

# the Indian Libertarian

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## Editorial

### PAK MENACE

**T**HERE has been no perceptible improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations since the advent of the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan in Pakistan. There was a hope in some quarters that military men were less chauvinist than civilian leaders, knowing as they did the actual agonies and horrors of war. This hope has been belied in the conduct of the Pakistani General. He talks the same language of hostility to India and of the same terms of dispute namely Kashmir and the Canal waters as the politicians did. He makes the same promises to his people of obtaining Kashmir and of making India pay huge sums for building dams and canals in their country to replace what the boundary denied them after Partition.

The border nuisance that started nearly a year ago in the East along West Bengal, Tripura and Assam frontiers has been intensified since the advent of the military men to power. The public has given up the futile task of keeping count of the frequent incidents of violent incursions into our territory, occupation of our villages and harvesting of the fields of our peasants by Pakistanis protected by their military and armed police.

There has been occasions of continuous firing by the Pakistan military in the Cachar area and elsewhere for days on end. Innumerable protests have been lodged with the Pakistan authorities to no purpose. Innumerable cease-fire agreements have been negotiated by our officials, only to be disregarded by the military men of Pakistan on the border. Either the Central Government of Pakistan have no control over

their forces in this matter or they deliberately connive at the mischief wrought by them.

In a situation of this kind, international law permits action on the part of the aggrieved party. The injured nation has the right to take action against invading units, pursue them into their own territory if necessary in "hot pursuit" and inflict punishment on them.

India has to take such action in grim earnestness if her people has to be protected against this continuing nuisance and loss, provocation and disturbance of normal life near the border. Tens of thousands of villagers have already abandoned their traditional homes, in some places, as far as forty miles from the border and have become refugees!

It is clear that the present policy of forbearance and appeasement of Pakistan has failed signally.

### BLOOD PLEDGE BY GENERAL AYUB KHAN

There was an interesting piece of news a couple of weeks back in some Indian newspapers in the North. It appears that the new master of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan and some of his closest colleagues took a pledge before Miss Jinnah, (the sister of the Quaid e Azam Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan), that they would take Kashmir by every means necessary including war, whatever the cost and consequences. And it is reported that they signed their pledge *in blood!*

This may seem childish and melodramatic fit only to be dismissed as a neurosis from which Pakistan's leaders are suffering. But that would be to fail to understand their psychology. There is no wisdom in dismissing what may appear bizarre to us. It is perfect-

tly clear that the new era of military dictatorship is more hostile to India and means business.

The hope that America would prevent Pakistan from attacking India should not be relied on by us. That should not be the sole sheet anchor of our defence.

### PAKISTAN'S INFILTRATION INTO INDIAN BORDERS

Since the day of Partition, we have been hearing of pressure of Pakistani nationals on our borders in Assam. On the Indian side of the Assam border along Sylhet there is a considerable sprinkling of Muslims included in Indian citizenship, in some areas approaching 40 per cent of the population! There is much uncultivated fertile land in this area. It has been the practice of Muslims from Sylhet to cross into our territory and aided by Indian Muslims to occupy waste land and be absorbed in our population! It appears from the accounts of recent travellers and newsmen that this process is continuing without let or hindrance in the area. It appears that the Assam Government is doing nothing to stop this process of Pakistani infiltration and that on the contrary some officials and even Ministers and ex-Ministers connive at it! This kind of news is usually ignored by the Big Press partly out of deference to the soft policy of the Indian Government towards Pakistan and partly because it all seems so remote from current affairs and so constant a feature of the border life.

It is high time that the Indian public are awakened to the danger from Pakistan on so many fronts.

Jana Sangh party has done well in passing a Resolution on this subject and calling the attention of the Government and public in its Session at Bangalore held on 26, 27, 28 December. It calls attention to the pledge taken by Pakistani leaders not only to take Kashmir by force but also to win a corridor through Indian territory to unite the two halves of Pakistan! This was in the air even in Mr. Jinnah's time and seems to have come to the fore today with the advent of mili-

tary dictatorship. The Resolution says that "the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru towards this exhibition of Pakistani aggressiveness is most regrettable, in so far as it not only encourages Pakistan to persist in its policy of aggression but also creates a false sense of security in the Indian people."

Usually the other non-Congress parties, the PSP and Community ignore the Pakistani danger. But the PSP has now come out with a warning of the danger in a party resolution.

### NASSER AND COMMUNISM

At the very time that President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has succeeded in wangling financial and technical assistance for his Aswan Dam from the Russians, the world is intrigued by his new move to rid his country of local communists. Nasser has taken vigorous action against the old gang of Bakdash. He has got a hundred persons arrested and has seized Bakdash's newspaper. Bakdash has been the leader of the Syrian Communist Party since its inception.

The Arabs have always been more realistic than the sentimentalists of the Indian liberation Movement, Gandhi and Nehru who have shown themselves so notoriously incapable of judging men and movements correctly.

Nasser shows himself capable of using Russian assistance while keeping his territory and population free from the strangle-hold of international communism. He knows that communism is a danger to his regime and even national independence. While friendly with Russians, he will keep his home clear of their penetration.

King Hussein of Jordan has expressed his doubts about the sincerity of President Nasser in this move. He hopes that the West would reward his own more steadfast commitment to anti-communism more than the opportunist Nasser. He thinks that Nasser's anti-communism is motivated by the desire to attract Western Aid.

But the lesson for us in India is that Panchsheela and Co-existence should not blind us to the danger of allowing communist influence to grow in the internal affairs of the country.

But India has the misfortune of having a Prime Minister who is socialist and even-procommunist by intellectual conviction and moral faith. He is allowing a wide leeway to the Indian Communist Party.

He has helped the Kerala communist Government to continue in power in spite of the anti-constitutional doings of which they have been notoriously guilty.

He was neutral when the Lok Sabha passed a resolution condemning the statement of Sri Nambudiripad casting aspersions on members of Parliament.

The statement made by Sri Golwalkar, the head of the RSS, that Russia has already a State Government in the Indian Union under her control is not far wrong. The Kremlin has selected Sri. Nambudiripad to lead the Indian Delegation to the forthcoming 40th Conference of the Soviet communists in Moscow in preference to Sri. Ajoy Ghosh, P. C. Joshi and others. Khrushchev feels that his prophecy at the last Conference in 1956 that overseas communist parties could in the new circumstances of Soviet expansion achieve power through the ballot box has been fulfilled by the

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# THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**T**HOUGHTFUL critics have asked the Government to change the timing of the five year plans so that they do not, as they do at present coincide with election periods. The next elections are to take place in 1961 which year will see the promulgation of the Third Five Year Plan by the Government. Its promises and goals of tremendous social and economic achievements and benefits will be used to attract the ignorant mass of the people and to dazzle and bemuse the semi-educated classes so that the party in power might be returned to power for the third time. This process will continue indefinitely misusing public policies to buttress the party in power illegitimately.

Congress leaders are already throwing out hints of the glories of the Next Plan which will receive a recognisable shape in the Congress Session held at Nagpur and will be known to the readers before the Indian Libertarian of 15th January is in the hands of readers. Full comment has therefore to be reserved for the next issue of 1st February. Meanwhile it is worthwhile drawing the attention of libertarians to the danger of the further steps into socialist economy that the Planners are threatening to take. It is all important that thoughtful people are not hurried into approval of measures in the socialist way under false pretences. The glamour of socialism as the only way of securing rapid economic advance and of realising fuller measures of social justice should be rationally dispelled if the people are to be enabled to evaluate the grandiose promises of the next Plan justly in terms of the further dislocation of the economy it is likely to cause and in terms of the intensification of present miseries of high prices and high taxes, unemployment and inflation.

The present leaders are like the Bourbons of France who learnt nothing and forgot nothing. The gulf between the Planners and Policy makers (or Maker) and the general public has become unbridgeable. They live in a world of their own.

This is borne in upon us by the announcement that the Third Plan will continue the pattern of the second and if anything, will be *larger* in terms of the magnitude of targets and funds to be invested! If the

(Continued from page 2)

Kerala communists. Hence his patronage to Sri. Namboodiripad. Will our Government take a wide-awake view of this Hidden Hand and emulate president Nasser in suppressing local communists while keeping friendly with the Kremlin?

