Burma-China border. By 1910 they had demarcated a border over the mountains which they considered militarily defensible. It was a strategic border. It ran a hundred miles beyond the administered territory of Assam. Thus as in the North-West from Baluchistan to the Hindukush, India under the British had a double border in the North-East as well, a forward strategic frontier and an administrative line. Tibet had some claims on Sikkim and Bhutan from early times. But Britain had got Russia and China to agree to their forward line and Tibet was forced to acquiesce in it in return for guarantees for her territorial integrity obtained from Russia and China. But in 1911 the Chinese had their Revolution under Sun Yet Sen dethroning the Manchu dynasty and establishing a modern Republic. In those circumstances, the Treaty was not signed by China. Hence so far as China is concerned, the Frontier over the mountains inclusive of the present NEFA areas is not legally recognised. Even Chiang Kai Shek had refused to accept the Indian border-line and included these areas within the limits of Chinese suzerainty!

Knowing this historical situation, Indian authorities should have negotiated this claim with China before signing the Panchsheela Treaty. It appears as though they have never been alert enough to safeguard Indian historic territorial interests, either owing to immatu-

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"ENEMIES" OF THE PLAN

By M. N. Tholal

THINKING presumably that what he has been saying about the Congress and Gandhi having won freedom for the country by non-violent means has already been swallowed by the world at large, Jawaharlal Nehru is proceeding farther and farther in his distortion of the facts of our recent history. Addressing a huge meeting in Calcutta to unveil a bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi, he declared that "the principal factor which ousted the mighty British from India through non-violent means was the unity of the people."

This, I must confess, is news to me, although I was in the freedom struggle almost since its start in 1921 and had been closely associated with the greatest in the land till the achievement of independence. In the interest of truth, I have always been opposed to the word "achievement" in relation to Swaraj, suggesting as the word does that freedom was the result of the efforts of Congressmen.

The situation in the country when the British Labour Party came to power in Britain in 1945 was so hopeless that the British could have carried on with the help of the Muslims of India indefinitely. Indeed, Muslim League leaders had offered an army of a couple of millions, if necessary, to enable the British to keep their hold on India. Never before perhaps in the history of the country was estrangement between Hindus and Muslims so bitter as it was in the forties of this century. Never before had the two so thirsted for each other's blood.

Any one who has been following the events in the land—and does not suffer from lapses of memory—can say that the root cause of this estrangement was the double-crossing of the Muslim League by the Congress in U.P. with whom the latter had promised to form a coalition cabinet in the event of victory in the 1936 general elections. Nehru was a party to this agreement on behalf of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi was a party to the double-crossing, if not the instigator thereof; for Nehru is known to have travelled all the way to Wardha to remind the Mahatma of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the Congress and the League in U.P. reached to oust the landholders and commercial magnates who formed the provincial ministry. Khaliqzaman, after the double-crossing, unfurled the banner of Pakistan and the response from the Muslim heart was tremendous.

Any one who has any regard for truth would say that the British bestowed freedom on the country against the declared wishes of its great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. "Reject it," said Gandhi, "Jinnah will not live for ever." These were his words. But the British Labour Government was adamant. "Make no mistake about it," its spokesmen told Indian leaders repeatedly, "We are quitting! We are quitting whether you agree among yourselves or not." "To arms, to arms," cried the realistic Jinnah, "buy them, beg them, borrow them, steal them." And every Muslim, at least in North India, tried to follow his advice as best he could. A Christian I.C.S. friend of mine lost two of his guns which were borrowed by a

Muslim friend of his for shikar. He never got them back.

Many Muslims bought fire-arms from Hindus themselves at fancy prices. Gandhi and his non-violence had in fact prepared the noose round the Hindu neck assiduously and it was just Hindu luck that men in power in Britain at the time were not anti-Hindu. So non-violence ceased to be the mightiest of all weapons at the first approach of reality; and before the British cock of freedom had crowed thrice, all the followers of the great Mahatma, including Nehru, Patel, Azad and Rajendra Prasad, turned their backs on him, knowing that the only consequence of following his advice would be indefinite civil war and massacre of Hindus. Such was the unity of the people of which Nehru now boasts, and which was "the principal factor which ousted the mighty British from India through non-violent means." *O tempora, O mores!*

OUR FRIENDS

Gandhi was the greatest opportunist the world has ever produced, with all the shortsightedness of the zealous opportunist. Witness, for example, the support which the apostle of non-violence extended to Caliph Abdul Hamid who perpetrated the great Armenian massacres. Gandhi refused to see beyond his nose, in his own interest. In that respect, Nehru is a true disciple of the Mahatma. Referring to the "pious warnings" sometimes offered to India about the possibility of aggression from China and Russia, Mr. Nehru said, "I am not afraid. I have friendly relations with both China and Russia and I shall continue to be friendly with them." Both China and Russia have been publishing maps showing large chunks of Indian territory as Chinese. Personally, I cannot imagine a more unfriendly act, from the point of view of the country. For, if it means anything, it means that China proposes in course of time, or as soon as it is in a position to do so, to claim these territories, and Russia proposes to support the Chinese claim when it is advanced. But the point of view of the country is generally absent in Mr. Nehru's outlook, even as it was generally absent in Mahatma Gandhi's outlook. No wonder, then, that he is unperturbed, and that his friendly relations with both China and Russia will continue undisturbed by their acts of unfriendliness towards India.

No, Mr. Nehru is not afraid. He was not afraid of adult franchise and the country got it, thanks to his insistence, but he is known to have confessed the folly of it after the experience of it in the general elections. Caution is not one of the strong features of the emotional mind. He is swept away by flattery into hasty and thoughtless decisions which are almost invariably followed by realisation of the blunder and repentance. The wonder is that this oft-repeated realisation of blunder does not prevent its repetition, does not make him hard-boiled and cynical.

Mr. Nehru has a habit of stressing the obvious with the air of an oracle. He has always been against "wrong" methods, "wrong" objectives, "wrong" ways, "wrong" paths to which others are presumably wedded.

ed, though when it comes to practice he is almost always found in the wrong camp. It required, for example, a Jai Prakash Narain's thundering denunciation of the Russian invasion of Hungary to induce him to condemn, almost half-heartedly, the brutal suppression of the Hungarian uprising two years ago.

So his answer to his critics, who have no idea of planning, is that planning is a "continuous process" and "it is based on the requirements of the nation". As the cheers of the crowd and its "jais" are what he lives on, one need not feel surprised that in Leftist Calcutta he should have declared that the Government's target was "full Socialism" and that anything coming in the way of that objective would be summarily swept aside.

Mr. Nehru has been in the habit of criticising "arm-chair" critics since the start of the non-cooperation movement in 1920. Nobody should know better that, if he had listened to these arm-chair critics he would have been a wiser and a gladder man, and his country a much happier one. In any case, worthwhile criticism can only come from those who use the arm chair rather than those who work in the fields or factories, and vote for Raja Nehru or for Mahatma Gandhi long after he is dead. A visit or two to a village cannot help one develop the statesman's insight, howsoever necessary it may be to enable one to have an idea of the conditions in which the majority of the people of the land live. Surely, Mr. Nehru need not take offence at the criticism that the plan is over-ambitious when, on the admission of the planners themselves, the country's resources alone are not enough for its implementation and his own Finance Minister has had to tour the world with a begging bowl.

Neither is a comparison between the public and private sector justified if it is intended to run the public sector in a manner that is beyond reproach. The public has a right to pick holes in the public sector. After all, the main argument in favour of extending the public sector is that it prevents the rich getting richer, but that argument will have no legs to stand on if the public sector creates a class which does not even risk its money to get rich and does so comfortably and dishonestly at the expense of the taxpayer, just for lack of vigilance on the part of the administrators. And if there are embezzlements and extravagance amounting to crores of rupees, the high cost of production will not exactly increase exports. The united efforts of all sections of the people will be sought in vain if holes in the public sector are not blocked, or are allowed to increase in size and number.

Even if someone abroad has told our Government representatives that we should have a modest third plan, he would appear to have been justified in doing so, presuming, again not without justification, that we would again be depending on foreign aid for its implementation. Surely, the foreign Governments and financial circles, from whom we are borrowing heavily and with whom we are running into considerable and continuing balance of payments deficits, have a right to be anxious that we do not continue to accumulate external liabilities far ahead of our capacity to shoulder them. They would appear also to have the right to suggest that our import programmes should be based on our ability to secure foreign exchange in time, lest we have again to tell those with whom we place

orders that unless the exporters or their governments are prepared to let us have a loan for paying for those goods, we cannot pay for them.

It is not offensive on the part of anyone to suggest that economic stability should be guarded, and the soundness of the currency preserved, or that all the productive factors in the country should have full play so that economic progress may be broad-based and solid. Consequences of policies pursued for the sake of the plan, such as inflation, drain of foreign exchange resources and the development of a climate adverse to the full growth of the economy in the private sector, can surely be referred to without offence by those who are out to help us as much as they can. Foreign financial and business circles may not be expected to help strangle their prototypes in India to promote an ideology which they contend against. As a commentator points out in a Delhi daily, "it is unfortunate that from the top downwards there is a tendency today to condemn as an enemy of all planning any one who still persists in pointing out that the policies and measures adopted are not the policies and measures that will help realise the scale of investment or the rate of economic growth which the plan is supposed to seek."

It is axiomatic that we should try to arrange for our needs with an eye on our potential resources. While we may have an investment programme of the scale envisaged, the policies which are being pursued to implement the plan, it is pointed out, are not suited to (because they are inadequate for) its investment targets; and, therefore, these policies should be replaced by sounder ones, if the investment and production targets of the plan are to be achieved. All that is being insisted upon is that, if the third plan is to be implemented better than the current one, the methods adopted should be better capable of stimulating savings, investment and enterprise at the voluntary, individual level. Surely those who do so cannot be considered to be enemies of the plan or of planning on an ambitious scale, deserving condemnation from the powers-that-be.

(Continued from page 4)

rity of political judgment or insufficiency of patriotic sentiment.

Now by the way they express embarrassment at the "map offensive" of the Red Chinese Government, it is clear that they are at their wit's end and know not what to do about it all!

DIPLOMATIC ACTION URGENTLY CALLED FOR

It is their first duty to declare that the present border line from Ladakh to NEFA is sacrosanct and proclaim the fact to all the world and register their map with the UNO. After all, the boundary of a Nation-State is what it is prepared to defend with arms against all challengers. Red China might have had no time to consider their border. But India has closed this question once for all, and she should make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that she considers it a closed matter not to be opened for discussion before any foreign State or combination of States. Firmness is called for in this question. The nation should be rallied behind the Government. This is the way to consolidate national unity. This Rally for defence offers an emotional incentive for solidarity which should not be neglected.

The March Of Africa

Bewildering Problems of the "Dark Continent"

By T. L. Kantam

DR. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, who came on a visit to India last month typifies resurgent Africa. Ghana or the Gold Coast as it was known before independence, has been the peace-maker for African nationalism and Nkrumah has given substance to the fast-growing movement of pan-African nationalism.

A quarter of a century ago, the great soldier and statesman, Jan Christian Smuts declared "For better or for worse, the old Africa is gone and the white races must face the new situation which they have themselves created". But the rapid strides which this huge "dark" continent has made since 1950 have been so spectacular and so bewildering that it is almost impossible to predict with any degree of certainty whither it is marching.

At the beginning of this decade, there were only three independent African countries, Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt, the last-named still under British control. To-day, six more countries have become sovereign states—Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Guinea. Nigeria the largest country in Africa from the point of view of population, 32 millions, Somalia and the Cameroons will attain full independence in 1960.

FRENCH AFRICAN SCENE

Events in French Africa have taken an unexpected turn. France is still the largest colonial power from the standpoint of territory. Her rule extends over 3,750,000 square miles, nearly a third of the total area of the African continent. One of her African territories, Guinea, by voting against De Gaulle's constitution became independent on October 2. Many of the other territories have declared themselves to be self-governing within the French Community. It will not be difficult for them to become independent, if they prefer independence to their present status, with the economic advantages arising out of association with France. There is the example of Cambodia, whose National Congress meeting on 25 September 1955 after the first general elections, decided to replace the words "Cambodia autonomous state belonging to the French Union as an Associated State" appearing in its constitution, with the words "Cambodia, a Sovereign and Independent State" thus deleting all reference to France.

The example of Ghana must have played no small part in the happenings in French Africa, for Ghana is surrounded by French territory on all sides, except where it faces the sea. Even before independence, Nkrumah was talking about a federation of West African free states and he lost no time in seeking a union with Guinea as soon as it became independent, to serve as the nucleus of a federation. This has posed a ticklish problem for the British. How can Ghana, a member of the Commonwealth, become united with a

country which is not a member? But Nkrumah believes that Ghana's independence is not complete until he uses it to see that other African territories are also free from colonialism.

POVERTY, POPULATION AND POLITICS

The countries which have newly won their freedom have many complex problems to face. John Russell, the great English agronomist, gives the following gloomy picture in his authoritative study "World Population and World Food Supplies": "Africa is, of all the continents, the poorest in agricultural resources. . . . The soils are poor, large areas of those under forest have been drastically denuded and none of the grasslands have formed fertile black soils like those of the Russian black earths, the North American prairies or the South American pampas. Few of the native plants are susceptible of improvement for human use. . . . Food for animals is equally sparse. . . . Almost the whole continent is beset with insects of great variety, often carriers of disease; malaria and sleeping sickness in man; trypano-somiasis, rinderpest and others in animals".

Though Africa's overall population density is far lower than that of Asia, Africa is growing at one of the fastest rates in the world. Demographers anticipate that this rate of increase will rise sharply in the next generation.

Of all her resources, by far the most important are her minerals in which Africa is tremendously rich. But mining requires enormous initial outlays, efficient processing and marketing and skilled and semi-skilled labour. These services must for a long time to come be obtained from Europe and European investors are naturally chary of radical African governments.

The psychological pressures have pushed the African faster and further along certain paths. The common history and grievances suffered by them sufficed to bring six of Africa's nine independent states into a meeting with Asian states at the Bandung Conference, where the nations pronounced their solidarity. The first tentative start at a pan-African movement of free states came three years later at the Accra Conference in May this year when eight independent states (the Union of South Africa scoffs at such conferences) joined in another denunciation of Western political and economic policies and promised to foregather again in two years. These eight states cannot accomplish much but the conferences have become established facts and serve as a forum and focal point for increasing agitation for independence throughout Africa.

WILL AFRICA BE SAVED?

Some time ago, the British parliamentarian Vernon Bartlett asked "Can the White Man Stay in Africa?"
(Continued on page 9)

Pandit Nehru's Advocacy Of China

By K. Kumara Sekhar, B. A.

IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE

COMMUNISM is chiefly the result of a sense of economic determinism, that has come to dominate certain sections of people, stricken with poverty. The antithesis between Marxist economy and a free economy lies in the fact that, in the former case the process of production is going to determine the relationships in a human society, whereas in the latter, man seizes the apparatus of production and uses it in a way that he likes. This is a satisfaction which he is unwilling to abandon in spite of his poverty, in spite of science or pseudo-science.

If this is made clear to every Asian today, the propaganda of Red China would not affect us for this generation. The struggle of the free world is not a political or a military struggle. It is a struggle by human society to keep itself as a whole, above the economic apparatus that it has designed. This might at first appear a superfluous and luxurious effort of man, but how dear this system of life is to the heart of man, is made clear by the voluntary expressions of the greatest thinkers, in countless books against the communist way of life.

ONE CHINA—OR TWO?

The problem of China is difficult to understand; and the Americans, used to turbulent protest and needless anxieties on the question, have never so far tried themselves to present a neat and decent explanation of it. Nationally speaking China is one and will be so for all time, as is every other nation. No one denies the Chinese any of their territory, but everyone is against any economic innovation of theirs that is harmful to the world. It has to be recognised that China is ideologically two, though nationally speaking, always one. And judged on ideological considerations alone, both sides have a right to existence, within the single national framework.

So what the United States has done, is not to question its national oneness but its ideological unity. When the ideological battle is going on, with no side absolute master of national territory, and with the right of national existence equal on both sides, Red China is wrong in bringing up the question of national sovereignty just now. It now accuses the United States of interference, complains to the world of aggression, and tries to invade by force the Taiwan islands. But these have no significance as China has not yet finished its ideological battle. As for national unity and sovereignty, Taiwan has an equal right to settle the matter, in the fashion it chooses, with the cooperation of whatever allies it has.

REDS EXPLOIT NATIONALISM

In fact, the present question is not at all one of endangered national sovereignty, which is the con-

cern of the people of the whole of China, namely Chinese living under both systems of economy. The Chinese army generals speak as if it is a "blot" on the record of their army not to conquer Formosa. This is a dangerous instigation to aggression, and it is again couched in "national" terms. Red China has so far only the right to present her ideological viewpoint and not make a national claim. So the present circumstances of history, and this case in particular, make the presence of U.S. forces, not illegitimate and dangerous as some news critics would have it, but normal and satisfying. If the same Government were in power, both in Taiwan and on the mainland, and the U.S.A. had sent forces to Taiwan then it would be a definite case of foreign intervention.

But now, with an ideological conflict raging in China, with supporters of both systems of economy having a right to interfere and help their sides, the question is not one of endangered national sovereignty. If Red China claims Formosa today, it can be only on the ground that the ideological struggle is over, having occupied the mainland which represents a big chunk of China. But the mainland is not the whole of China, and whenever it thinks of Formosa it must be reminded of the "unfinished ideological struggle" rather than the "unbegun, national struggle." It is doubts like these that make the Chinese communists advance big claims over Formosa at one time, and shrink away in fear at another.

PANDIT NEHRU AS CATSPA W

Under these circumstances, it appears that Mr. Nehru's speeches in favour of Red China getting a seat in the U.N.O., as a matter for urgent consideration, using India's influence and eloquence in support of a Marxist bloc that has come to power in a neighbouring area, divest our people of their right to an independent judgment.

Mr. Nehru speaks as if this has been a long-due reform for the U.N.O., without which this body would lack in stature and propriety. This is a slight upon the U.N.O., which is already straining her efforts to use her moral authority against any freakish tendencies amongst the world's proletariat. He is undoing that body's work to that extent. Mr. Nehru takes for granted the opinion of the Indian people, on this foreign subject, more than on any other, and without hesitation bids the government delegates of our country push the United States into tight corners. In asking first for Quemoy, the Chinese communists are trying to wring concessions from the Free World, and Mr. Nehru is making it difficult for her to ignore these.

RED CHINA CAN'T BE OUR IDEAL

No one with democracy at heart would allow the rise of communism in Asia, or aid it in any way

with their moral or material support. Considering the "mass enslavement" of the people going on in China, the nations of Asia should have alerted themselves against this danger. On the other hand the Indian prime minister, apparently living in blissful innocence, desires to welcome her into their bosom. I believe that there are many intellectuals throughout Asia who fear the stabilisation of communist rule in China. In fact none of the neutral countries, excepting India, have flouted U.S. advice and given active encouragement to the Mao regime. Mr. Nehru gives high praise, when he says that Red China shall serve as a barometer for India's progress. That is tantamount to saying that India would have to follow in the footsteps of China, with regard to the patterns of economic and social development. And then we are assailed by fears of nationalisation in India as well as with threats to the free growth of our agriculture and industry.

RUSSIA A RISKY FRIEND

Whatever India's position in the present context of China's rise in Asia, Mr. Nehru's personal relationship with the communists is a happy one, so far. Probably he is pleased about what they say on Kashmir. But we must realize that ideological motives lie behind the Russian support for India's claims on that territory. If our conscience is clear we do not require any one to hail our decisions. If we are strong we have no need to fear anyone. I feel that straightforward American help can strengthen us better than sly Soviet assurances.

Mr. Nehru is eager to realize himself as a revolutionary along with the reds; but it will not require great effort to point out the wide differences between his aims and theirs. A passive struggle for the liberation of a people is something far removed from a revengeful and violent campaign against a class within the nation. The leadership of any country should be broadbased and broadminded enough to bring within its scope all tribes, religions, classes and sects. Considerations of justice should prevent it from extinguishing any one side for the betterment of the other.

(Continued from Page 7)

But a more important question is "Can Africa be Saved for the Free World?" The answer will depend on events in Egypt and South Africa. Nasser may get himself embroiled in the Middle East or with the Arab nations on the North coast. He may not be able to play a considerable role in black Africa.

In South Africa, the frightened and last-ditch Afrikaners, with plenty of weapons and determination to use them, may be capable of putting down the rebellions of the Africans for two or even three decades. Eventually, of course, there is bound to be a holocaust. The Africans outnumber the whites three to one, and the down-trodden wretched millions must one day find their voice. As a far-sighted student of African affairs writes "The longer the blow-off is postponed the worse will it be when it comes, and the harder it will be for other Europeans in Africa to pen it within the Union's borders. How many years do we have before we confront on the grand scale, the four horsemen of Hunger, Poverty, Rage and Pride that spell the end of Western influence in one more of the earth's continents?"

The approach should always have to be realistic, even before it is reformist. Class-war can ruin a nation, and represents the very picture of internal struggles detrimental to its unity and strength. The energy of a people is consumed within itself, without prospect of victories in production and international affairs, if they encourage class antagonism. It is easy to foster hatred between one sect and another; but the strange thing about communism is that it does that with the help of modern science. Science which we consider to be the principal factor of modern enlightenment, working against all human passions in favour of the truth in nature, is actually a study by which we seek to resolve all differences of opinion, and find a way out of all complicated problems: we do not expect it to create a gulf between man and man.

PRESENT STALEMATE WEAKNESS COMMUNISM

On the battle-field of Korea, an actual trial of strength between the communist East and the capitalist West has been accomplished, with the result that neither side could proceed beyond half of the desired target of army conquest. Thus the peace that we have today is that of a military balance of power. Any alteration in this, taking nuclear weapons out of our scope of discussion, will change things.

The question of two Chinas may be unpalatable to all Asia, and accordingly the Chinese communists are representing it as such to the national movements in the East; that is, as a question of injured national rights and feelings.

Actually it is not a question of the existence or non-existence of two Chinas, but one of two ideologies in China. If it was purely a national question, neither America nor any other civilised country would have the moral courage or aggressive feeling to attack and occupy Taiwan; and if any such thing did take place, an immediate and decisive war would have been certain with the Chinese mainland forces.

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General Ayub Khan

PAKISTAN'S MAN OF THE HOUR

By J. V. T.

DEMOCRACY has been given a quiet burial in Pakistan. The architect of this silent and bloodless revolution is General Mohamad Ayub Khan.

What is the secret of Ayub's phenomenal rise? Some say it is the unquestioned loyalty of the Pakistan Army to him, while others attribute it to the shifting loyalties of corrupt politicians. His forceful personality, his suave manners, his superb diplomacy and practical outlook have gone to make of this tall handsome soldier a gallant General.

He stands more than six feet. His piercing eyes set in a stern face speak of a man of iron will. His short, dominant moustache gives him a touch of the paratrooper, General Massu of Algerian fame. He is credited with sincerity of purpose and abhorrence of dirty politics. He has shown his proclivity to fight them with the butt-end of his gun, if not through its muzzle. In the process, one hopes, he does not leave them dirtier.

MANLY TASTES

This soldier of robust habits and manly tastes intended to retire to the hunting grounds of his home-province, the former N.W.F.P. after 30 years of service. But destiny pitchforked him into dominance on a casual, though not wholly un-connected, visit to Karachi from his head-quarters at Rawalpindi.

From an obscure colonel in 1947, Ayub Khan rose with astounding rapidity to become the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief in 1951 at the age of 44.

Born of sturdy pathan stock in Hazara district, he speaks Punjabi and Pushtu with equal facility. Educated at Aligarh Muslim University and trained in the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, he was commissioned in 1928.

He served in the first battalion of the 14th Punjab Regiment which became part of the Pakistani Army after partition. He held several regimental appointments, and for a time commanded a battalion in Burma during World War II.

As Brigadier Commander after partition, Ayub Khan served in the faction-riddled region of Waziristan and later claims to have "checked the territorial ambitions of India in East Pakistan." He also held the Defence portfolio in the ten-month old Mohammad Ali Cabinet in 1954.

TENNIS PLAYER

A student of military history, Ayub Khan loves hunting as a sport—not "witch hunting" he notes—and is a keen tennis player. A moderate smoker, he is reportedly fond of gardening and whisky.

A charming conversationalist and a chivalrous soldier, this widely travelled General made his mark as a man of distinction at official and diplomatic receptions from Karachi to Washington.

In his first international appearance in Ankara five years ago, his many-sided faculties as ace diplomat were seen in bold relief. Official and military circles

were so well impressed by Ayub Khan that the Turkish Army Chief was reported to have remarked to a Pakistani correspondent: "There you have a Man."

CULTURED HUMANIST

Little did one realise then that these words were prophetic. Ayub charmed and delighted the Russian Ambassador. He is believed to have played not an inconsiderable part in fostering close Turco-Pak relations, which eventually "blossomed" into the Baghdad Pact. Among diplomats, it is said, only his army uniform betrayed him as a military man.

The Pakistani Press, which came under a blanket ban in the first week of the military regime, has portrayed Ayub Khan as a great humanist, trouble-shooter, devout Muslim and saviour of the largest Islamic Republic. One account said even his bitterest critics would concede that "rarely has such complete power been taken by such reluctant hands and such a gentle heart."

PALACE REVOLUTION

Ayub Khan's October revolution was neat and swift. Its coincidence with the imminent notification, by the Noon Government, of general elections planned for February, might not be without significance, and the world is yet to know the full story in this connection. President Mirza's exit in an incredibly short period after the first coup is an event which might be the envy of Khrushchev. His abdication was not without a touch of Ayub's "solicitous" concern for the ex-President. He did not see General Mirza to spare him the "embarrassment."

Ayub's rise to power is in sharp contrast to de Gaulle's which followed a public wrangle raging for days on end, and to Burma's No Win in the Buddhist tradition of non-violence.

DIFFERENCE

Mohammad Ayub Khan is Pakistan's man of the hour. Pakistan has had many "men" of the hour in the course of her chequered career during which she saw seven Prime Ministers, four Governors-General and a dismissed Constituent Assembly. But Ayub of the military regime in a constitutional vacuum groping for "legal cover," is a "man of the hour" with a difference.

Perhaps this difference might best be seen in a recent conversation a foreign correspondent had with President Ayub Khan who said: "What we are practising is also democracy." The correspondent ventured to suggest that the people were afraid to say if they did not like the regime when the army was in power. The General asked: "Why should they not say? We are not going to shoot them."

The correspondent persisted that lots of people were afraid. The President replied: "Lots of people are bloody fools." He asserted that Pakistan needed a "really powerful President." This might be a clue to the future of Pakistan—and of Ayub.

NO PRESS CONFERENCE FOR ME

By Pothan Joseph

If ever I am doomed to give a press-conference I should be a failure, though for the production of a written statement I am game. Writing makes an exact man, wrote Francis Bacon; reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man according to the same authority who, though learned, had been a suspect in the eyes of the anti-corruption squad of his day. If conferring makes a ready man, I hold the reverse view that a ready man alone can shine in a press-conference. In parleys, I pause with a little stammer; and soon after alone, come to my mind, at night disturbing my sleep, the smart and trenchant answers I *could have* given. No little audacity is also essential in the "taking of a press conference."