The reality of Soviet world strategy and the machiavellian *expertise* of the Kremlin men need to be assessed by our Government at their true meaning and policy directed accordingly. Panchsheela is fading as is evidenced by China's maps including Indian areas and by open criticism of Nehru in Russian journals. We are approaching a new phase in our foreign relations—a phase calling for sterner stuff by way of competent self-interest and power of resistance to foreign dictation.

second plan aimed at the investment of Rs. 4,800 crores, the third will aim at investing Rs. 7,500 crores or more! Indeed the Socialist Forum, the so-called Ginger Group, speaks of Rs. 8,800 crores as the target! The ignominious failure to raise the resources for the present plan and the limits to which the country had to go begging before foreign Powers for loans and credits and advances and the shortfalls in local resources that became painfully evident in the very beginning of the second plan period should be sufficient warning that the pattern should not be repeated for the next plan. But our Government and their advisers seem determined to shut their eyes to the grim failure of the second plan and the needless suffering it has caused to the general public, particularly to the wage and salary receiving classes.

Where will the money come from for a bigger plan in the next period? Of course the first recourse is to additional taxation both direct and indirect. Direct excise and income tax increases are bound to cause intense resentment and aggravate the problem of evasion and official corruption. The tax collecting machinery might register a new low of efficiency and cause further resentments at Government's ways and bring further unpopularity to the authorities. The yield will certainly go down. As a matter of fact, the present levels of taxation, the highest in the world, compared to incomes and standards of living have already reached saturation point and have begun to yield diminishing returns. There is a point at which resistance begins to act and beyond which it is wiser not to raise the level. Lowering it will in the end yield more by way of revenue to the Government by strengthening incentives for more production. What the Government loses by way of lower tax assessment on each payer will be more than made up by an increase in the number of payers. India has reached such a stage long ago.

The expenditure tax and wealth tax for companies and bonus tax should be dropped. Dr. M. H. Gopal in his remarkable presidential address to the Economic Conference had some home truths to say on the present taxation structure. He suggested a simpler and lower tax structure in the interests of productive efficiency as well as revenue.

Another motive of the present extraordinary (and almost confiscatory) tax structure is its socialistic "social justice." The aim of the present steep progressiveness of income tax and super tax is dictated by this socialistic objective. Here again the means defeat the end. It is tantamount to killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Another doubtful device of the planners is to step up deficit financing beyond customary levels. Economists were warning the Government in the early stage of the second plan period that the proposal of Dr. Mahalanobis to raise deficit financing to as high and unheard of a figure as Rs. 1200 for the plan period was wrong and fraught with dangerous consequences to the economy. The deleterious outcome predicted by

them namely high inflationary pressure of high prices of essential commodities like food and cloth has been plaguing consumers during the last two years. Much of the rise in the cost of living is due to the shortage of consumer goods, and the higher demand for them caused by the newly employed and newly promoted in the development works of the plan, as anticipated.

The second plan also committed the error of not providing for the necessary increase in consumer goods in existing plants that would have absorbed the newly created demand. The planners deliberately starved the machine industry turning out consumer goods in their anxiety to curb the capitalistic class.

The wealth and expenditure taxes, the former applicable even to companies and the bonus tax hit the capitalist or productive class hard. It might have promoted socialism but it increased the hardship of all classes by raising the prices of consumer goods.

The way in which creditor nations from whom we had purchased machinery in large consignments (which has been the principal source of the problem of foreign exchange) rallied together and arranged substantial credits to save us from defaulting has been extraordinary. But it cannot be relied upon to be repeated time after time!

The large gap in resources to the extent of over Rs. 800 crores still remaining should be a warning not to repeat such "Ainaschar finance" again in the next Plan. But we have the Prime Minister announcing casually that the next Plan will be even bigger and more ambitious than last time. He has often reiterated his conviction that the Plan is not too big in view of the poverty of the country and the long leeway it has to make up in the race for modern industrialisation. This is not a fair answer to the criticism that the plan is too ambitious, for the point of the criticism is that it is too ambitious in relation to our resources from all sides. It may be necessary and desirable in relation to needs but too high in relation to capacity to find funds and this incapacity cannot be denied with any plausibility.

There is another characteristic of communist planning which is being imitated by our planners. That is the way in which the present generation is sacrificed for the sake of the future. There should be a proper balance between present wellbeing and future progress. No doubt the present generation should keep an eye on future wellbeing. Minerals for instance should not be exhausted too rapidly. The land should not be exploited too much, destroying its fertility, and leaving dust bowls in place of fertile fields.

But a disproportionate production of heavy machinery and producer goods locks up too great a proportion of current capital in goods to produce consumer goods leaving too little for the production of current consumption goods. Thus the present generation is baulked of its fair share of economic satisfaction.

Since the quantum of capital ear-marked for heavy producer goods is determined by the planners in a socialistic economy in the light of their non-economic objectives such as military power and equipment, there is no economic criterion to determine the proportion between consumption and producer goods. The investment is not determined by consumer

demand! This is a defect in socialistic planning. This situation gives rise to a mal-adjustment between demand and supply and wastes consequent thereon. The wastes of a competitive economy are nothing in comparison with the wastes of socialistic planning. This waste swells the cost of consumer goods. The losses incurred in several sectors and the requirements of producer goods swell the prices at which consumption goods have to be sold. Socialistic planning is not likely therefore to be successful in producing an economy of abundance by means of its "scientific" direction. The burden of the common man will remain (if not aggravated) in the planned set-up of socialist economy.

We have Congress planners looking for new directions of fleecing the people to meet the demands of the Third Five Year Plan. They speak of annexing the profits of companies and private business still further.

The Chinese expedient of partnership between public and private management, which is another way of nationalisation without compensation is likely to be taken up in the next Plan period. It was already mentioned in the Memorandum submitted by Prof. Gadgil to the National Development Council in 1956!

If this is done, we have a further long step in the socialisation of industry. Present owners will become paid managers of their own concerns which will be formally registered as partnerships with Government as the sleeping partner. Consumers as well as competitive producers will lose their economic freedom. Altogether, the people are in for a period of increased suffering on account of high prices in the third Plan period.

## NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Devaprasad Ghosh, Bharatiya Jana Sangh President has urged the formation of a National Government, composed of the best talents from all Nationalist parties owing allegiance to India. He has said that only such a National Government can tackle the problems facing the country in this hour of crisis.

This suggestion has been made more than once to the Congress leadership in recent times. Actually when India became free we had evolved such a National Government. But those who formed the Government found it convenient to get out of it and oppose the Congress openly, rather than confine expression of their views to Cabinet meetings. Whether the same experiment which failed once, will succeed or not, can be found out only by giving a trial to it.

What is, however, true is that some of our national problems arise out of the commitments and relationships of the Congress regime which can not go back on its former decisions without loss of face. At least in such matters National Government, will be in a better position to solve the problems. If all the political parties are conscious of a national crisis, and the Congress leadership is not over-confident about its wisdom, a National Government would appear to be well worth trying.

—Nagpur Times

# THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY

By M. N. Tholal

**M**R. NEHRU has been lamenting the decline of democracy with its fall in Pakistan, Burma, Thailand and the Sudan, and many a democratic heart would be inclined to agree with the pious sentiments given expression to by him on these startling events. But can Mr. Nehru lay his hand upon his heart and declare, with his own acts and declarations of the past ten years in mind that he has, as India's Prime Minister and "Super-President" of the National Congress—to use a word made familiar by him with reference to Gandhi—been promoting the cause of democracy at home and abroad; This question becomes pertinent as he has been regretting the attitude of some British and American papers who have almost welcomed the advent of military dictatorship in Pakistan. Let us throw a backward glance at the last ten years of Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministership.