If asked, for instance, about the strength of the Rupee, there should be a lordly and contemptuous air: "There can be no question about the strength of the Rupee," as if the question put by the correspondent had been a total irrelevancy un contemplated by the Shenoy School of Economists. Sometimes you should be bullying enough to scowl and say, "Will you repeat the question, you over there?" The spine of the juvenile correspondent becomes plastic as he mumbles the query, trembling. "O, your question is self-contradictory. Next man please."

"What do you think of the food situation, Sir?"

"The situation speaks for itself. And now that man with the turban who raises his hand, what is your problem?"

"It is about the Sultan of Muscat. Kindly enlighten us mofussil correspondents on his policy."

Red in the face the answer comes: "Ask the Sultan of Muscat. Have you been to Muscat?"

"No, Sir."

A: "Our foreign policy is known to all, peace and *Panch Sheela*."

"Perpetuation of the *status quo* throughout the world, I presume, with no outside interference. How then the Kashmir, Sir—"

A: "There can be no question about Kashmir except that Pakistan must vacate aggression" (drinks half-a-glass of water).

Q: "Which country had you in mind, Sir, when you spoke of an unfriendly neighbour without naming the same?"

A: "As the cap fits."

Q: "But what about Hungary?"

A: "It is entirely a matter for the Hungarians. I had at this stage better reserve my opinion if you please."

Q: "Goa? Is it a question entirely for Goans to decide?"

A: "Better go and study the implications of the Bandung resolutions and then frame your questions. The country will repudiate your paper if your views—"

Q: "No, Sir, never did I mean—"

(Slight lull)

Q: "What do you think of Boris Pasternak as a poet and again as a prose-writer?"

A: "The Prime Minister has told us that he appreciated his poems, though he had not perused *Doctor Zhivago* that won the Nobel Prize. Truth to tell, I am not an authority on Pasternak though in Kerala his affairs seem to be well-known in newspaper controversy, but I must draw the line when some Jan Sangh leaders assert that Urdu-translations of the Russian author constitute the favourite reading of General Ayub Khan. Next question please."

Q: "From the Canadian Prime Minister's utterances in Karachi and Delhi, do you think Mr. Diefenbaker is fonder of Pakistan than Karachi?"

A: "It is not for me to judge, but it is obvious that we like Diefenbaker; and that's why we conferred on him a doctorate. On the test of that honour, Pakistan missed the bus, and the Baghdad Pact has suffered a slight shake like the recent earth-tremor in Bangalore."

Q: "Is E. M. S. cavorting within the Constitution?"

A: "Since the matter is now before the Privileges Committee, Panditji and I remain neutral, the Karachi position being insusceptible to arbitration or adjudication or just soporification."

Sir Oracle looks at the clock and endeavours to rise: "All these controversies are of a passing nature which could be re-phased without the hard core being altered according to the science of Pressology in the slightest degree. We are quite willing to be judged at the bar of history" (retires).

Correspondents, fatigued, ask one another: "Where's that Bar he mentioned?"

No unanimity being registered, they separate on the way to their respective clubs and pubs.

Anyway, I am convinced I have not the cheek (or further down, the guts) to take a press-conference.

(Continued from page 3)

than a reality. In either case, it is bound to come up against the Africa of Col. Nasser's more relentless drive in the north and the White man's Africa that is well-entrenched in the South. The human mind even when carefully trained, falls a ready victim to size, and becomes megalomaniacal. The vision of Africa as one and indivisible makes people bemused. So also the myth of Asian nationalism which has to accommodate within itself such incompatibilities as Jap expansionism, Chinese fecundity, Indian langour and Soviet ruthlessness. The tribune of the people in success almost always becomes the dictator of a new imperium: Fragmentation in opposition, but holism in power. This has been the pattern of all conquering stocks. When analysed to their bare-bones, this cult of nationalism is nothing more than the vulgarity of geography, the worship of maps and the exploitation of the people to minister to the vanity of one small group of power-seekers.



Thanks to the steady dissemination of the personality cult, birthdays are getting to be publicised and exploited in concentric circles of descending altitude. We see from the papers how Rajaji has just crossed the octogenarian border while Acharya Kripalani has hit the psalmist's limit. Pandit Pant is well into the septuagenarian decade along with the President and Vice-President. It is odd to reflect how we are governed by a set of old men who, in addition to their years, have only one other thing in common—garrulity, the least loveable mark of senility. From medical and psychiatric angles, old age has come in for much extended and sympathetic study now a days; and there are new lines of inquiry impressively dubbed 'Gerontology' or 'Senescence'—not senility, mind you! Cicero was one of the earliest of wise men who pleaded passionately the cause of age. Browning's *Rabbi* is another celebrated instance of idealised old age, while Mr. Eliot the distinguished English poet spoke like an old man while he was himself comparatively young.

At the other end we have to remember how Swift has painted for us the fearful and realistic aspects of old age, sans eyes, sans teeth, . . . sans everything—in his *Gulliver's Travels*. The Struldbrugs as he calls them live in a country called Luggnagg and are an unmitigated incubus. Something like the Old Man of the sea occurring in the story of Sinbad the Sailor—only they are immortal.

That reminds me of a courageous and caustic reference to Mahatma Gandhi as an intolerable Old Man of the Sea who had got on to the back of the Indian nation, and would not let his victim free. The author of this diatribe was Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, who was a high-up in the war-years, and who knew from the inside the negotiations that were carried on between the Congress and the British Government. In those days there was a mighty Deadlock that turned up in the papers daily and cast its lurid shadow across the country itself. It lasted as long as it paid the protagonists—each in their own way.

From Calcutta comes the news that in a so-called Gallup poll survey of the views of 500 people, 10.6 per cent are said to have indicated their preference for Mr. Krishna Menon as Pandit Nehru's successor, 10.4 chose Sri Morarji Desai as their favourite. Nearly ninety per cent either did not care or could not agree on a single tertium quid. This is a *reductio ad absurdum* of public opinion, so called, since a minority view gets an importance which is thereupon used to brow-beat the majority into quiescence or acquies-

cence, thus paving the way for the emergence of dictatorship!

There is something bizarre in the confession of Bulganin that he had been guilty of promoting anti-party activity. It was the technique of the Inquisition to extract confessions from heretics by subjecting them to dreadful tortures, and then using the confessions to burn the unfortunate wretches at the stake. The persecution of 'witches' even down to the middle of the eighteenth century was justified largely on the ground that the victims confessed to their commerce with the Devil. These are all horrid manifestations of auto-suggestion at work. The communist regime in Russia is said to be furnished with a drug which, when administered to a victim, makes him abjectly self-incriminatory. But we must be thankful for one sign of grace—the traitors are not liquidated but only dismissed or imprisoned or sent to Siberia. The last is a delightful example of political atavism—for the Czars too were in the habit of deporting troublesome people to the northern deserts. The most picturesque victim of such exile was Dostoevsky the celebrated and (largely unreadable) novelist. The new crime in Russia is 'fractionalism'; it is tantamount to treason. Fractionalism is a refinement of factionalism, and in a democratic set-up is a sign of vitality. But the Russian system being monolithic, if portions are allowed to be chipped off it, the idol would be shattered into a million fractions. Had Bulganin got the upper hand and Khrushchev been made to confess, the formula would still have been the same! As the old rhyme puts it:

Treason will never succeed: The reason?
For if it did, no one would call it treason!

The Samiti-organised *marcha* on Delhi consisted of 1500 volunteers including men, women and children who braved the rigours of Delhi winter for thirty hours in the open in front of Parliament House. It is reported that some of them caught cold, others influenza, some dysentery and others cough. But none of them succeeded in catching the eye of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha!

To the volunteers, the *marcha*
Was a self-inflicted torture.
A thousand five-hundred all told
Braved the terrors of the Delhi cold.
Though all had stomachs for the fight
Dysentery to some gave fright;
Others felt black and blue
In the grip of an attack of 'flu;
At last writhing under a cough
They felt that they had had enough!

The border-issue between Bombay and Mysore has reached a state of dead-lock. The Centre has announced that it does not intend to impose a solution.

The border between Bombay and Mysore
Bids fair to prove a running eye-sore!
In the case of Dharwar
Bombay only said: au revoir!
She says she must have Karwar
On pain of waging ancestral war!

Libra

AUCTIONING IMPORT LICENCES

By B. R. Shenoy

IMPORT licences, to-day, are issued to Established Importers, Actual Users, and the government or governmental establishments. Apart from illegal payments made to corrupt officials, the licences are issued free of charge even to private parties. But, because of the wide disparities, which exist, between the internal prices of import goods and their landed costs (i.e. the external prices multiplied by the rate of exchange), import licences fetch phenomenal prices in the market; these prices may vary from 50 per cent to 500 per cent or more of the face value of the licences, depending upon commodities. The recent cut in imports has driven these prices up. You cannot get rich quicker to-day than by getting import licences issued in your favour. An appropriate licence may bring lakhs of rupees, literally, overnight. This operation, which is remarkably simple if we have the right men in right places in the right Ministries, is even more profitable than gold smuggling (which yields a gross profit of 73 per cent on each act of smuggling), involves much less work, and carries next to no risks.

Indian imports on private account averaged per year during the past two years Rs. 743 crores. Open General Licences being restricted to a few items of imports from Pakistan, virtually the whole of these imports came under specific import licences. If the auction were to fetch an average price of 45-55 per cent of the face value of the licences, it may bring in a revenue of Rs. 300—Rs. 400 crores. But, perhaps, rather than upset all vested interests at once, it may be expedient to invite tenders, in the first instance, for the licences, which are now issued to Established Importers. The market prices of these licences are among the highest and the returns on them may amount to Rs. 200 crores per year. The amount may be, as well, larger considering the accounts of the prices offered for the licences for certain commodities. From the experience gained, the area of auctioning may be extended to cover all private imports.

This device is vastly better than the extension of state trading to imports, which has been suggested by some. State trading here would be avoided considering the scarcity of personnel with the necessary talent, knowledge, experience, and, above all, integrity. Auctioning will bring to the national exchequer the cream of profits, while leaving undisturbed the existing private enterprise machinery of import trade.

These windfall receipts would represent 60-80 per cent of the annual average of the tax revenues of the Centre for the past two years; they may not cause any undue strain on the national economy. In so far as the proceeds of the sales of the first category of licences is concerned, it would amount to no more than a transfer to the national exchequer of the ill-merited earnings of the anti-social elements among the public and in the Administration. If care is taken to ensure that monopolist purchases of the licences do not take place,—this may be done by inviting tenders for the licences and wide distribution of the accepted tenders—it may not amount to any new burden on the consumers and the users of import goods as the

auction of the licences would affect neither the effective demand nor the market supply of import goods.

It would, however, put a stop to the concealed subsidies of the industrialists, as the cost of the import goods would now amount to not merely landed costs, as formerly, but landed costs *plus* the prices paid for the import licences. But subsidisation of industries should be done on a more rational basis than through the issue of import licences; it should not be mixed up with the adoption of corrective measures for the balance of payments difficulties of the country.

The crux of India's payments problem is, on the one hand, to bring about a shift-back to production for exports from production for the home market and, on the other, to eliminate the vast gaps between the landed costs and market prices of import goods and between the internal and the external prices of gold. Stabilisation of the economy is not possible without this two-dimensional desideratum. The auction of the import licences would equate domestic prices of import goods to their external prices; the shift-back in production, which is necessary on a considerable scale, may be achieved by drawing on the auction proceeds of import licences to subsidise exports. This would serve the ends of economic justice as the ill-merited gains of the import trade are acquired mainly at the expense of the export industries.

The export promotion measures we have so far adopted, or have under active consideration, include relief from export duties, "draw-lacks," rebates on customs and excise duties, and remission of sales tax on exports, rediscount of export bills at preferential rates, freight concession on Railways, supply of steel at concession rates for export production, wider coverage of insurance risks than hitherto, provision of certain administrative facilities to exports, and so on.

The money value of these measures to the export industry being moderate, they may not achieve noteworthy results. They involve moreover, import licences to exporters (e.g. issue of import licences for art silk yarn to exporters of art-silk fabrics) has resulted in the sales of export goods abroad at below cost of production to the detriment of the national economy: the import licences are issued on F.O.B. valuation of the exports and their sales abroad take place at fancy low prices as the exporters are able to more than cover the difference by the sale of the import licences. This is, in effect, a queer case of a poor economy, struggling for developmental finance, subsidising its not so poor customers (of art-silk fabrics) abroad under pressure of scarcity of (foreign exchange) finance for the Plan. It illustrates that deep-seated economic maladies cannot be corrected by patch-work remedies.

Any attempt to implement the suggestion for auctioning import licences is likely to be opposed by the powerful vested interests which have grown around the existing arrangement of currency over-valuation and import licensing. But there is no justification for dissipating such large sums into (unmerited, private hands in face of acute shortages of rupee finance for the Second Plan.

AUCTIONING IMPORT LICENCES - REPLY

By "Academicus"

IT may be recalled that some time ago Prof. Shenoy had suggested the devaluation of our Rupee with a view to cope with our mounting exchange difficulties and the payments position generally. It was however rejected by the government of India on the ground that it would not solve the problem.

Now he has come forward with a novel idea to raise the needed funds by auctioning the import licences in order to augment the internal resources of the state. He has based his proposal on certain assumptions and assertions that are more plausible than convincing. He makes much of the fact—if it is a fact—that these import licences, obtained from the government by one set of persons, are sold in the market to another set of people at 50 to 500 per cent above their face value. He says: 'You cannot get rich quicker today than by getting import licences issued in your favour.'