In the first place, within a few months of India getting her independence, Prime Minister Nehru threw 20,000 of his countrymen into prison on the charge of conspiring to assassinate Mahatma Gandhi. (Who ever heard of 20,000 conspiring to murder one man?) On February 8, 1948, within a few days of the assassination of Gandhi, Golwalkar, Chief of the RSS, was arrested under Section 302, I.P.C. and 120-B, I.P.C. on the charge of having conspired to murder Gandhi. The next day the Government banned the RSS. A national calamity was cleverly exploited for killing the nucleus of a growing Opposition Party.

During the next six months, in the absence of any evidence against those arrested, almost all the 20,000 RSS men were released. After the statutory period of detention, the alleged leader of alleged murderers, was also released on August 5, 1948. The releases showed that the arrests had been made without any proofs in possession of the Government. But the ban on the RSS remained because, in the opinion of Nehru, it was "anti-national" and the objectives of the RSS were "opposed to the provisions of the proposed constitution". This almost reminds one of the story of the wolf and the lamb. Nobody should have known the provisions of the proposed constitution better than Mr. Nehru, but the new constitution, as everyone knows, came to the rescue of the RSS.

## CONGRESS LEADER'S TESTIMONY

On November 15, 1948, Golwalkar was arrested again in Delhi for refusing to go back to Nagpur. Before his arrest, in a letter to "all my brother Swayam Sevaks" he said he had decided to withdraw the instructions regarding the disbandment of the Sangh and called upon them to stand up for the cause and defy the ban by holding "sakhars". So commenced the Sangh Satyagraha and within fifty days, over sixty thousand men had courted arrest. After months of negotiations (through the President of the Indian Liberal Federation) Government got a constitution for the RSS reduced to writing and lifted the ban on September 12, 1949.

The reception accorded to Golwalkar in Delhi after his release (a quarter million attended it) should have shown Nehru the futility of repression. And whom was he trying to suppress? Let a Congress pillar, K. M. Munshi, give the answer: Wrote he:

"C.P.I. (Communist Party of India) is the enemy of Indian nationalism, tied to the chariot wheel of USSR: RSS is fanatically nationalist, worshipping Bharat Mata with high-powered emotion, looking to ancient India alone for inspiration. C.P.I. seeks to undermine the foundation of well-ordered life in order to bring about an upheaval: RSS builds up the foundation of an unyielding discipline to take over, should the nationalist movement fall before the C.P.I. C.P.I. attracts young men by providing a romantic background of revolutionary zeal and young women—possibly a more dangerous element by offering an alluring breakway from normal disciplined life. RSS attracts young men by the lure of spectacular organisational life and a fanatic hatred of what they deem anti-Hindu. I do not know whether it has ever attempted to enlist the young womanhood in India. To C.P.I. Lenin, Stalin and USSR are the Father, Son and Holy Ghost: to RSS, India is the Divine Mother at whose altar self-immolation is bliss. What is USSR to C.P.I. ancient Bharat is to RSS. The Church of C.P.I. is materialism: the Church of RSS is Dharma buttressed with ancient traditions."

Soon after the first Parliament came into being under the new constitution, Socialists, Jan Sanghis and others got together in order to form an effective Opposition Party. Jai Prakash Narain blessed the move and even took part in the preliminary discussions, but Nehru won over Jai Prakash Narain, promising him succession to the leadership of the country and the move came to naught. Jai Prakash Narain's recent insistence on Nehru's retirement is not altogether unconnected with Nehru's promise, though of, course, Nehru is under no obligation to retire before old age incapacitates him. Those who ask Nehru to help in the formation of an Opposition Party in Parliament should remember that there is no generosity in politics, though, according to all democratic standards, it will be conceded that Nehru was being undemocratic in going to the length of preventing Opposition parties from combining to form a parliamentary Opposition Party.

## THE CRIME OF JAN SANGH

We all remember how Prime Minister Nehru treated the Jan Sangh and what happened to its founder, Shyama Prasad Mukherji. The crime of Mukherji and his party was that they wanted full integration of Kashmir with India. They wanted—to recall their slogan—"One Constitution, one flag, one President"—and for this they were jailed and many of them even mercilessly beaten by the police. I have not so far heard even serious objection being raised to Communists disporting the Red Flag or Muslim Leaguers the Pakistan

Flag. No wonder the cry of "One Constitution, one Flag and one President" should have been penalised and sixty thousand sent to jail for raising the slogan in public!

We all know Mr. Nehru has made Communism look respectable. If Mr. Nehru is a passionate advocate of democracy, as he sometimes claims to be, he should hate the opposite of democracy, which is Communism, and not make the latter look respectable. Whose cause was he serving when he agreed to Tibet being occupied by China? It certainly was not the cause of democracy.

As for democracy itself, how is its cause best promoted? Is it promoted better by encouraging the formation of or welcoming the establishment of anti-Communist governments—whether dictatorial or democratic—or of democratic governments out for an alliance with Soviet Russia or anxious to wriggle out of pacts and treaties with which the anti-Communist governments have bound themselves into a solid bloc. It cannot be forgotten in any realistic approach to the situation, as it obtains in the present cold war, that the world is divided into two armed camps and that any recession from one camp is a gain for the other. We saw only two years ago how Soviet Russia exercised its ruthless might to prevent Hungary from leaving its bloc. We are seeing also how anxious Soviet Russia has been to wean Egypt away from the democratic bloc, although for sheer anti-Communism, President Nasser would be hard to beat. Nasser's anti-Communism has not prevented Soviet Russia from offering Egypt all kinds of aid. What matters today, above all, is: Are you against the other bloc? If you are frankly against the other bloc, you are good, irrespective of the form of government you choose to have in your country. And if you are with us, so much the better, and all your sins will be forgiven you. "He who offends me may be forgiven," said Jesus, "but he who offends the Holy Ghost will never be forgiven, neither in this

world nor hereafter." Jesus today stands for democracy and the Holy Ghost is the bloc.

There is indeed really no other way. Standing on the purely ideological ground—which Mr. Nehru himself has never done—they (whether Americans or Britishers) must condemn the fall of democratic or pseudo-democratic governments and follow up their condemnation with refusal of economic and military aid to the renegades. But would that not be playing the Communist game? The democratic powers might as well throw up the sponge and dissolve their pacts and abrogate their treaties rather than condemn anti-Communist governments for their ideological lapses. Any condemnation of which neither the USA nor Britain can afford to indulge in, in these days of cold war between the two blocs. That is in fact nothing new. Has not the United States been supporting France despite the fact that the latter has been busy crushing Algerian Nationalists to which the American Government and the American people are dead opposed?

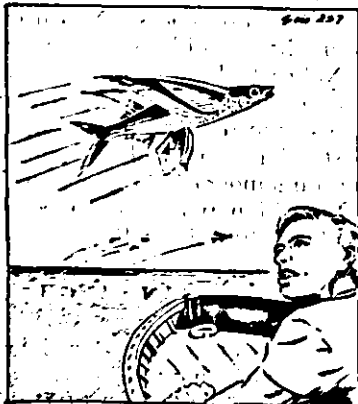
### REVOLUTION WITHOUT REASON

The danger to which the success of Revolution are most exposed is that of attempting them before the principles on which they proceed and the advantages to result from them, are sufficiently seen and understood. Almost everything appertaining to the circumstances of a nation, has been absorbed and confounded under the general and mysterious word "government." Though it avoids taking to its account the errors it commits, and the mischief it occasions, it falls not to arrogate to itself whatever has the appearance of prosperity. It robs industry of its honours, by pedantically making itself the cause of its effects: and purloins from the general character of man, the merits that appertain to him as a social being.

—Thomas Paine: *The Rights of Man*

## DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



Flying fish can glide 500 feet. Usually found in tropic or warm-temperate seas, these unusual fish catapult themselves out of the water and glide on their greatly enlarged side or pectoral fins. Some of the more powerful fish can jump onto or over the decks of small ships.



In preparation for manned space travel, U.S. airman Donald Farrell recently made a seven-day simulated trip to the moon and back. The experiment, performed in a sealed cabin 3 ft. wide, 6 ft. long, 5 ft. high, was designed to test a man's physical and mental reactions.



Fish can be caught in the Sahara Desert. There are many underground streams in the Sahara Desert and by digging through the sand into these subterranean streams, a desert fisherman can catch fresh-water fish.