A WINDFALL TO EXCHEQUER

Import licences on private account were of the average order of Rs. 743 crores per annum in the last two years. Prof. Shenoy suggests that if these licences were auctioned at 40 to 55% above the face value, they would bring to the exchequer a revenue up to Rs. 400 crores. He wants to begin with established importers because, according to him it is this class that indulges in anti-social activity on a very large scale. He explains that the sales of import licences have greatly increased the disparity between the landed costs of imported goods and their internal prices. All those who want to purchase the imported goods from these established importers have to pay much more than what is paid for goods by actual users that is by the owners of the industry. He calls this difference in prices as concealed subsidies to established importers. After sufficient experience he wants to extend his proposal to the actual licence-users also. He suggests that the tenders should be invited for import licences from established importers and the licences should be issued in such a way that monopoly purchases are avoided.

TRADERS NOT PHILANTROPISTS

He assumes (of course wrongly) that auctioning of import licences would "equate the domestic prices of the imported goods to their external prices." This assumption is highly unrealistic. How he has come to this conclusion is very difficult to understand. The importer would certainly include his profits in the sale of the goods imported by him. No importer would sell the commodity without profit. Secondly he would be required to pay the custom duties and incur other extra expenses. Does Prof. Shenoy mean to say that all these expenses will be borne by the importer and that he will sell the commodities to the public at the cost price? He assumes that his proposal is "vastly better than the extension of State Trading to imports" for "state trading would involve a great deal of organisation difficulties considering the scarcity of personnel with the necessary talent, experience, knowledge and above all, integrity." It must be said with regret that the whole proposal of Dr. Shenoy is very vague and he

has not shown the way to be devised for auctioning the actual user licences. He says that subsidies should be granted to the enterprises, engaged in export, but he has not considered this problem in all its implications.

REMEDY WORSE THAN DISEASE!

It is true that auctioning of import licences will enrich the exchequer but it may disrupt the smooth flow of imported materials to domestic industry. As a result of auctioning, the imported goods will cost much higher as the importer will be free to sell at any price that he wishes. If the Government is unable to check the rising prices at present, how can it stop the importer from selling at higher prices later? Once the importer has obtained his licence to import the goods, he will be free to exploit the industrialists by selling them the imported materials at the prices fixed by him. If the Government will pass legislation against such kind of profiteering, then none will come forward to obtain the licences and the whole proposal will end in a fiasco.

Prof. Shenoy believes that illegal gains and official corruption would be stamped out by his proposal and the revenue can be used to subsidise the exports. Prof. Shenoy overlooks the crop of problems and evils that his proposal will create. It is very difficult to understand how official corruption can be stamped out. It will be difficult from the administrative point of view to accept the selective tenders and the difficulties will not be less than in the present set-up. As a result of his proposal licences would be taken out of the hands of the accredited distributors and given to the interlopers who may be successful at the auction.

Prof. Shenoy underestimates the efforts of the Government to assist the businessmen in obtaining the machinery, raw materials, and other component parts from abroad. If the licences are given to the highest bidder as suggested by Dr. Shenoy, then he will be free to sell them when and where he pleases and at the prices fixed by him. None can come in his way, because his aim in getting the import licences is to maximise profit. Therefore it will make the imported goods more expensive than at present.

The only remedy is to issue import licences to all importers without any restriction and in the quantity required by them on condition that they should export 4 to 5 times more than the imports that they are going to have. If this policy is followed, the anti-social activity that is going on at present will be stamped out, and only genuine importers who are able to export more than the imports will apply for the licences. By this method Government will get not only get the required revenues for the implementation of the Plan but still more, and this will enable the Government to reduce the heavy taxation that is imposed at present on the recommendations of Dr. Kaldor. The Kaldorian innovations have certainly ruined our economy, but it is not the fault of Dr. Kaldor, because his recommendations were not fully implemented. Our Gov-

(Continued on page IV)

Dr. Kaldor And The Indian Tax System

AN EXPERT FROM ABROAD

IN order to reform the tax-system, the Government of India, through the Indian Statistical Institute, invited Dr. Kaldor a renowned economist to conduct an inquiry. Prof. Kaldor submitted his report in 1956 and most of his suggestions have been acted upon by the Government of India. At present we have a capital gains tax, a wealth tax, expenditure tax, a gift tax. Hence his report has acquired a new importance.

EXISTING DEFECTS

According to Dr. Kaldor "the present system of direct taxation in India is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of 'taxation income' as statutorily defined is defective and biased and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of taxpayers. It is inefficient because the limited character of information furnished by taxpayers and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and property income, make large-scale evasion through concealment or understatement of profits and property income relatively easy." In the light of this finding and to remove the defects in our tax system, Dr Kaldor recommended the above mentioned taxes. He had three objectives in view. (a) reduction in inequalities (b) increase in revenue from taxation and (c) prevention of evasion by tax-payers.

According to Dr. Kaldor the present marginal rates of taxation of 85% on incomes i.e. 13½ annas in the rupee above Rs. 1½ lakhs act as a disincentive to production and leads to large-scale evasion. He suggests that the maximum rate of income tax should not be above 45% i.e. — 7 annas in the rupee on incomes above Rs. 25,000. He is of the opinion that "it is far better to have a leak-proof system of taxation with a moderate schedule than a system which has the appearance of high progressiveness but cannot be effectively administered". He says that the suspension of capital gains-tax after its operation for two years was unjustified. It was suspended because the yield was very small and it hindered investment; but neither of these grounds provides a sufficient reason for giving up the tax. He says that the yield would be progressively greater. According to him it is a sort of contradiction to hold that the yield from the capital gains tax would be low and to hold at the same time that it would produce disincentive effect. He suggests that the capital gains tax should be at the same rate as the tax on income subject to the maximum of 45%.

EXPENDITURE TAX

He also suggested an annual tax on wealth, and even though he admitted that it will have a discouraging effect on production, he held it would be preferable to the incidence of ordinary income-tax on income. In order to promote reinvestment he also suggests a tax on personal expenditure. He is of the opinion that a progressive personal tax on expenditure is a powerful weapon for achieving economics in personal spending

among the rich people. It would also make the administration of income tax more effective and help detect cases of evasion. "The fundamental difference between the income-tax and expenditure-tax is that expenditure-tax as such cannot be concealed, and if a man spends far more than he reveals in his declaration, he is bound to attract suspicion."

GIFTS TAX:

He also suggests a gifts tax for supplementing the Estate Duty. He is of the opinion that the amount of income excluding agriculture and allied pursuits that escape assessment at present would be about 576 crores; with proper assessment they may be expected to yield an additional income tax of Rs. 200 to 300 crores per annum.

His reasoning is that it is not possible to define income as easily as we can define expenditure, and the expenditure-tax is more equitable to the person who pays the tax and to the Government who collects it. The main objective of Dr. Kaldor was to remove inequality; and according to him the inequality of consumption is a better criterion than the inequality of income or wealth. In expenditure-tax a person is taxed according to what he takes away from the goods and services for himself as against the income tax which is what a person puts in the stream. There is some force in this argument, but from the practical point of view there are various difficulties which it creates.

DR KELDOR'S IDEAS NOT NEW

Dr. Kaldor is not the first economist to suggest the expenditure-tax; it was suggested long ago by J.S. Mill, but because of insurmountable practical difficulties it was not put into practice by any country. It is more unsuitable to India because of the special difficulties that we face. In some parts of the country we still have the joint-family system, and this tax would be inequitable and unfair to big families with limited income. Dr. Kaldor tried to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that the tax should be levied on "per head basis"; but in India a large number of persons have to help persons who cannot be included in the family by any definition of the term; and their total expenditure is inclusive of expenditure on such outsiders. Thus the expenditure-tax would discourage such assistance and prove to be anti-social.

An Expenditure-tax might be equitable as long as prices are constant, but it ceases to be so as soon as prices are rising or falling. At present we are suffering from rising prices, and there is no near prospect of prices falling. This is mainly due to the second and subsequent plans. When the prices rise, the consumer suffers in real terms because he has to pay higher prices for the consumer goods and services. In addition to this he has to pay higher expenditure-tax because his savings would be reduced; and if he chooses to buy the same amount of goods which he was formerly consuming his expenditure would be increased.

TAX EVASION

One of the greatest difficulties in India is tax-evasion. The expenditure-tax instead of solving this problem would aggravate it. People would meet their current consumption from wealth hoarded in cash, from borrowing from persons whose incomes are not directly taxable and who have not to submit their returns to income-tax authorities. Expenditure incurred on marriage, illness, purchase of durable goods will create more difficulties. In India the small businessman keeps his business account and personal account together, and in such cases it would not be very easy to detect the tax-evasion if the personal expenditure is transferred to business account. For this reason Mr. Prest says: "Mr. Kaldor's mental picture is that of small group of people squandering their hereditary wealth on luxurious consumption. An alternative might be that of a large number of people drawn from all income groups supplementing their nominal money incomes to different degrees in kind and expense allowances of multifarious hapes and sizes." Thus it creates more problems than it solves and hence it is unsuitable to India.

As regards the other taxes, namely, gifts tax, capital gains tax, and wealth tax, they would reduce the incentive to save and curtail the capital formation which is vital for the smooth working of the Indian economy. In an economically backward country like India, capital formation is of great importance and this can only be achieved by a large amount of saving.

YIELDS ALL OVER ESTIMATED

Dr. Kaldor over-estimates the yield from all these taxes. There is no way of calculating the possible yield due to lack of statistical information, but the chances are that the yield for the next few years would be very small while the damage would be very great. We do not have trained income-tax officers, they should first income-tax personnel, and even if we can have some be trained to prevent the tax-evasion which would bring more revenue to the Government before imposing these fancy taxes.

CUMULATIVE EFFECTS EXPECTED TO BENEFIT THE EXCHEQUER

Dr. Kaldor is of the opinion that "if all these taxes were assessed at the same time and by the same authority and on the basis of a single comprehensive account submitted by the taxpayer, evasion and concealment would become more difficult not only on account of the difficulty of the individual tax-payer to conceal consistently particular receipts or items of property but owing to the fact that the evidence furnished by one tax-payer directly serves as a check on the return furnished by others" In this Dr. Kaldor ignores two important facts. Income-tax assesseees are more clever than the income-tax authorities, and it would not be difficult for them to achieve consistency in their income-tax returns even if they supply cooked-up information. The most important fact in this connection is that it is not the income-tax assesseees who have evaded the taxes, but quite a large number of people whose incomes exceed the minimum but are not caught in the net of income-tax officers because of trained personnel shortage. In India so far we have paid attention to big tax-evaders but a large amount of revenue is lost to the Government through tax-evasion by the smaller persons as well.

ACTUAL RESULT: MORE VICIOUS CIRCLES

As a result of all these taxes which our government imposed, the incidence of taxation has become excessive on all classes of people without, in any way, making our tax system more equitable, balanced and systematic as was the object of the tax reform. These taxes have been levied with the sole object of providing more revenues for financing the Second Plan. But as the Planning Commission in their Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan have admitted. "All this tax effort has, however, not provided resources for the Plans". As a result of these taxes people have suffered great hardship to no purpose. The additional taxation at such a high level has increased the costs of production and pushed the price-level upwards. Our economy is thus made to suffer from various vicious circles.

One more vicious circle in which excessive taxation leads to high prices and high costs of the Plan has provoked higher levels of taxation with serious consequences for Indian economy. The higher taxation is partly responsible for the deterioration of India's economic condition, and this can be seen by the rising tempo of unemployment, lower purchasing power of the people as shown by the mounting stocks of goods in the market, falling standards of living, reduced national savings, and the unbearable hardships which people, and especially the middle-class, are forced to endure.

(Continued from page II)

ernment have picked some flowers from the bunch and applied them to the buttonholes without considering the economic consequences of such an uneconomic procedure. It is this heavy taxation that is detrimental to the rapid economic development of the country. The National Development Council did not realise this simple truth while advocating higher taxation at its last meeting.

As a result of this solution the market economy will function and the State will obtain revenues without much effort. The Government will kill two birds with one stone, namely, that exports will be increased and this will enable the Government to get the foreign exchange required badly for the Plan.

SUMMING UP

In the present state of scarcity of imported goods, the plan put forward by Dr. Shenoy is impracticable. It will increase the corruption and the prices of the imported goods. The Government should adopt a policy of liberalisation in import licences so that the law of demand and supply will operate and this alone will result expansion of production and employment which are the basic necessities of the economic development of the country. By adopting a policy of regimentation the economic development of the country will be greatly retarded. As a result of the licences given free to the importers, the accumulated stock of cloth will be reduced, private enterprise will device ways and means to reduce the costs of production, employment will be increased and the economic growth will be more rapid than it is now. Capital formation will tend to rise and this will accelerate the economic growth of the country. Heavy taxation and more and more regimentation have brought the country to bankruptcy. It is only by adopting the free market economy on the lines of Western Germany that we can achieve our goal and not by auctioning import licences.

A READER'S MISCELLANY

[Commencing with the present issue of I. L. we are introducing this column as a new feature of our magazine. Our readers are invited to send in items of the kind assembled below. Quotable quotes, epigrams, short and pointed extracts from other journals, propaganda points, and personal tit-bits about prominent personalities Indian and foreign, dead or alive will be welcome. The aim is to provide 'variety in brevity' but in strict consonance with the highest standards of journalism.] (Editor, I.L.)

'I have gone in for posthumous fame. Posterity will give a man a fair hearing, his own times will not do so if he is attacking vested interests'—Samuel Butler.

The most beautiful memory seems to me to be nothing but a piece of wreckage left by happiness.—Andre Gide.

'A conservative is a man who does not think anything should be done for the first time.'—Frank Vanderlip.

'Let no man turn aside from the broad path of honour on the plea that he is justified by the goodness of his end. All good ends can be worked out by good means. Those that cannot are bad, and may be counted so at once and left alone.'—Charles Dickens.

Ideas on Liberty

'Our contemporaries are constantly excited by two conflicting passions. They want to be led, and they wish to remain free. They strive to satisfy both at once by devising a sole, tutelary and all-powerful form of government but elected by the people. A great many persons at the present moment are quite contented with this sort of compromise between administrative despotism and the sovereignty of the people; and they think that they have done enough for the protection of individual freedom when they have surrendered it to the power of the nation at large.'

—Alex De Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (1835)

The Pope's tiara worn on solemn occasions is made of cloth of gold, and comprises three crowns with 252 pearls, 229 diamonds, 32 rubies, 19 emeralds, 11 sapphires.

Any system of religion that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system.—Tom Paine.

The Kerala Communist party is peculiar in this that many people are in it because it is at present the anti-corruption party, and Pandit Nehru himself knows how corrupt the Congress was. In defence of Mr. Namboodripad, the Red. Chief Minister of Kerala, it must be said that he is one of the most serious Indian politicians and should not be discounted.—Naomi Mitchison in the *New Leader*.

Trivandrum, 8th Dec.

It was revealed in the Kerala Assembly today that 10 acres of land were leased by government for locating

its Paddy Research Institute from Srimati Devaki Panikar at Rs. 50,000 per acre. This lady is the wife of Mr. M. N. Govinda Nair, Secretary of the Communist party of Kerala!

An atomic lamp which will shine for ten years has been developed in the U.S.S.R., The lamp consists of a plastic glass bulb, lined with a luminescent material. The bulb is filled with the gas Krypton 85, which gives off radiation making the luminescent material shine.

The Only Snag—no one has worked out a method of switching the lamp off! —*Soviet News*.

In addition to the Four Gospels, there is a Fifth one said to have been composed by the disciple Thomas which has been suppressed by the Churches. According to it Thomas is said to have saved Jesus from the Cross, and to have journeyed with him and his mother Mary to India where they eventually died. We can even see his tomb at Srinagar (sic) and that of Mary at Murree. There is no end to religious credulity—From the *Freethinker*, Nov. 21, 1958.

What the author of the above has failed to add is the South Indian legend that St. Thomas came down to preach among the Tamils and that he was martyred near Madras at a place now known as St. Thomas Mount, about ten miles from the city.

We have been hearing such a lot about Boris Pasternak, the Soviet Writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. His works are still in such short supply that direct quotations from them are not easy. The following extract shows how his faith in Christianity was not interfered with by the communist regime.

Not as the people, not once in every week
Not for ever, but twice in five score year
I have implored thee that Thou shouldst repeat
The Fiat Lux, creative words, calming fears.

Thou hast found intolerable too, I say
The medley vile, the folk of little worth
How canst thou wish that here I should be gay
With what thou eat the salt of all the earth?

Translated by Bayard Simmons.

Say friend, don't you ken
The man with the pen
Is a much greater lord
Than the fool with the sword? G. Caulfield.

The State! Whatever the State saith is a lie; whatever it hath is theft; all is counterfeited in it, the gnawing, sanguinary, insatiate monster. It even bites with stolen teeth. Its very bowels are counterfeit.

—Friedrich Nietzsche
(Thus Spake Zarathustra)

Death is more universal than life: every one dies—but not every one lives! —A. Sachs in *The Word*.

Jimmy: 'My father's a doctor, and I can be sick for nothing.'

Johnny: 'So what? My father's a preacher and I can be good for nothing.'

The Gentle Egoist

By L. N. S.

HOW many realise that the 'Personality Cult' which is gathering round Pandit Nehru, and which is fitting him with an out-size halo has been the exciting and life-long assignment of Jawaharlal himself? And yet that is the astonishing conclusion to which one is led as a result of a perusal of his latest publication—*A Bunch of Old Letters*.^{*} The descriptive sub-title is as premonitory of it as the selective contents. For he adds: 'Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him.' Note the implication of how the recipient has been, despite himself, the cynosure of world-eyes, and how he has had to put up with a blaze and blare of publicity to which he has submitted with the resignation of a martyr. His modesty is as stunning as that of Lord Curzon who wired to his fiancée: "Our engagement announced in the *Times* has brought in universal congratulations!"

For Nehru has been prima donna or star, showman and impresario all in one through his life. He has written a number of autobiographies of himself much as some take photographs of themselves in different poses. For his *Discovery of India* is a delighted self-discovery of himself. His *Glimpses of World-History* are nothing but glimpses of a mind which has made an eclectic use of matter contained in a miscellaneous assortment of books. His "*Letters to his daughter*" contain the reflections of the everlasting *poseur*. . . In fact the most fascinating theme which has engaged his attention all his life has been—himself. No wonder therefore that this, his latest publication, introduces us to a drawing room or study which is cluttered over with snapshots of Jawaharlal growing gracefully and heroically almost under our noses!

SPECIFICATIONS

This is a sumptuous volume running to a little over 500 pages. It gives us in chronological order 366 letters to and from Jawaharlal to a choice assortment of world notabilities through almost fifty years of this century. The Mahatma is in the lead with a top-score of 87. Motilal Nehru who was the Grand Seigneur of the *ancien regime* and whose historic role was to be the parent of the Prince Charming—destined eventually to ascend the *gaddi* warmed by a crowd of imperial pretenders, but breathing the composite odours of Buddha, Muhammad and—Marx—has 26, while Jawaharlal himself comes second with 32. Edward Thompson, a foreigner, has 17 in the course of which he undergoes a sea-change from initial patronage and formal correctitude to a sort of Damon-Pythias friendship which is soulful and almost esoteric. Subhas Chandra Bose, the stormy petrel of Gandhian politics, has 13—an ominous number. Sarojini Naidu in 11 letters achieves an amalgam of lush sentimentality and inchoate prose which is comic in

the uptake. The adulation is fulsome and is indistinguishable from idolatry. Nemesis justly overtook her when her *beau ideal*, on becoming Congress President, cut her out of the Working Committee, and the old guard were blamed for that act of misogynist obscurantism! The agonies, exultations, lacerations and immolations of these sensitive spirits battling for Swaraj in plush-lined drawing rooms tastefully adorned with objects of *vertu*, or tearing-down from one end of the country to another in the good cause look rather cheap at this distance of time, it not indeed somewhat second-hand. Tagore is the only other correspondent who manages to get into double figures with 10 letters, none of which can be considered as in the poet's best vein. For though much older, he speaks in a tone of deference and muted respect for the younger man which seems incomprehensible to us now. Maulana Azad—later to grow into a *tableau vivant* of the Grand Mughal comes in with 8 letters, and towards the fag-end of the book.

By the way, all the letters in this volume are not new; quite a number of them have already found a place in that astonishing 'Hold-All' which Shri Tendulkar has packed in eight volumes in his *Life of the Mahatma*. There is no mention of this duplication in the introduction which the Pandit has contributed to the book. Nor is there any clue to the starting point of the collection. It is dated early December 1917. 1917 is no significant year in the history of the national struggle. It is in fact before the dawn of the Gandhian era by at least three years. The dominant figure on the Indian stage then was Annie Besant with an uneasy and self-conscious handful of liberal patriots who came in unwillingly, and who could not break away irrevocably enough from the siren voice of that Irish-woman. If a guess may be hazarded, the year 1917 must have been chosen to establish an enduring association between the October Revolution in Russia and the emergence of Jawaharlal on the Indian political stage. At the other end, the shameful years and events of the country's partition are blacked out with an audacity which can only be described as sublime.

PRINCE CHARMING

In 1917, Jawaharlal was in his twenty-eighth year and had ideal opportunities of observing the progress of the 'national struggle' from the inside. Motilal Nehru was playing for his own hand amidst a host of eminent men, intellectual, liberal, patriotic but moderate. Gokhale had but recently departed. But Malaviya was there, and the extremist camp was breeding young bloods at an alarming rate. Annie Besant had given the country the slogan of 'Home Rule,' and Tilak had not yet coined the Mantra: "Swaraj is my birthright, and I will have it." There was also the communal question, almost wholly a problem of quotas and percentages, of jobs and seats.

In that fluid situation, the first world-war came to an end, and the demand for 'reforms' was stepped up all over the country. Jallianwallah happend here pre-

^{*} Published by Asia Publishing House: Bombay Rs. 17.50

cisely as, in England, 'Peterloo' ironically consummated Waterloo. Motilal was the moving spirit behind the Non-official committee which was set up to prepare a report of the harrowing events in the Punjab. Gandhiji moves on to the centre of the stage with the Allahabad Anand Bhavan tribune as his Second in command. The first N.C.O. had been tried and found too hot, wherefore it was given up. Young Jawaharlal was 'furious' and upbraided the leader with cowardice and threatened revolt.

GANDHI GROWS!

Another development of these early years may be traced in these letters as through a glass—darkly, Gandhiji in his first phase was an unregenerate hindu and sailed more often with Malaviya than with Motilal. Father and son took the old man's education in hand, and slowly but effectively weaned him to a neutral outlook which was intended to reassure the Muslim minority. Mohammad Ali as Congress President in 1923-24 was one of the first fruits of this orientation. His Presidential address is one of the longest on record, and much of it is a polemical defence of Islam from a political platform.

In 1926, Motilal complains how he has been traduced as a 'pro-Muhammadan anti-Hindu beef-eater' by the faction supported by Malaviya, and how he was supposed to be in favour of legalising 'cow-slaughter.' In another letter, he complains how the 'Birla-gang' was making an all-out effort to capture the Congress and make it a Hindu organisation! Idols and iconoclasts came and went: But the Birlas stay on for ever!

In still another letter, Motilal's emotional outlook comes out more scarifyingly. Commenting on the murder of Shraddanand which is a now forgotten episode of our recent past, Motilal says that he apprehends danger from Bengal where the revolutionaries might react since they are said to be 'tainted with communalism to a very considerable extent.' This reveals a scale of values which the son too has exhibited when he tried to dismiss the Russian intervention in Hungary and elsewhere as defensive measures. Motilal was not so much worried by the exhibition of fanaticism by a Muslim homicide as by the prospective reaction to it among 'Hindu communalists!' There is some French proverb which stigmatises as 'wicked' the attempt of those who seek to defend themselves from unprovoked attack!

THE CROWN OF . . .

Gandhi and Jawaharlal have frequent heart-to-heart talks on the mystique of non-violence. The young *Chela* is not convinced and is often found kicking against the pricks. He would not go out, he would not be converted! But the Mahatma complains of 'open warfare against me and my views.' Some sort of a sixth sense tells the heir-apparent which side of his careerist bread is buttered. He therefore evolves a dichotomy—the mind rebellious but the heart in thrall to the Mahatma!

Not only on the issue of violence, but on the more fearful one of 'socialism: 1927-8 was a critical year, for it saw the crown of Congress Presidency lying at the feet of the *Yuvaraja*, the Prince charming. The Father is ready to see the installation—in the country's interests. What if he is a socialist, he asks rhetorically: other times, other ideals. At any rate, "we the older generation are played out, and let the youngsters make or mar their future!"

Thus the first hundred pages of the book are the *Bala and Ayodhya Kandas* of Jawaharlal's epic life. Poorna Swaraj has given place to the slogan of Independence, and Motilal warns against the danger of a quiet climb-down to Dominion Status which would only bring the Congress into ridicule and contempt. And Motilal the Colossus, has a moment of personal, petty weakness. For he has a quite uncalled for and unworthy fling at Srinivasa Aiyangar of Madras (who broke with Gandhiji on the Independence issue) by dubbing him a "bogus independence-wallah". One wonders, at this distance of time, if it could have been a case of political incompatibility or professional jealousy or both. For the Madras stalwart was a giant in law and dipped into a purse as bottomless as that of Motilal himself for sustaining the national movement in the south. Both were in the Swarajist camp for a time; and evolved its platform including council-entry which was 'casuistically reconciled with the 'wrecking' of the new reforms!' If anything it was a case of the kettle calling the pot black, for Motilal to suspect the bone fides of Aiyangar!

The ironic gods must be enjoying themselves at the present spectacle of Nehru, the advocate of untrammelled Independence now swearing by the Commonwealth as vital to his very survival. Circumstances alter cases! (To be continued)

In Lighter Vein

Dr. John Matthai former Finance Minister and now Vice-Chancellor of Kerala University has appealed to historians to follow the ideal of truth in their writings.

In the case of politicians, such an ideal is expected to remain optional for a long time to come.

In the course of a statement to the press, Gen. Ayub Khan has promised popular rule to Pakistanis at an early date.

Either he expects to become popular or cease to rule shortly!

Commenting on the recently concluded session of the UNO, Mr. Menon told correspondents: 'It was certainly not at its best; but it could have been worse.'

We cannot however be quite sure that our representative has been at his worst yet, for he is so unpredictable!

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha, Pandit Nehru expressed the view that any Pak adventure against India was unlikely.

This seems a conclusion based more on astrological than on logical considerations.

Speaking at a Seminar on the prospects of Democracy in India, Pandit Nehru asserted that there was no chance of dictatorship here.

He meant other than his own of course!

Pandit Nehru flew to Gujerat and then after motor-ing thirty miles met Acharya Vinoba Bhave and did some padayatra with him.

It is the meeting of the nuclear age and the dark ages in Middle Age!

The Myth Of Free Education

By Prof. Om Prakash Kahol

THERE used to be a wide-spread belief among the illiterate masses before Partition that in Free India, milk and ghee would be supplied free to every child; all sorts of medicines would be available in the hospitals without any cost; customers would get provisions and sweet-meats in the market without having to pay any price. And in the same train of ideas came the fanciful notion that education up to the highest degree would be free. Ours is a land, where people seem to believe in all seriousness that Aladin's Lamp is still preserved in the Moghal Fort at Delhi and Herculean tasks like the manufacture of penicillin, construction of moon-rockets and installation of thermo-nuclear plants can be accomplished without entailing any cost to ourselves. When, for our defence, we can confidently depend upon the arrival of the Lord Himself with His Sudarshana Chakra, and consider all military preparations unnecessary, is there any wonder if we also genuinely believe that some superhuman race of teachers will some day descend on earth—in this part of it—and convert, by a magic touch, all students into engineers, doctors and lawyers, without demanding a penny by way of remuneration?