Look at this picture and that

# Our 'Buddhistic' Imbecility & Pak Aggression

By J. K. Dhairyawan

WITH our preoccupations with the uncertainties connected with the Plan and our unconcern, or rather the unconcern of the Delhi authorities about the Pak menace, the country is drifting towards the brink of a precipice. Since the military dictatorship in Pakistan, despite the assurances of our modern "Buddha," installed in power at New Delhi, Pak aggression has been stepped up on the Indo-Pak border of Assam. Our Defence Minister has just returned from a holiday jaunt, and he, too, in the foot-steps of Pandit Nehru, talks of solving the Indo-Pak problems by "peaceful" means. There is a sort of defeatism on the part of our rulers over the question of Pak aggression against India. The latest incident on the Assam border is typical of the bravado and impudence with which the Pak military junta invade parts of India, and get away with them.

In the *Times of India* dated 22nd December, a double-column news item appears on the first page. It is typical of the insecurity of the Indian nationals living on the border areas, and not even a finger is moved by the Central Government, whose primary duty it is to protect our territory, and who are primarily responsible for the security and defence of our nationals on the border. Here are extracts from that news item:—

## "HEAVY MACHINE-GUN FIRING BY PAK FORCE CONTINUES"

### Forty Mile Stretch of Frontier Occupied

Karimganj Dec. 21: Heavy machine-gun firing by the Pakistani armed forces at the Indian border villages of Cachar district continued for the fifth consecutive day, according to official news received here today.

Mukamtilla and Karaiyatla in the Patharia Hills are the two latest targets of Pakistani firing.

The Pakistani forces have entrenched themselves firmly on a continuous stretch of 40 mile Frontier from Sutarkandi to Patharia Hills reserve forest.

The Pakistani firing spread wider on the Assam border with machine-guns spraying bullets at the Indian townlets of Madanpur and Barapunji. These two places, along with the Bhangabazar in Karimganj sub-division, were targets of Pakistani firing for many months since March 11.

Now here is a piece of news which ought to make every Indian hang his head with shame and make him red with rage at the thought that our New Delhi authorities should be so impotent as NOT to return the Pak aggression with counter-firing and drive away the intruders. If the firing and acts of aggression are continued from March 11, that is 10 long months, what are Defence Services meant for, if not to act in such emergencies? Are our Defence Services meant only as

"show-pieces" to be sent on what are called "missions of peace" to Ghaza and other places, and to give the salutes to the khaddar-capped and khaddar-clad rulers on ceremonial occasions like the Independence and Republic Days? These acts of continued aggressions on the part of Pakistan should have long ago called for military action on the part of the Government of India. No country in the world, that has the slightest regard for its integrity and security, would keep quiet in the face of invasion of its territory as the modern "Buddhists," installed in power at New Delhi, have done. It is time for the complacent Parliament, specially the M.Ps of the Opposition, to force the Government to take military action or else resign their seats. The primary duty of any independent sovereign State is to defend its frontiers against ALL raids and invasions from any external sources. If they fail to do so, they have to be called to task, and in a democratic set-up, if the Parliament refuses to act, as in the present case, it is the people that should demand the resignation of the Government of the day and install a more patriotic government in its place. The need is urgent, and the patriotic section of the country should carry on a raging propaganda against the impotency and imbecility of the present government. The present Government has brought the security and integrity of the country into peril, and they have betrayed the trust put in them by the people. And when they refuse to act in the face of open and wanton aggression on the part of Pakistan, the only last resort for the people is to replace the government, by the strength of public opinion.

## ASSURANCES ARE USELESS

No assurances and no weak-kneed protest notes are called from Pandit Nehru. Action and quick action is the only reply against Pak aggression. If the Delhi Government disregards its primary duty to the people and the country, the Congress Government has no right to function.

## UNDEMOCRATIC NEHRU

Long before these continuous acts of aggression, Pakistan occupied Tukergam and the adjoining territory. Instead of calling for their return, what did your "Buddhistic" Prime Minister do during the Nehru-Noon parleys? He agreed to give another big slice of territory from the Cooch-Bihar state to Pakistan as well as Tukergam. And what was more, the Prime Minister, when asked questions in the Parliament, said that he was NOT required to take the sanction and approval of the Parliament for that anti-national action of his. Surely the Prime Minister has some queer ideas about democratic, and Parliamentary government, when he acts as the autocratic dictator of India. No

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# From The Frying Pan Into The Fire

By Baburao Patel

[This is the concluding portion of the article given in the December 1st issue]

**N**OW, let us take a short review of Mirza's record as the President of Pakistan. Only words can give us a photograph of a man's mind. Here is, therefore, what Mirza has been speaking:

"On March 23, 1956, 12 hours after he was sworn as the first President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mirza said in a broadcast speech: "On this day of national rejoicing I cannot help thinking of our unfortunate brethren of Kashmir, who for eight years have lived under the darkening shadows of sufferings and sacrifice. These brave people are the torchbearers of liberty and their struggle is for nothing more than a longing to exercise their birthright of self-determination. This is a basic human right, and we shall stand firmly by their noble cause."

We send our greetings to the people of Jammu and Kashmir with a solemn assurance that their cause is as dear to us as the cause of Pakistan itself. We shall always be with you. You shall never be alone in your sacrifice and struggle for freedom. . . . Pakistan's army as a fighting machine is second to none. . . . While we do not aspire for an inch of another's land, we shall not give an inch of our fatherland, come what may."

Speaking at Lahore, on April 2, 1956, Mirza said, "The repeated attempts of aggression by India on our borders are by no means a token of friendliness. We uphold peace, but not at the cost of our honour and territorial integrity. . . . I repeat again, with the fullest emphasis at my command, that the cause of the people of Kashmir is our own cause. We shall never let them down. We are with them and we shall always be with them. No power on earth can deflect us from this determination."

Addressing an army meeting in Karachi on January 11, 1957 Mirza said, "I have been particularly impressed with the remarkable skill and efficiency with which the Pakistani Air Force is handling the new aircraft being supplied under the mutual security defence alliance with the United States. You are being rapidly equipped with the most efficient and modern jet fighters and when very shortly you will receive your full equipment you will be able to look to the future with confidence. . . . Our relations with India are not what they should be. The latest view of Indian leaders is that Kashmir is strategically essential for the security of India. Despite all our endeavours we are not successful in convincing them and it looks as if it is quite useless trying to convince one who will not be convinced. Really, when your neighbour of the size of India has sinister designs, I must ask you, gentlemen, to be always ready. This was two years ago. Today Pakistan is more than ready."

We can give hundreds of quotations from President Mirza's speeches in the same strain of hostility and hatred against India. All these quotations, however, will only emphasize the following facts:

(1) That Pakistanis intensely hate India and everything Indian.

(2) That Pakistanis are prepared to go to war and shed their last drop of blood over Kashmir.

(3) That all the Islamic kingdoms of the world are in full sympathy with Pakistan's demand for Kashmir and if and when necessary are prepared to help Pakistan to secure Kashmir.

(4) That Pakistan's army is so fully supplied with modern and first-class equipment that it is second to none today.

Is General Ayub Khan a more friendly person? In his first press conference in Karachi after assuming power, General Ayub Khan said, on October 10, 1958, "Kashmir is a thing that no Pakistani can forget. We have got to have a satisfactory solution for this problem. We shall be very happy if it is solved peacefully. Once Kashmir and the canal water problems were solved, Pakistan would have no further grouse against India."

And to find a "satisfactory solution" quickly, General Ayub Khan set free, on October 13, 1958, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and his gangsters who were detained in connection with the Pakistani movement to violate the cease-fire line in Kashmir from the "Azad" Kashmir side.

All this will show how the wind is blowing in Pakistan. With the Army in power, the Kashmir dispute is now going to take a serious complexion. When the politicians passed this old bone of contention from dog to dog with war cries, they did it to gain local prestige and score a popular talking point. As Mirza said they would have been nowhere near the firing line. But when the military dictators of Pakistan begin to exercise their minds on this dispute seriously, as some day they will have to, India will have to face a shooting war suddenly—a war for which India is not, and will not be, prepared, due to our peace-and-pigeon approach towards Pakistan.

There is, however, no immediate danger of a war with Pakistan. The present crisis in Pakistan has postponed the date for some time at least. At the moment the military dictators have their hands full with numerous internal problems—more so because they are not yet quite sure that they have done the right thing in declaring martial law. With the Army in two minds, which perhaps is the greatest danger to the present military junta, Mirza, Ayub and Company will have soon to establish some sort of a democratic council for the day-to-day administration of Pakistan, at least to protect the integrity of the army which is badly divided on the issue of Mirza's leadership. We won't be surprised if they bring back that double-barelled all-rounder, Khwaja Nazimuddin, the real strong man of Pakistan, to rule the roost again, this time with the full support of the Army. If Nazimuddin is brought back he should be able to set the affairs right by revising the fortunes of Pakistan, by, say, May or June of next year. After June we shall

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# THE CASE FOR ENGLISH

By A. Ranganathan

"THE time has arrived" wrote C. E. Trevelyan in his "The Education of the People of India," when the ancient debt of civilisation which Europe owes to Asia is about to be repaid; and the Sciences, cradled in the East and brought to maturity in the West are now by a final effort to overspread the world". And this new dispensation was not regarded as an invasion of ideas, but as a step towards the synthesis of civilizations, so that the Western impact on India and the Indian impact on the West, which flowing from the fundamental cultural unity of mankind in the ultimate analysis, might result in a truly great Renaissance of Humanity, more universal in its dimensions than the previous Renaissances the world has so far seen.

The present conflict regarding the language issue is no new phenomenon. As early as 1817, there was a battle between the Anglicists and the Mediaevalists leading to the triumph of the Anglicists in 1857 when the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta universities were established. Exactly hundred years later, on the 28th October, many prominent citizens of India led by Mr. Rajagopalachari sent an open communication to the Prime Minister and appealed to him, "to step in and bring about the reconsideration of the entire issue, so that the spirit of true freedom is maintained and not sacrificed at the altar of what we respectfully submit in the over-zealous love on the part of some for their own language". Indeed this historic letter evoked memories of the famous letter written by Raja Ram Mohan Roy wherein he pleaded for the introduction of English and Western knowledge and not merely Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. It was a case of history repeating itself. Again, on behalf of "the Union Language convention of South India", Rajaji moved a resolution stressing that it would be suicidal to national interests, if we threw away the advantages derived by the use of English during the last 150 years of British rule and the eleven years of freedom following it.

The English language has brought about a revolution of India's cultural heritage in terms of world thought. Indeed, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his "Hinduism and the West" has said that this Western influence generated by the English language has "widened the horizon of the Indian mind, opened up fresh channels and gave it a more universal direction". The spirit of freedom which inspired the Indian leaders flowed from the fountain of English literature.

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue,  
That Shakespeare spake".

In order to view the problem in perspective, it is necessary to disentangle the idea of "English education" from that omnibus expression known as "British rule in India". The "Kesari" of Poona wrote in 1885 "Patriotism is not a national quality; it is the product of the influence we have been subjected after the introduction of British rule."

It would be interesting at this stage to deal with some of the objections which have been aroused against the retention of English. The favourite argument is that Hindi is spoken by a majority. But it is

over-looked that the 42 percent of the people speaking Hindi in all its ramifications is not evenly spread throughout India, but concentrated in a particular region. Another argument in favour of Hindi is that English would make for identity between the language of official life and that of the people. Let us be frank. The absence of contact between the officials and the "masses", (whatever that might mean) is due to the state of class consciousness (whether the official speaks Hindi or English or Tamil, it will be the same.)

The terrible tragedy of the partition of India, shocked the whole of India into a state of mind, when the idea of a common language was accepted. But that does not mean that Hindi can be imposed on the people of India by 1965. Even Article 315 of the Constitution has made it clear that Hindi is still an undeveloped language and it is difficult to understand the reason behind the idea of imposing Hindi, when English serves our purposes admirably. Again, Article 344 (3) says that "in making their recommendations, the (official Language) commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

The final objection is that the Constitution cannot be amended since it would be an insult to the collective wisdom of our constitution makers. Perhaps, the force of this objection might have been accepted, if the Indian constitution had not been amended till now. Even in America, the constitution is amended from time to time which certainly does not mean an insult to the founding Fathers of America.

Some time ago, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the Universities Grants Commission observed that the development of Indian languages will be more meaningful if we maximised the chances of development of our minds and this would be impossible without extensive and reinforced resort to one of the most advanced languages of the world, i.e., English, "which opens the door to us at least two-thirds of the current scientific and technological literature and belles-letters. "The Indian system of education" declared Raj Mohan Roy "would be best calculated to keep the country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British legislature". Indeed, we would ask ourselves the same question. Are our legislature bodies interested in keeping us in darkness?

Today, there is a danger of the mediaevalist trend in our socio-cultural set up getting mixed up with the authoritarian element implicit in the growth of the modern welfare state based on the "Socialistic Pattern of Society". The replacement of English by Hindi at all levels would neither benefit North Indians nor South Indians in the final analysis. It is possible that the communists might reap advantages from such a replacement since it would result in isolating India from the liberal currents of the West. Our problem, therefore can be solved by deleting part XVII of the Constitution and maintaining status quo until such time when we would afford to do without English.

# Congress Policy of Communism by stages must be resisted now

By Philip Spratt

**M**EETING in Bangalore last week-end, the Jan Sangh made a few clear and simple declarations which, if politics went by logic, would give it the support of great numbers of people and a probable majority throughout India. It declared itself against socialism and for individual liberty, and recommended the principle of peasant proprietorship.

There can be little doubt that if economic slogans and abstractions were understood concretely, as they would actually work out in practical life, the majority of people would oppose the slogans and abstractions which now dominate Congress politics. Envy of the successful, and disgust for the corruption and profiteering of private business, have supported the campaign against the private sector, but people now have sufficient experience to see that State ownership, control and management are no better.

It is very questionable even now if village people as a whole approve of a ceiling of Rs. 300 per family per month being placed on their incomes. It is fairly certain that as they experience the repercussions of the rural revolution thus set going they will dislike it.

Who is going to gain from a drastic deflation of land values, and the flight to the towns of all the more prosperous and better educated people? Who is going to be satisfied with the distribution of the surplus land? And when production falls and famine spreads, and villagers have to be kept alive on American wheat and Burmese rice, even the immediate beneficiaries will see that land ceilings were suicidal.

Then will come the stage of cooperative farming. Under stress of want, it may be accepted. But men who have owned their farms, or aspired to own them, will never be content to be treated by a Government overseer as wage-workers. Worse still, cooperative farming does not raise production. Even theoretically its success depends on big investment—from where?

Peasant representatives have already begun to demand that if a ceiling is to be placed on rural incomes, a corresponding ceiling should be placed on urban incomes. The Congress High Command have rashly let it be known that they are considering the matter.

Rashly, we said. A ceiling on urban incomes at anything corresponding to Rs. 300 per month per family for rural incomes would be a rash project indeed. Say it is fixed at Rs. 500 per month per family. Pandit Nehru himself, with all his semi-divine popularity, could not make the business class, the administrative class, and least of all his own party colleagues, accept it in practice. To enact such a measure is to inaugurate an era of wholesale evasion, and corruption on a scale hitherto unheard-of.

But on the other hand suppose he bows to realities and drops his urban income ceiling. What will happen to the rural electorate? The communists will take up the demand for an urban income ceiling and sweep the villages.

Did ever a ruling party put itself and the country it controlled in a worse dilemma than the Congress has done with this fantastic proposal of a ceiling of

Rs. 300 on rural incomes? This is the outcome of the supersubtle policy of trying to defeat the communists by stealing their programme.

The Jan Sangh has declared against this mixture of premature economic idealism and dishonest political tactics. It favours the sensible, conservative course of making the best of the existing economic structure until India has wealth enough to permit of fancy plans of redistribution.