Thank God, ten years' experience in Free India has taught them that we cannot get "something out of nothing." There are no shortcuts in the scheme of nature. We can deceive ourselves into the belief that in a free country, we can get amenities without having to pay anything in return, but we cannot deceive nature. Most people have been disillusioned by now, and no longer labour under the myth that they can freely help themselves with a 'rosagulla, at the confectioner's shop, and nobody would bother them about the price. Provisions, medicines and other necessities have to be paid for even in Free India; and if some one is getting them free, rest assured, some one else, not always in sight, is paying the price. Whenever we get comfort and have not paid for it, we must realise clearly that we are enjoying it at somebody else's cost.

"FREE EDUCATION"—A MERE JUGGLERY OF WORDS

The day-dream of a free-education scheme is a hang-over of the anti-rational mental attitudes of pre-Partition days. The talk of 'free-education' appears very fashionable at first sight, and, as the fallacy involved in it is not easy to detect, it proves a handy tool in the hands of crafty political demagogues at the time of elections. Educational procedure involves labour—of the teacher—which must be paid for. The question is: who should pay for it? If education is not 'free', the scholars pay for it in the form of tuition fees. And if it is imparted 'free', the teaching staff has still to be remunerated, but now the money comes in the form of taxes, or special levies from those, who may not be directly concerned in the matter. The description 'free education' thus turns out, in the ultimate analysis, to

be a clever device for confusing the public mind and to keep them well-fed on glittering slogans. There is nothing 'free' about it, for what is rejected as tuition fee, is accepted in another form—as 'educational cess' or as a 'special levy.' This jugglery with words can effectively hoodwink masses in lands of befogged intelligence only, where people are unable to detect, by analysis, the subtle fallacies inherent in the arguments of state bureaucrats and professional politicians. Any decision by a government to make education 'free' or even 'cheap', must be taken by the people as a warning to be prepared for increased taxation; and the step would not be in any way different from a decision to abolish postal charges and quietly to double railway freights! In a rational financial system, the expenditure on a public utility department, should, at least in part, be met by revenue accruing from the same. And when viewed against this background, the realisation of reasonable tuition fees from the scholars, especially from those in the higher classes, does not seem to be as baneful a practice as it is made out to be and need not be done away with. This, in fact, appears to be the only sound method to finance the education department. Extra taxes should only supplement income from tuition fees.

DEATH WARRANT AGAINST PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

The point we have developed brings out the unsound nature of the decision of the Punjab Government to impart free education in state-controlled junior schools. From where will the money come for the salary bills of the teachers? No matter, how cleverly they put it, it has to come from the public; and the procedure they have adopted means only one thing, if it means anything. It means that money spent on Tom should not come from Tom—that is a cruelty. Money spent on the education of Tom should come from the pocket of Dick!

Let us look at the scheme from another angle. The number of scholars actually studying in government institutions is much smaller than of those attending private ones. In the very nature of things, these privately-managed institutions cannot give education gratis, unless the salary bill of the staff is paid from the state exchequer. All other philanthropic sources—capitalists, landlords, Rajas and religious endowments—whence money could go to finance private enterprise in education in the past—have virtually dried up, thanks to the much-advertised Socialist and Secular pattern of society. If the state bureaucrats were really interested in popularising education, they should have concurrently accepted the moral responsibility of meeting the annual budget of private institutions from the state revenues. The decision to remit fees in government schools, without any substantial aid to the privately-managed ones, is in effect a death warrant against them. And if some of them manage to survive,

they will survive, not because of the 'benign' government, but in spite of it. If out of chagrin, the managements of private institutions decide to withdraw from this unpleasant competition with the all-powerful government and suspend their activities, the education of over seventy per cent of the children, now at school, will come to a stop. It is a strange way of promoting child-welfare to provide free educational facilities to a privileged few, and to leave the vast majority to rot by the road-side! And that will be the result if some privately-managed institutions are forced to close down, being unable to compete with those financed by government from out of the state funds.

CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS

To sum up, we must recognise that:

- a) There is no such thing as 'free-education'. Money paid to the teachers comes ultimately from the people, as taxes if not as tuition fees.
- b) The talk of 'free-education' is tendencious. It is a clever device by which political leaders are trying to confuse the public.
- c) If the Government seeks to collect funds for purposes of education, not by raising tuition fees, but by enhanced taxes, the benefit of 'free' studentship must accrue to all pupils, who belong to the school-going age, and not to a favoured few only. The Government must forthwith ban imposition of tuition fees on pupils in all the schools and remunerate the teachers, engaged in approved institutions, from the government treasury.
- d) If the government cannot bear the burden of imparting 'free-education' to all the scholars, it should desist from creating difficulties in the way of those private agencies, which are sharing this burden with it. This means, that while all persons deriving the benefit of educational facilities must be required to pay the prescribed fees, whether in a government school or in a private one, the grant-in-aid rules should be so liberalised that the private institutions do not have to look to philanthropic people for help, but their deficit should be wholly met by the government.

In the end, I should like to submit that, in my opinion, the educational institutions should be maintained neither exclusively on special taxes, nor exclusively on tuition fees, but on both. The fees should be rated low enough to leave a deficit of about 25% at the school stage and about 50% at the College and University stages. The deficit should be paid from the state treasury to the private institutions as well as to those under the direct control of the government. After all, the private agencies are promoting the same cause, for which the government stands, and are drawing money from the public—money in the form of fees—by using their own influence on people, where the government may have to resort to more coercive methods—taxation and compulsory levy—for achieving the same end.

All talk of 'free education' must end once for all, because it is deceptive.

THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL TODAY

NO IVORY TOWER

THE "egghead"—the scholar, the scientist, the intellectual—has been receiving a lot of attention in this country during the past year—mostly because of our concern (as usual) that Russia is doing a lot with her eggheads.

I believe God intended that eggheads should not live in a world apart but should get mixed up in this world with the jugheads, knuckleheads and onion-heads. They have a part to play in making life richer and more meaningful for mankind, just as the baker and merchant and artisan have theirs.

While civilization is advancing, the egghead does become integrated with society, as the poets and philosophers were in ancient Greece. As Greece declined, the egghead became a misanthrope, or a lackey for the powers-that-be, or he buried himself in academic work.

In the nineteenth century, eggheads not uncommonly were involved with public affairs. Ralph Waldo Emerson went out into the world, John Stuart Mill was a Member of Parliament, Emile Zola crusaded for reform and so did Leo Tostoy: Richard Wagner participated in revolutions.

More latterly, the egghead has been following the trend of his predecessors during the decline of Greece—there is a schism between the thinker and society. Today's eggheads, more often than not, form private cults; enamoured of their own subtleties, they strive to impress one another. A lot of them fool around with Existentialism and go catervauling about "man's aloneness in the universe" and other non-existent problems which mean nothing to the toiling billions on this planet.

The eggheads who do care what happens are tragic figures—like Oppenheimer or Einstein who thought he would have been more useful as a plumber. The man of affairs distrusts the egghead, and the egghead distrusts the man of affairs.

While these are symptoms of the choleric times we are living in, the egghead can do something about it—something more constructive than competing on a TV quiz show. He can turn his attention more fully to social problems, he can seek a more creative *liaison* with the rest of society and try to fill the intellectual needs of the people. And the rest of us can meet him halfway

—The Henry George News

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Lin Yutang On Communism

By William Henry Chamberlain

LIN YUTANG's *The Secret Name* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, \$ 3.95) is the best piece of informed, witty, hard-hitting anti-Communist pamphleteering since Arthur Koestler left this field. The author, who combines the classical Confucian traditions of reasonableness and moderation with an eager grasp of Western political and economic ideas, knows Communist methods at first hand. For some time, he was president of a Chinese university in Singapore, where his work was continually harassed and finally frustrated by Communist groups among the students. His observations in the Far East generally give added realism to his criticism, both humorous and serious, of Western tactics in the cold war.

These criticisms are no less effective for being put in quizzical parable form: "In contrast to the Communist call for heroism and sacrifice, the American call, an appeal to prosperity, is a call to lie in Simmons beds with Simmons box-spring mattresses." "The spectacle of either Dulles or Macmillan having a tilt with Krushchev always gives me the hilarious feeling of watching a gentleman wearing a bowler hat and striped pants and carrying a cane, having a bad time of it at the market square against a crowd of village drunks and broads. He does not talk their dialect; he uses the wrong words and has a wrong accent."

He notes as the outstanding features of world politics that (1) there does not exist a united free-world international policy, and (2) the democracies have been constantly on the defensive. As the main points in a united policy he urges a firm stand for the liberation of nations subjected to Soviet imperialism, both in Europe and Asia; exposure of the oppression of the masses under Soviet tyranny; education of the people about Soviet subversive tactics; and, finally, emphasis on the point that Soviet rule is "decadent, reactionary, anti-Marx and anti-Labor."

Dr. Lin writes as he talks, with a sparkling, crackling succession of aphorisms that almost suggest the rattle of a machine-gun. The flavour of the book can best be conveyed through a few characteristic citations:

"The greatest discovery of the Communist rulers is the word 'people'; in whose name anything can be done. It then becomes possible to shoot the working class in the name of the people, or shoot the people in the name of the working class."

"There are two languages in Soviet Russia, the language of double-think and the language of nothink, and one can-with some practice, hop from the one to the other."

A glossary of Communist phrases and their real meanings is as full of fun as old Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, which defines patriotism as the last refuge of the scoundrel, and referred to oats as a grain used for human food in Scotland, fed to horses in other countries. Some of Lin Yutang's more caustic definitions are:

Soviet Ambassadors: "People who lie abroad and die at home."

- Trial: "Optional legal procedure, chiefly interesting

as exhibiting the identity of police, investigator, prosecution, defense, judge and executioner.

Counter-revolution: "Just about everything you do not agree with."

Anti-Socialist Art or Literature: "Any art which springs from a spontaneous creative impulse, unrelated to political needs."

The book is by no means a mere collection of wisecracks. Dr. Lin Yutang is well up on his homework. He cites chapter and verse for 15 Soviet broken treaties. There is a neat, unimpeachable list of 20 deadly parallels between Stalin's record and Hitler's. There is an excellent abstract of the ideas of Milovan Djilas, of all prominent former Communists the one who has seen and testified most clearly to the nature and the dimensions of his error in accepting Communist doctrine.

This book is an indictment for the prosecution rather than a judicious balanced verdict on the Soviet regime. Some of the harsher laws and industrial practices which are cited on the authority of books published many years ago have been repealed or are applied with considerable laxity. There is little, if any allowance for progress in science and education, for the enlarged opportunities to rise in the new social hierarchy that makes life in Russia—cruel for many, desparately drab for most—somewhat more bearable for what would be called in America ambitious young men. But as an indictment of Communist dreams turned into nightmares, it is an impressive piece of work. And it is fairly bursting with ideas for the more vigorous conduct of the psychological side of the cold war.

—The New Leader

The Necessity Of Fear

By Fred G. Clark and Richard S. Rimanoczy

The museums of natural history are loaded with the bones of extinct creatures who did not have enough brains to be afraid.

Fortunately the human race did have the intelligence to be afraid: afraid of ferocious animals, fire, flood, heat, cold, disease and starvation. Fear is not cowardice; it is caution, prudence, common sense and foresight. Any philosophy which proposes freedom from fear is, in the venacular, a sucker proposition which can lead to individual and collective disaster.

Today most men need no longer actively fear many of the things that threatened their existence in pre-scientific, pre-industrial times, but today there are still at least two basic fears essential to security and freedom. The difficulty lies in the fact that in our highly complicated life, these fears are not instinctive and must be acquired by the individual.

First is the fear of personal failure: the fear of being unable to serve one's fellow-men sufficiently well to attract the economic and monetary rewards necessary to comfort and security.

Second is the fear of too-powerful government: fear of government that might take away personal liberty.

FEAR OF PERSONAL FAILURE

Let's talk about the fear of personal failure.

This should start no later than the classroom where young people have the opportunity to learn to read.

calculate, communicate, and develop their reasoning faculties.

The natural indifference of most children towards acquiring skills for which they have no immediate use, must be overcome by parents, or teachers, or both. Ideally, in its place should be the pleasure of achievement for achievement's sake.

The next phase is fear of failing in one's job.

This is the test of how well good work—habits and a sense of personal responsibility were established during childhood and adolescence. Frequently, a poorly prepared individual becomes an habitual failure and, in self-defense, decides that his failure is not his fault but that of the world in which he lives.

These are the people who want to socialize the world.

FEAR OF GOVERNMENT

Now let's talk about the fear of government.

The old adage, "Eternal vigilance is the price of Freedom" is not an old wheeze: it is one of the basic laws of life.

Government is inevitably, naturally, and inescapably the enemy of personal liberty.

This is nobody's fault because personal ambition and desire for growth is just as insistent in the minds and hearts of bureaucrats as in the private citizen. To achieve these natural ambitions, government bureaus must constantly increase their power over the people.

Sometimes this is done by force but there is a more subtle and effective method: secure control over more of the income of the people and give it back to them in return for obedience to the state.

INFLETION AS A MEANS OF ENSLAVEMENT

There was a time when it was easy for the people to detect governmental action to gain control over more of their income, but today, thanks to the deficit spending concept created by the late Maynard Keynes, this process can now be invisible.

It consists of legally declaring public debt to be the same as money. This enables government to place its I.O.U.'s in the commercial banks and receive in return deposits against which it can write checks, and which represent unearned additions to the money supply.