Yet though in agreement with this attitude, the public show little inclination to follow the Jan Sangh. Those who remember the background of this party will point out that the Sangh is not mainly interested in economic problems; its concern—apart from fanatical, but now fading, threats against Pakistan—is to preserve Hindu culture, which it believes is in danger from the modernistic ideas of the Congress leader.

Even on this matter however, the opinions of the great majority of the public are with the Sangh rather than with Pandit Nehru. On economics and on cultural matters the public are conservative, whereas the Congress leader is a revolutionary; yet they repudiate the conservative party and support him.

Indeed no people in the world, among the civilised nations, are more conservative than Indians. Despite the considerable changes of the past few decades, this remains true of all but a very small number who have become entirely uprooted. But the conservatism of the Indian public is now betraying them, though a paradoxical series of events, into an unwanted revolution.

Their attitudes, towards their political parties were fixed during the thirty years' campaign of the Congress under Gandhi's lead. That campaign ended eleven years ago, and a quite new situation came into being, but the loyalty of the great majority towards the Congress remained.

That was in no way surprising or regrettable. The leaders whom the public had learned to admire and trust remained at the head of the party, and though some of them might declare their belief in various contradictory utopias, there was no reason to suppose that they would or could agree to alter established and valued ways.

In normal circumstances such a belief would be well-founded. But it ceased to be so in relation to the Congress when Sardar Patel died. His death altered the balance of power in the party in a curious way. After a period of internal conflict a bargain seems to have been concluded, whereby Pandit Nehru in effect abandoned his opposition to much of what he had denounced as reactionary and communal, such as the fads of his colleagues in linguistic matters, while they allowed him complete freedom to decide economic and political policies.

Both sides of this bargain were disastrous for India. On the one hand the States were reorganised on the linguistic principle, and the fanatical devotees of Hindi are being allowed to impose that language on the country, in open and underhand ways, in defiance of

the Constitution and of common sense. Both these departures are full of potential mischief.

On the other hand, for all the purposes of economic and foreign policy, the mighty governing machine of the Congress was put into the unchecked control of a single man, who happened to be a utopian revolutionary. Pandit Nehru took his opportunity, quickly changed the Congress policy to socialism, and proceeded to put it into effect.

The Congress is of course not monolithic. The leader's innovations have provoked some resistance in the party. But his strategic position is so secure, and the Centre has so firm a control of the nation's finances, that he can have his way. Socialism is being forced through. Section by section the propertied class is being liquidated.

So far as Pandit Nehru receives sincere support within the Congress, this is given on tactical grounds. People have been led to believe that the communists have an overwhelmingly strong appeal to the poor majority, so that the only way in the long run, to defeat them is to put through their programme, but to save India the horrors experienced in Russia and China by doing it in a civilised way.

As we have repeatedly explained, this proposal suffers from fatal defects. It is possible to dispossess the propertied class in a legal and peaceful way, but it is not possible to run an economy without incentives.

The low ceiling on incomes destroys all incentive if the economy is left in its present private hands. If, in the alternative, the economy is socialised, the incentive problem remains. It can be solved theoretically in two ways, but in practice both ways have to be adopted, as has been done in Russia.

One necessity is to cancel the income ceiling, thus readmitting the economic incentive; the other is to apply coercion at all levels, i.e. drastic punishment if quotas are not reached. It is impossible to rely on the economic incentive alone, since it is impossible to raise everybody's wages, and at the same time save for investment and avoid inflation.

It is scarcely possible that the Congress will follow this course. If it does not, the economy collapses and the communists come into power. If it does, it abandons its principle of adhering to civilised ways and imposes the full barbarous communist programme itself.

There is no way out by stealing the communists' clothes. That leads, either way, to communism in all its horrors. The only hope is a conservative programme, relying on the normal economic incentive and the existing system, such as has been outlined by the Jan Sangh.

Sensible, level-headed citizens therefore find themselves in a dilemma. They trust the Congress, but that party is handing them over to communism; they do not trust the Jan Sangh, although it proposes the only reasonable alternative policy.

We are constrained to point out that the sensible, level-headed public have only themselves to blame for this dangerous situation. Since the Avadi session of the Congress, four years ago, it has been clear that a party must be formed to defend the tried, effective methods of individual freedom, private enterprise and the economic incentive. Not only this journal, but far more powerful voices, including that of C. R. himself, have appealed for such a party.

It is late, but perhaps not too late. The need for a party of freedom is now inescapable and obvious to the blindest. Will nothing be done to save India from the slave-drivers?

—Mysindia

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inch of territory of any nation is parted without the approval and sanction of its representatives in any democratic country. But here is our Prime Minister, giving away large slices of Indian territory, and he thinks that there is nobody to question his authority. Our Prime Minister requires to refresh his knowledge of democracy and parliamentary government. That is all, and if he does not try to learn, the best course is to bring about pressure of public opinion to bring him to act right.

#### LOOK AT THIS PICTURE

While the *Times of India* carried this piece of Pak aggression it also carried another bit of news on the same first page. That should be at least some lesson for our Prime Minister. It is about the shooting down of an UAR plane that had trespassed over the Israeli country. Quick and prompt came the Israeli answer, The UAR plane was shot down. Unlike the Government of India, they did not send protest Notes to the aggressor. They paid the aggressor in the same coin. That is the answer that any self-governing and self-respecting country does, when its territory is invaded. And one must know that Israel is surrounded by hostile Arab countries. It did not prevent the rulers from taking the only action that a sovereign country takes. And perhaps, as a moral to our "Buddhistic" Prime Minister, the Tel-Aviv news carries a para that Israel does NOT intend to lodge a complaint with U.N. Security Council over what it calls "Egyptian incursion into Israeli air-space." That is the end of the Egyptian incursion into Israel, and there are no week-kneed protest notes and complaints.

Though over 10 years have elapsed since our donated freedom, our rulers have not given up the habit of petitioning and lodging complaints—a practice that was frowned upon by the Congress—during the Freedom Struggle against the mentality of our Indian liberals. Today, despite our freedom and our independence, that servile mentality to look up to, what is miscalled world public opinion, is still with our rulers, and specially with the Prime Minister. With such a mentality he has burdened the country with the "problems" of Kashmir, Goa and Indo-Pak tension.

### READ THE ASSASSINS

By F. A. RIDLEY

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Earl Attlee has celebrated his seventy-sixth birthday in a disconcertingly unconventional fashion. In the course of a television programme arranged in honour of the occasion, he has shown what a consummate master he can be in the gentle art of making enemies. The only indiscretion of which he was guilty concerned his totally inaccurate and ungenerous remark on Jinnah. To call him a 'hanger-on of the Congress' is to be guilty of a school-boy howler in relation to one who played a picturesque part whether in the congress or outside in the country. No wonder the government of Pakistan is said to have taken umbrage at this belittling of their revered leader, and to have demanded satisfaction through diplomatic action. Attlee both as a commoner and latterly as a lord always gave the public an impression of being 'goody-goody' and of having an inexhaustible repertory of the soft word that turneth away wrath. But those who remember the contents of his autobiography entitled 'As It Happened' will readily recall many sparkling *bon mots*, epigrams and memorable turns of thought or phrase with which that book is studded as a pie is with plums.

Lord Attlee has disclaimed any intention of wishing to hurt the feelings of Muslims in Pakistan, but it is not his intention so much as his actual performance that is the issue in the present case. The extent of personal prejudice entertained by Attlee is brought out in a startling fashion. Nor did he stop to consider the oddity of dubbing Jinnah a nobody while at the same time conceding that he carried with him millions of his followers to a fanatic conclusion. Hangers-on do not do that kind of trick, unless millions choose to hang on them in their turn! If Jinnah had not played that part, depend upon it, some other muslim would have been pitchforked into the role—for such was the nemesis of nationalism as it was tinkered with by our incorruptible leaders at the time.

Earl Attlee's evaluations of some of the other prominent personalities of our generation are more balanced and urban without ceasing to be pungent to the point of meditated malice. To dub Churchill as a great parliamentary figure and not a great parliamentarian is to make a distinction which is apt to be lost on the majority of those who heard the description. It amounts to saying that Churchill was not impersonal or democratic or affable enough to be content to be first among equals. He always thirsted for the star-role, and it is fatal to the correct observance of parliamentary and procedural properties. He dominated the house in crisis and made other members bow down before him their diminished heads. The ideal parliamentarian must be a sort of walking encyclopaedia of rules, conventions, precedents and

analogies; he must be a committee man which is the last thing that star-performers care to be!

The estimate of Pandit Nehru is no less devastating in its implied condemnation of our nation's darling. To say that he is 'not difficult to get on with' is left-handed praise. But to add that he could not make firm or swift decisions is to damn the politician out of hand. For politics is the field of prompt and quick action, and words are but a camouflage to hasten the tempo of *faits accomplis*. But Pandit Nehru is our Hamlet in a nutshell, with his a genius for procrastination and splitting the difference endlessly. Altogether these summary judgments reveal the shrewd observer and finished writer behind the politician who hustled us into partitioned freedom.

It looks as if T.T.K. is coming back after all for his 'revenge'. It was Pandit Pant who first set the ball rolling with an eulogy of the ex-Finance minister which was per-fervid to a degree. Since he opined that T.T.K. was the perfect knight-errant *sans peur et sans reproche*, the conclusion seems not illegitimate that Pandit Pant knew who was actually to be held responsible for the favours shown to Mundhra obviously for services rendered to Congress. Common gossip has already indicated that Pandit Pant was the discreet figure from behind the scenes to signal the patronage of Mundhra, and this award of a clean bill of moral health to T.T.K. by him must therefore be deemed almost straight from the horse's mouth. Pandit Nehru has hastened to buttress up his *chela's* certificate with one of his own which for its obliquities of understanding and evaluation can only be described as sublime. The only hitch seems to be where or how to pitch-fork the discarded favourite among the padded seats of the mighty. A come-back through the labyrinth of the Planning Commission would give office without power, and history shows that a favourite by definition should be one to exercise power,—preferably without responsibility! If I may make a humble and seasonable suggestion it would be to make T.T.K. the President of the Congress and the sanctified sergeant-major and drummer-boy of the Congress chest and Congress ideology. At the moment it seems to be going a-begging. As Congress President, he may be expected to have a finger in almost every all-India pie.

It is not without significance in this context to remember that the other candidate suggested for the *gadi* is the comparatively junior aspirant to high office, the Madras finance minister Sri S. Subramanyam. He was discovered by Rajaji and was thought at one time to be such a staunch Rajaji-ite that there was talk of his resigning along with him when the older man had to relinquish office in unheroic fashion. Since then however he has made his peace with the resigning gods headed by Shri Kamaraj Nadar who is the Cincinnatus of Indian politics in the new dispensation. It is now put out that Shri Kamaraj is unwilling to part with Sri Subrahmanyam for the reason that he is his right hand, and that Madras will revert to primitive darkness if he should leave it. A more realistic reason underlying this solicitude might well be the fear that at the end of his presidential assignment, Shri Subrahmanyam might prove too big for a mere ministership,—that in

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# Communism--A Self-Deception

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

## SELF-DELUSION

**I**N view of the importance of Communism at the present time, some acquaintance with the principles which lead men become communists is desirable. It must be said at the outset, that communism is a reaction to capitalism; it is believed by communists that capitalism is the cause of all the present ills that the people face and the only remedy lies in the adoption of communism. But if we examine its philosophy we find that it is based on self deluding assumptions which can never be realised in actual practice. The most important of these assumptions is the public ownership of the means of production. It is said that under capitalism wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and the large number of people is exploited by these privileged few. But in any regime providing free opportunity, a small percentage will rise to the top. This fact will cause no injury to anyone if the way is kept open for all persons to strive toward the top, and for each to go as far as he can. It is the law of progress that a few persons must go to the top in order to show the possibilities and opportunities, so that others might emulate and follow them. If all the people were to try to march at the same time, then who will guide them? There is every possibility that like goats they may fall in ditches and there will be none to lift them up from their positions.

"Plant a vine, watch it grow, and you will find how human society is carried upward by the individuals who first go upwards."

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

It is assumed by the Communists that under Communism alone the proletariat will own the capital and other economic processes of a country; but it appears that communists have either not properly understood the meaning of the term public ownership or they are practising a self-deception or fraud on the minds of the people. "The ownership of a thing is the right of one or more persons to possess and use it to the exclusion of others". If this is so, then the terms "public" and "ownership" are contradictory to each other. The Communists have failed to recognise this distinction. If they had realised it, then their argument does not stand; and if it can be shown that the argument is invalid then the whole ideology of communists falls to the ground.

## NO CONTROL BY THE PEOPLE

In public ownership only a few individuals at any given time have control of public property and the people as a whole cannot have the control and management of any item of property; they cannot have the possession of it as they can have under capitalism.

Under capitalism an individual is free to own and dispose of his property as he likes. Under communism the capital assets of a nation are in the absolute control of a handful of individuals over whom the people have no control. This same small group controls all activities of the people and their main object is to maintain their own position and their own power at any cost. At this they are cunning, cruel and relentless. In spite of their power they are always under fear. They too do not enjoy complete freedom. It is said by one writer "there is no freedom on earth or in any star for those who deny freedom to others." So under communism people have no control of the nation's property and they lose what they have. They have to accept without any visible complaint what they receive from these tyrant-capitalists.

## UTOPIAN DREAM

It is also assumed that the handful of planners in control of a nation's economic progress can plan and handle those processes to better advantage for the people than the people can, if free to use their own resources, their own genius and to direct their own energies to the supplying of their own and others needs and wants. This is nothing but an Utopian dream. Even Nature does not concentrate her resources into the possession of any few entities. "Billions of stars and millions of galaxies are in her heavens; on earth, the variety of her creation, in relation to any person's knowledge is infinite; among human beings aptitudes and capacities are so widely distributed that no one can foretell where talent, extraordinary ability or genius can crop out. In this fact lies the second most cogent practical justification for freedom (The first lies simply in the spirit of the individual man, which no other person has an authority to dominate in the inalienable rights that derive from that fact). Men must be free if society is to receive what nature intends that it shall have, and what she is prepared to give. No handful of dictatorial planners can even conceive more than the tiniest fraction of the varied contributions that people if free, could and would make to cultural and economic advancement and to varied utilitarian values in their society. This would be true even if the dictator-planners were persons of extraordinary wisdom, intellectual fertility, character and understanding—Only little men profess to know enough to run everybody's business. It is that little man at times definitely psychopathic who having acquired in some way (may we say foul?) a ruling authority becomes the arbitrary planner for a nation's economic activities. It is that little man, sometimes a madman who in his fear, surrounds himself with a labyrinthine army of secret police, closes all the channels of free information, discussion and education and dissipates much of the energies of his subjects to

bulwark himself and his co-conspirators with Cyclopean armament not needed for any honest or constructive purpose. It is that little man always behind the promulgation of an ideology that makes the individual only a pawn and helot of a mystical god called the "state," a promise derived from either a profound ignorance or a licentious lust for power." In capitalism we know that all these functions are performed by individual persons in the most economical and efficient manner each "a self aware, self disciplined spirit that can best serve society through the guidance of his own inspiration, ideals, intuition, intelligence, self-knowledge, judgment, will and ambition." So competitive and open capitalism is keyed to the facts and as Goethe said "there is no trifling with nature—it defies incompetency, but reveals its secret to the competent, truthful and the pure."

#### CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Communism promises to produce a classless society but this is nothing but a dream. When Nature has made human beings as different as they can be and still have enough in common to be identifiable as members of the same species, it is impossible for the Communists to achieve this false promise in practice. Even in Russia class distinctions are still existing, in spite of the fact that she had enjoyed the fruits of Communist for the last 40 years. In open and competitive capitalism no class exists except the natural groupings of people and none exists with a closed door as we see in Communist countries. So the idea of classless society is nothing but a fraud of communist propaganda.