Because this money does not represent the production of anything placed on sale, it raises the price of the things that are on sale. In so doing, it dilutes and reduces the value of all money, savings, and insurance.

This money is the source of the apparently "free" government hand-outs which are the secret weapons of ambitious bureaucrats and politicians. The absence of fear of inflationary deficit spending is, today one of the greatest dangers to personal freedom within the free nations.

What Is Wrong With Congress?

By L. N. Sarin

There is only one thing wrong with Congress. It is the lamentable decline of the human factor. In pre-Independent India the personal equation of an average Congressman was simple. He was devoted to a cause. His ambition was the freedom of the country. His home was his country: His family was his partymen.

With freedom he became a very complex human being. His outlook changed, his associations changed and even his loyalty altered. Not only that. The air he breathed, the food he took, the water he drank, the surroundings in which he lived all changed. From a field worker, from a member of the party in the wilderness, he became a boss, a part of the ruling caste. His head reeled, his vision was blurred. Gandhiji's untimely death removed the wood-pecker that constantly pricked his conscience. He became a patron.

He patronised the Indian princes, patronised the old Indian aristocracy and he patronised the public services. Those who once refused to meet him became beggars of favours at his door. The District Magistrate whose blood previously boiled at the sight of a khaddar-clad Congressman considered it a great honour if the same man with the same attire agreed to sit in his drawing room. It served the services to befool him. He visualised himself as a direct descendant of the Britain rulers, a heaven-born dispenser of favours and patronage. He lost his bearings as he lost control over himself. With decline of human factor began the decline of the party to which he belonged.

An average Congressman at present is a bundle of baser human passions. Scratch him and you find a job-hunter below. Criticise him and you find he has

become a reactionary. Oppose a Congress Minister and you oppose the country's march to progress, touch his feet and you prove your undiluted patriotism. Refuse Congress ticket to an old worker and he joins other political parties. There are limited jobs, but aspirants are ten times their strength. Each disgruntled Congressman maligns his chief and the Chief in his turn, to bear down his maligner, creates a King's party in the organisation. The result is what we see in all the 13 States.

Elections of office-bearers are staved off with specious pleas merely to retain hegemony of the party; free voice and free exchange of views even in the party organisation are muzzled in the name of prestige, and organisational tussle is pulled down from issues to personalities, from service to self-seeking. Differences of the rank and file can be removed by the good offices of the leaders; but doom is imminent when leaders fight among themselves and waste their time in party manipulations instead of building the country. The poor man's misfortunes today are not natural calamities but bad leadership. His economic plight is not so much due to hoarders as due to greedy and grasping politicians who hoodwink him once in five years to represent him in the Legislature.

The fall of Congress may not be a thing to be desired immediately but who can save it from collapse when Congressmen themselves are determined to ruin it for their petty gains, for the fleeting importance of ministerial pomp. Having forgotten to fight poverty and unemployment, they fight among themselves.

—Behar Herald

ON THE NEWS FRONT

THE THIRD PLAN

As the days pass, speculation is rife as to what revolutionary changes in India's life would be proposed and discussed at the Nagpur session of the Congress. One subject which seems certain to come up before the session, is the Third Five-Year Plan, which, from the point of view of the Congress, would be a good talking point for the coming general elections.

Boiled down to essentials, any Plan is nothing more than a pattern of further expenditure over a period of years. Provided one has the necessary resources, such a pattern can be drawn up without making much fuss about it. What is marvellous about India's Planning is that we draw up plans of expenditure without the necessary resources!

The gains from the First Five Year Plan should have made the working of the Second easier, and those of the Second should have helped us to face the Third Plan more hopefully. But every Plan has increasingly imposed more sacrifices on the common people without any ostensible gains by way of improvement in their standard of living or improvement in employment opportunities.

If at all a Third Plan must be drawn up, it should be on the moral plane, and not the material. Even International Monetary Fund experts have advised the Government of India to consolidate the gains of projects already completed or taken in hand, instead of launching new projects. Even this consolidation will take five years, if we propose to do it thoroughly. The best Third Five-Year Plan would be to rid the administrative machinery and the party in power of corruption, and to make administration more efficient. If the two Five Year Plans have failed to produce appreciable results, it is because we put the cart before the horse. Without moral rehabilitation, the material prosperity of a country can exist only in imagination.

—N. Times

100% DEMOCRACY

Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar has said that democracy has been 100% successful in India. Winston Churchill has described democracy as:—

"Democracy is not a caucus obtaining a fixed term of office by promises. Democracy is not based on violence or terrorism, but on reason, on fair play, on freedom, on respecting the rights of other people. Democracy is no harlot to be picked up in the street by a man with a tommy gun. I trust the people, the mass of the people in almost every country, but I like to make sure that it is the people and not a gang of bandits from the mountains or from the country-side who think that by violence they can overturn constituted authority, in some cases ancient Parliaments, Governments and States."

It is evident that Ayyangar's conception of democracy is different from that of Churchill. Looting of grain godowns and defiance of the speaker's ruling, coercion applied by the opposition against the established government by staging hunger-strikes, hunger-marches and satyagraha are probably all parts of democracy according to Ayyangar.

Congress in pre-Independent India destroyed respect for law in this country. It is Congress which is responsible for the reign of hunger-strikes called Satyagraha.

QUIXOTIC

Our Government cannot be said to be "wedded" to Prohibition, as it is a loose form of liaison, so it is proper for the Government to take up the wine business out of private hands.

A bottle of Vat 69 Scotch Whisky costs something like three rupees at its source. It can fetch Rs. 70 here. It is time that the Government took over the import of foreign liquor and sold it to registered dealers at scheduled prices. The profits from whisky alone will be adequate to finance the construction of steel plants in five years. As it is, the Government is squandering its revenues by its ostrich-like policy of pseudo-prohibition. Those who are addicted to drink do get their drink and will continue to get their drink, notwithstanding all the laws of the land. It is the bootlegger, who is the ardent prohibitionist today, because he makes money out of prohibition.

In Britain the drunkenness of mid-Victorian period has been abolished, not by prohibition but by regulating hours of drinking and by increasing the price of liquor. It is not prohibition but high prices of liquor which could have checked drinking in India. The advantage is being taken by the bootlegger.

A TEMPTING PROSPECT

Rajyapal V.V. Giri, has declared that "a free funeral for every body" should be the ideal goal, for any democracy professing socialistic ideas.

So now we know exactly what the phrase "Socialistic Pattern" means.

It may not be easy or inexpensive to be born—beds in maternity wards being insufficient for even one per cent of expectant mothers, and most of our villages are even without the services of a qualified mid-wife.

It may not be easy to educate children—with accommodation in government schools hopelessly limited and private schools in the hands of private profiteers in education.

It may not be easy to live—with the majority of the people condemned to live in mud huts, insanitary chawls, over-crowded slums, or on the foot-paths.

It may not be easy to get medical treatment in the few over-crowded, under-staffed, hopelessly inadequate hospitals.

It may not be easy to eat—with scarcity and even famine conditions obtaining in many parts of the country.

The Socialistic "Pattern" does not, cannot guarantee to bring the people food, shelter, education or medical treatment.

But the ideal goal for a socialistic democracy has been solemnly proclaimed—a Free funeral for every-body!

MORE TAXES AHEAD!

After pruning and trimming and saving the "hard" core, there is still a gap of Rs. 250 crores in financial

resources of the second five year plan. State governments were asked to raise money by additional and increased taxation, but they are reluctant to tax politically important rural areas. So the G.O.I. will raise these 250 crores—a mere bagatelle—by increasing railway fares and freights, raising postal, telegraph and telephone charges, raising central excise duties, imposing a new Birth Tax. An extra taxation of about Rs. 7 per head (which will hardly be felt by anybody) will cover the “uncovered” gap. If 4,500 crores come, can 250 crores be far behind?

GENEROUS G.O.I.

There has been a steady increase in the daily allowance of U.N. delegation members from India. From 1952 to 1954, the leader of the delegation received Rs. 210 per day, and non-official members Rs. 125 all-inclusive. Official members were entitled to free accommodation plus a cash payment of Rs. 40 a day.

In 1957, the allowances for the leader and the non-official members were increased to Rs. 250 and Rs. 165 respectively.

These increases were absolutely necessary to maintain India's prestige and dignity. French Champagne 12 years old, costs a lot in America!

SISTERS'S DEMENSE

Sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit rules over an independent state in London (the Indian High Commissioner's Office) and her subjects number no less than 1700. The annual budget of this State is £ 1,300,000 (=Rupees one crore and 73 lakhs). No embassy in the world can boast of such a huge staff, the vast majority of whom have no real work to do. Mr. Nehru thinks that it is necessary to have such an army of a staff to maintain the prestige and dignity of India, a *Sarbodoyic Welfare State* with a Socialistic structure of Society, that cannot afford to allow import of life-saving medicines, baby-food etc., for lack of foreign exchange.

PLANNED SHORTAGE

Many essential and life-saving drugs are already in serious short supply and they have also been priced out of the reach of all but the very rich. Imports have been rigorously curtailed in order to conserve foreign exchange. The Secretary of the Diabetics Association, Bombay, has lamented the fate which is about to overtake many of those afflicted with the disease because of insulin shortage. Radiologists complain of a severe shortage of X-Ray films. There is scarcely a branch of medicine which has not been hit by the foreign exchange crisis, and there is scant recognition in official quarters that health is a form of capital which brings its own returns. Indeed, next to the people's food, the people's medicine ought to receive the highest priority.

But in a *Sarbodoyic Welfare State* of Socialistic Structure of Society, Steel has the top priority.

—*Behar Herald*

THE IYER EPISODE

Details of how Mr. Iyer, an Indian official of the High Commissioner's staff in East Pakistan was

roughly handled by a Jamadar of the Pakistani rifles at Darsana Railway station are now to hand. It appears that after a check-up of all the luggage had been completed by the civil officials, the Jamadar turned up and insisted on doing it over again. He boarded the compartment in which Iyer with his wife and two children were travelling, and ordered him to open out his boxes etc., He also employed filthy urdu words which upset Iyer and made him say: 'Speak like a man.' This infuriated the Jamadar more and he took out his cane and belaboured poor Iyer until he began to bleed. The wife's cries for help only brought her a slap on the cheek. Neither the passengers nor the other officials at the station interfered to check the Jamadar who was running amuck.

Though an enquiry has been promised by the Pak authorities, their dismissal of it as a minor episode prepares us for the sequel which is to be a white-washing affair. The officer is said to have explained that he did not understand Hindi or English and thought that the official was speaking badly to him. The real danger of such episodes being repeated is that they affect the morale of the people in the neighbourhood, and facilitate acts of aggression with impunity.

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DEMOCRACY'S FAILURE IN EUROPE

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People who speak disparagingly of the failure of democracy in Asia forget the lamentable record of Europe in this matter. Ever since the French Revolution, Europe has been a plaything in the hands of dictators and adventurers starting with Napoleon. The dynasty of Napoleon loomed largely over the politics of XIX century Europe from Waterloo to Sedan — 1815-1870. The empires of Germany and Austria and Russia and Turkey were all naked autocracies, and they perished at the close of the First World War of 1914-18.

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ON THE NEWS FRONT

THE THIRD PLAN

As the days pass, speculation is rife as to what revolutionary changes in India's life would be proposed and discussed at the Nagpur session of the Congress. One subject which seems certain to come up before the session, is the Third Five-Year Plan, which, from the point of view of the Congress, would be a good talking point for the coming general elections.

Boiled down to essentials, any Plan is nothing more than a pattern of further expenditure over a period of years. Provided one has the necessary resources, such a pattern can be drawn up without making much fuss about it. What is marvellous about India's Planning is that we draw up plans of expenditure without the necessary resources!

The gains from the First Five Year Plan should have made the working of the Second easier, and those of the Second should have helped us to face the Third Plan more hopefully. But every Plan has increasingly imposed more sacrifices on the common people without any ostensible gains by way of improvement in their standard of living or improvement in employment opportunities.

If at all a Third Plan must be drawn up, it should be on the moral plane, and not the material. Even International Monetary Fund experts have advised the Government of India to consolidate the gains of projects already completed or taken in hand, instead of launching new projects. Even this consolidation will take five years, if we propose to do it thoroughly. The best Third Five-Year Plan would be to rid the administrative machinery and the party in power of corruption, and to make administration more efficient. If the two Five Year Plans have failed to produce appreciable results, it is because we put the cart before the horse. Without moral rehabilitation, the material prosperity of a country can exist only in imagination.

—N. Times

100% DEMOCRACY

Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar has said that democracy has been 100% successful in India. Winston Churchill has described democracy as:—

"Democracy is not a caucus obtaining a fixed term of office by promises. Democracy is not based on violence or terrorism, but on reason, on fair play, on freedom, on respecting the rights of other people. Democracy is no harlot to be picked up in the street by a man with a tommy gun. I trust the people, the mass of the people in almost every country, but I like to make sure that it is the people and not a gang of bandits from the mountains or from the country-side who think that by violence they can overturn constituted authority, in some cases ancient Parliaments, Governments and States."

It is evident that Ayyangar's conception of democracy is different from that of Churchill. Looting of grain godowns and defiance of the speaker's ruling, coercion applied by the opposition against the established government by staging hunger-strikes, hunger-marches and satyagraha are probably all parts of democracy according to Ayyangar.

Congress in pre-Independent India destroyed respect for law in this country. It is Congress which is responsible for the reign of hunger-strikes called Satyagraha.

QUIXOTIC

Our Government cannot be said to be "wedded" to Prohibition, as it is a loose form of liaison, so it is proper for the Government to take up the wine business out of private hands.

A bottle of Vat 69 Scotch Whisky costs something like three rupees at its source. It can fetch Rs. 70 here. It is time that the Government took over the import of foreign liquor and sold it to registered dealers at scheduled prices. The profits from whisky alone will be adequate to finance the construction of steel plants in five years. As it is, the Government is squandering its revenues by its ostrich-like policy of pseudo-prohibition. Those who are addicted to drink do get their drink and will continue to get their drink, notwithstanding all the laws of the land. It is the bootlegger, who is the ardent prohibitionist today, because he makes money out of prohibition.

In Britain the drunkenness of mid-Victorian period has been abolished, not by prohibition but by regulating hours of drinking and by increasing the price of liquor. It is not prohibition but high prices of liquor which could have checked drinking in India. The advantage is being taken by the bootlegger.

A TEMPTING PROSPECT

Rajyapal V.V. Giri, has declared that "a free funeral for every body" should be the ideal goal, for any democracy professing socialistic ideas.

So now we know exactly what the phrase "Socialistic Pattern" means.

It may not be easy or inexpensive to be born—beds in maternity wards being insufficient for even one per cent of expectant mothers, and most of our villages are even without the services of a qualified mid-wife.

It may not be easy to educate children—with accommodation in government schools hopelessly limited and private schools in the hands of private profiteers in education.

It may not be easy to live—with the majority of the people condemned to live in mud huts, insanitary chawls, over-crowded slums, or on the foot-paths.

It may not be easy to get medical treatment in the few over-crowded, under-staffed, hopelessly inadequate hospitals.

It may not be easy to eat—with scarcity and even famine conditions obtaining in many parts of the country.

The Socialistic "Pattern" does not, cannot guarantee to bring the people food, shelter, education or medical treatment.

But the ideal goal for a socialistic democracy has been solemnly proclaimed—a Free funeral for every-body!

MORE TAXES AHEAD!

After pruning and trimming and saving the "hard" core, there is still a gap of Rs. 250 crores in financial

resources of the second five year plan. State governments were asked to raise money by additional and increased taxation, but they are reluctant to tax politically important rural areas. So the G.O.I. will raise these 250 crores—a mere bagatelle—by increasing railway fares and freights, raising postal, telegraph and telephone charges, raising central excise duties, imposing a new Birth Tax. An extra taxation of about Rs. 7 per head (which will hardly be felt by anybody) will cover the “uncovered” gap. If 4,500 crores come, can 250 crores be far behind?

GENEROUS G.O.I.

There has been a steady increase in the daily allowance of U.N. delegation members from India. From 1952 to 1954, the leader of the delegation received Rs. 210 per day, and non-official members Rs. 125 all-inclusive. Official members were entitled to free accommodation plus a cash payment of Rs. 40 a day.

In 1957, the allowances for the leader and the non-official members were increased to Rs. 250 and Rs. 165 respectively.

These increases were absolutely necessary to maintain India's prestige and dignity. French Champagne 12 years old, costs a lot in America!

SISTERS'S DEMENSE

Sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit rules over an independent state in London (the Indian High Commissioner's Office) and her subjects number no less than 1700. The annual budget of this State is £ 1,800,000 (=Ruppes one crore and 73 lakhs). No embassy in the world can boast of such a huge staff, the vast majority of whom have no real work to do. Mr. Nehru thinks that it is necessary to have such an army of a staff to maintain the prestige and dignity of India, a *Sarbodoyic Welfare State* with a Socialistic structure of Society, that cannot afford to allow import of life-saving medicines, baby-food etc., for lack of foreign exchange.

PLANNED SHORTAGE

Many essential and life-saving drugs are already in serious short supply and they have also been priced out of the reach of all but the very rich. Imports have been rigorously curtailed in order to conserve foreign exchange. The Secretary of the Diabetics Association, Bombay, has lamented the fate which is about to overtake many of those afflicted with the disease because of insulin shortage. Radiologists complain of a severe shortage of X-Ray films. There is scarcely a branch of medicine which has not been hit by the foreign exchange crisis, and there is scant recognition in official quarters that health is a form of capital which brings its own returns. Indeed, next to the people's food, the people's medicine ought to receive the highest priority.

But in a *Sarbodoyic Welfare State* of Socialistic Structure of Society, Steel has the top priority.

—Behar Herald

THE IYER EPISODE

Details of how Mr. Iyer, an Indian official of the High Commissioner's staff in East Pakistan was

roughly handled by a Jamadar of the Pakistani rifles at Darsana Railway station are now to hand. It appears that after a check-up of all the luggage had been completed by the civil officials, the Jamadar turned up and insisted on doing it over again. He boarded the compartment in which Iyer with his wife and two children were travelling, and ordered him to open out his boxes etc., He also employed filthy urdu words which upset Iyer and made him say: 'Speak like a man.' This infuriated the Jamadar more and he took out his cane and belaboured poor Iyer until he began to bleed. The wife's cries for help only brought her a slap on the cheek. Neither the passengers nor the other officials at the station interfered to check the Jamadar who was running amuck.

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CONGRESS GRAFT IN ANDHRA

The Nizam Sugar Factory is a government-managed enterprise run by the Andhra Industries department. It has a majority of government officials as its Directors. The audited report of its working during the previous year shows expenditure to the tune of Rs. 1,65,377 for which there is no proper prior sanction. A special meeting of the directors was held in September last to approve of these items of expenditure which on closer examination are found to have been incurred in connexion with the support of Congress candidates at the last General elections. The following details have come to light.

The Telugu paper *Andhra Janata* was paid a subsidy of Rs. 15,000 to support the candidature of Sri V.B. Raju the present Planning and Development minister in the state. A sum of Rs. 45,596.39 is shown as spent in the 'national cause.' What is the connection between an industrial concern and the 'national cause' is not explained. A loss of Rs. 15,781 is noted as having been incurred on the sale of Hyderabad State Loan. But the worst item was a donation of one lakh of rupees spent in the 'national interest,' but split up into smaller figures so as to obviate the joint signatures of two trustees. A minor detail is the expenditure on taxis in February and March of 1957 at the time of elections. All these have been regularised since, but they reveal the extent of the cynical brazenness of the Andhra government in misusing public funds for the aggrandizement of a single party! Attempts to raise a debate on them in the State legislature have been resisted by the Chief Minister so far.

THE PRETENCE ABOUT COMMUNITY PROJECT

J.P. told Sarvodaya workers in Delhi that C.D. works programme was a huge waste of financial resources, and called for their being scrapped at once. As if to confirm his view, Mr. Punjab Rao Desmukh has now come forward to testify that 'in India voluntary work often cost more than paid work!'

But meanwhile the pretence goes on that heaven is slowly descending on the countryside through C.D. B.S.S., and what not; people's medicine ought to receive the highest priority.

But in a Sarvodayic Welfare State of Socialistic Structure of Society, Steel has the top priority.

—*Behar Herald*

PROGRESS BACKWARDS

Mr. J. K. Srivastava has pathetically asked the rulers to stop "deindustrialization" of Uttar Pradesh. U. P. industries are bleeding to death. All major industries there are in serious difficulties and the law of diminishing return has set in. The goose that lays the golden eggs is being bled to death.

The textile industry in Kanpur is in the grip of an unprecedented crisis. The relief measures, such as reduction in excise duty and five per cent. reduction in price, have not helped the industry. A stock of 72,000 bales of textile goods representing five months' production lies unsold. The mills are giving away the capital of the industry on every yard of cloth that is sold.

The tea industry is also in a similar plight. The Brooke Bond Tea Co. made a profit of Rs. 7,40,141 in

the year ended 30th June, 1958. Out of this, they had to pay to Central and State Governments:—

- (1) Excise Duty
- (2) Assam Road Tax
- (3) West Bengal Entry Tax
- (4) Export duty
- (5) Sales Tax
- (6) Cess
- (7) (Central) Income-Tax and Super-Tax
- (8) Assam Agricultural Income Tax
- (9) Wealth Tax

The total of all these amounted to nearly 4 lakhs, i.e. more than half the net profit. Joint Stock companies are not philanthropic organisations, they must make some profit or else close down. So, need we wonder why the price of tea should be Rs. 3/12 per lb. when we used to buy the same quality at -/12/- a lb. formerly before all these fancy taxes were imposed?

THE FINAL "DAN"

Sri Golwalkar has been somewhat critical of Mahatma II. Said he: "Land reform there must be. But Bhoodan which will give an acre or two to each family is no reform. It is fragmentation of land. They talk of gramdan. Perhaps because they think villages are expendable. I suggest they talk of 'shahardan.' There is so much more wealth in the cities to be distributed, than in the villages.

"The real trouble is that we in this country suffer from a double sin: we don't work hard enough, and we make tremendous show of what little we do. They talk of *shramdan*, and make a shameless mockery of it. Mao works with labourers to set an example. Our leaders turn a clod only for the camera. It is therefore, hardly to be wondered at that whatever we do is second rate, third rate or worse. New dams give way; new buildings develop cracks; even factory products are substandard. You never know how long an India-made car will run.

"The first plan talked of achieving food self-sufficiency. But today nobody talks of attaining it. Now we don't have enough even for current consumption.

"A plan which does not plan for food self-sufficiency is no plan. What will happen if there is a war, and food imports are not possible? Will we let millions die of starvation?"

No! they will do PRANDAN."

—*Behar Herald*

Notice

Copies of the Pan-Humanist Manifesto by Ralph Borsodi which were released at the last Annual Conference of the Indian Rationalist Association held at Madras are available for sale at 0.50 nP. per copy. Those interested may kindly apply to:

The Manager
The Libertarian Social
Institute,
Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay 4.

Letter To The Editor

BANKS DO NOT CREATE MONEY Madam,

Professor G. N. Lawande, M.A. asks **Do Banks Create Money?** He goes on to state that banks manufacture money. It is sad to see the Professor professing to know this subject resorting to evident untruths. What Banks do create is false debt. In effect, the Banks steal the product and charge interest upon it for as long as it has a charge against it. Prof. Lawande has shown in his article plainly enough that instead of the Government of India creating the necessary money and paying for its purchases with this Money Bank Debt Free, Mr. Nehru acting as though he was simply an agent for the World-Bank has pawned Indian Industries to the World Bank as securities against a mythical loan of foreign currency, non-existing as money. He has made his Indian Industries carry a charge imposed by the World Bank. He gets on behalf of the Indian people simply the charge plus less than nothing. He kids the people into believing that the World Bank has done a service to India. A funny sort of service seeing that it destroys the value of the securities by the amount of the interest charge yearly on their value. Mr. Nehru,

like Mr. Lawande, it is evident either does not know or does not want to know that unless the Government of India issues Indian money Bank Debt Free, there is no Indian Money of its face value. India is actually now a Financial Colony of the World Bank. Mr. Lawande states that the loan that the Banker makes creates a deposit; a deposit of what? seeing that the Loan was only a pen or ink entry in a Bank Ledger.

Okehampton G. T. Olarenshaw
Devon, England.

Madame,

It is a little surprising that Professor Lawande should think that in my article on this subject in "The Individualist" I confused the bank's deposits arising from cash deposited by clients with those arising from loans made by the bank. Let me quote my actual words:—

"Let us suppose that a bank, X, with £1000 cash, lends £200 to a customer, A. Now this £200 is cash; it is part of the bank's original capital. This is evident if we bear in mind that A can draw the loan in cash; or if he buys from B with his cheque, B may pay the cheque into bank Y, which bank will then present it to be the issuing bank, X, through the Clearing House, demanding cash in exchange. The loan has thus enabled B to open a deposit with bank Y, which can then proceed to lend. Be it noticed that no creation of cash has here

occurred. Bank X lent £200 cash; A passed that cash on to B who, instead of spending it deposited it in bank Y.

"Now, after the loan, bank X will show in its books that its assets are £800 in cash, plus A's promise to repay £200—£1000 in all. Most of those who hold that the bank creates money seem to think that because the bank still shows assets of £1000 after the loan, it can then go on lending as though it still had £1000 in cash; and it is here that the error lies. When the bank has lent £200 it has only £800 cash, no matter what its book assets show, and its lending power depends on its £800, it must, unless it is prepared to risk bankruptcy, stop lending until it receives fresh deposits, which are of course the equivalent of cash. The error is as though one should say that because a manufacturer includes the value of his plant in his book assets, he can proceed to buy up to the total value of those assets. He cannot; he can buy only up to the value of his cash in hand or at the bank."

I cannot think how I could more clearly show that I distinguish between deposits arising from cash deposited, and those arising from loans. The banker rightly includes loans among his assets because he holds his borrower's promise to repay; but it is an error to suppose that making a loan increases the banker's power to lend.

London. HENRY MEULEN

DID YOU KNOW...

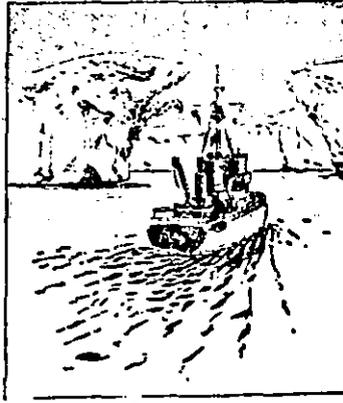
By Scio



The new nuclear-powered U.S. submarine "Skate" recently (March 1958) crossed the Atlantic in 203 hours (8 days, 11 hours) to set a new speed record for submarines. It made the entire Atlantic trip without surfacing. The Skate is the third of the world's atomic-powered submarines to be developed by the U.S. It is capable of travelling 61,000 miles without refueling.



Bloodhounds can follow the scent of a human being through streets crowded with other humans, even if the trail is ten days old. They concentrate so intently on the scent that they become indifferent to everything else and will walk in front of a speeding car or train, if not leashed.



Experienced seamen know an iceberg is sometimes nine times as big as it looks. They know icebergs are eight-ninths underwater, and if laden with dirt and rocks, an even greater portion of it may be submerged. Some Antarctic icebergs are 200 miles long.

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