#### DICTATORSHIP BY PROLETARIAT

The other fraud of Communism is the promise to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a bait for the ignorant people; it is not fulfilled and will never be fulfilled. It allows the tyrant capitalists to gain the control of a nation's capital assets, to use mob psychology and ignorance and lastly cruelty of the mob. The term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is a self-contradiction. If there are more than one dictator, either the dictators must agree or one of them must disappear. This same phenomenon we find at present in Russia. How can the people become dictators over themselves? If they were to be the dictators they might agree on except by a full, free and secret ballot? And if they disagreed how could they reconcile their disagreement except by the principle of majority rule? In case they would pursue these methods, what they actually would have is democracy and not dictatorship. There is no possibility of adopting these methods by Communists.

#### LOW WAGES IN COMMUNISM

In communism workers are promised that they would receive full fruits of their labour and that they would not be exploited by the capitalists. In every economic system workers have to be paid wages to live. The wage is much greater in capitalism than in communism. The proof of this statement can be verified by comparing the living standards and per capita income of the people in Russia and America. If the workers are to receive a share of profits above their wages, then profits must be made at first, but under communist profits are taboo; they are the evils that the communists want to end. In capitalism profits are earned

by the capitalists as a compensation for the use of the funds invested by them and the services rendered by them for the satisfaction of the needs of their own as well as of the others. The purpose and methods of communism are to deprive everyone of profits, and make everyone completely dependent upon the state or rather upon the few who rule and who call themselves the 'State.'

#### EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

In a free or open and competitive capitalism people obtain employment under three channels, namely, self-employment, private institutions and government. The greater the employment in first two groups lesser is the burden on the government. It is the duty of the wise government to increase the employment in the first two categories for profits alone will make their employment possible. Government is not the producer of wealth; it is merely an agent to collect the wealth from the people by means of taxes and transfer it to other people; it may create job by adopting public works policy, but to pay the wages to the workers it takes the money from the privately owned economic structure. By this method government reduces the capacity and spirit of private enterprise and employment of the people in the private sector declines. As such effects multiply and deteriorate economy, those who do not know the method to solve the problem except by more laws, more taxes, and more and more government interference in the economic activities of the people would throw the government further into the business of directly providing employment. If we want to be free, then we must remember that profits and the *sine qua non* of economic progress and our freedom, and we must be careful not to be victims of the craftiness, hypocrisy and deception of communist conspirators.

Communists also deceive the people by their pretty slogan "From each according to his ability; and to each according to his need." By this they practice fraud upon the credulous. This promise only God alone can fulfil. It is not possible for the communists to achieve this objective. God has power to know the minds and bodies of the people and He can determine their abilities and needs. People can never receive from each according to his ability when minds and thoughts and bodies are controlled by the force and oppression of the dictators. An individual can develop his ability only in freedom, when he is free to make his own choices and in the motivation and enthusiasm born of freedom. There are two powers in the world, namely, spirit and sword. In the long run, spirit will always conquer the sword. Competitive capitalism has provided the most widespread opportunities for, and has created the least interference with, the gaining of the finest satisfaction in human life. They know that no human society can be stronger, more courageous or better informed than the individuals who compose it. All enlightened and reasonable persons wish for the welfare of all peoples. We know that there are imperfections in our competitive capitalist system. But the remedy lies not in its abolition but in eliminating those imperfections. Under it we have not been the controlled hirelings of the dictators, but free men with innumerable opportunities. If we wish to maintain our freedom, then the only way is capitalism and never communism. Communism is a fraud and self-deception. It can never achieve the welfare of the people.

# Foreign Aid And Plan

By "Academicus"

## *Planning and Democracy are incompatible*

**I**N order to achieve rapid economic development of the country and to raise the standard of living of the people, our national government with Mr. Nehru at its head introduced planning after the Russian model but without taking into consideration socio-economic factors. We are told again and again that our country is a great democracy and our planning is democratic planning, but it must be said at the outset that planning and democracy are incompatible. Democracy is based upon the principle of liberty, but planning is the negation of that fundamental principle.

### **SCOPE OF FOREIGN AID**

In our plans much reliance has been placed upon foreign aid. There is nothing wrong or shameful in taking foreign assistance. As a matter of fact every country in the past had achieved economic development with the help of foreign assistance, and our country being underdeveloped it is but natural that we should depend upon foreign aid, for our progress. But the question is whether we will be able to repay the interest and capital in time to the creditor countries. Due to the confiscatory pattern of taxation now in force, the rate of capital formation by individuals and other corporate bodies is so slow that it is not sufficient to sustain a high rate of economic growth and so we have to rely mostly on the savings of foreigners. The recent meetings of IMF, I B R D, and I F C clearly indicated that a large amount of foreign aid would be available for the implementation of our Second Five Year Plan. The Union Finance Minister is hopeful of implementing the Plan-core with such help. He also said that we have not only to conserve our meagre reserves, but to build them up again. He gave a detailed account of the help received from the foreign countries and thanked them for "friendliness shown at the Conference which was backed by the concrete indication of the assistance to be extended to us for carrying forward the Second Five Year Plan."

### **HAVE WE GOT A TRUE PICTURE?**

In this connection one or two questions can be posed. Have the public been told the whole truth? The country is entitled to know how big the gap of foreign exchange is. It has a vital bearing upon the incidence of internal taxation. The National Development Council at its last meeting advocated raising of 40 crores by means of additional taxation. If the people are to pay these taxes, then it is but right that they should know the whole affair. Again deficit financing will also have a tremendous impact upon the internal prices and the cost of living. At present prices are rising and the Government looks helplessly on.

### **ARM-CHAIR CRITICS**

It appears from Press reports that the Prime Minister has lashed out at industrialists and economists for being arm chair critics of the Government's Plan-frames. He is of the opinion that these people, so called "critics" have no idea of planning and that their vision does not extend beyond the four walls of their chamber. If planning were a path to prosperity, then there would have been an improvement in the

standard of living of the people, but the picture that we see before us is that our standard of life has gone down due to the faulty planning adopted by our leaders. The sensible course would be to adopt market economy and hasten rapid economic development of the country with the available resources.

### **EVEN REVISED FIGURES ARE INADEQUATE**

For financing India's "Second Five Year Plan" "in addition to 132 crores of external assistance carried over from the First Plan, fresh assistance amounting to 747 crores was authorised between April 1956 and April 1958 bringing the total assistance available to 879 crores." Since then more and more assistance has been authorised and the total now stands at Rs. 1250 crores. As a result of this aid foreign exchange commitments have been reduced, but even then we are still faced with the foreign exchange gap of about Rs. 190 crores. In the opinion of some experts even this figure is an underestimate and that the gap is much wider. The next question is whether it is economically sound to accept all this aid from foreign countries to fill such a wide gap. According to Mr. Iyengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, the external debt is very moderate in relation to national income and external receipts. He has come to the conclusion that the economy can still bear a "considerable addition to our external obligation". It is amazing that Mr. Iyengar should relate the external debt to national income without taking into consideration the simple fact of our ability to repay the debt. For many years to come we will have a deficit in the balance of payments and with the excessive external debt it would not be possible for us to repay the loans with interest.

### **OUR ABILITY TO REPAY**

At present we require to pay Rs. 100 to 125 crores per year in the form of interest and the repayment of capital. Under these circumstances it is folly on the part of Government to accept more and more aid from foreign countries. If the external debt is further increased, then the situation will become much worse, for, the external value of the rupee will inevitably go down. It may be argued by the Planners that with the foreign aid it will be possible to increase the supply of goods to pay the debt, but the question is whether we would be in a position to export our goods at competitive rates. At present we have lost our markets due to keen and unfair competition from Russia and China. So we cannot afford to take more foreign aid for the Second Five Year Plan even if it is available if we wish to maintain the creditworthiness of the country and safeguard the external value of the rupee. The only solution is to prune the Plan in such a way as to enable us to finance it from the available internal resources with reasonable foreign assistance. So far the Government has not realised the danger of the situation, but has stuck to the original target on grounds of ideology.

### **WAY OUT**

A more realistic way to develop our economy with—  
(Continued on page IV)

# The Law Of Distribution

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy.

1. The opening of any discussion of the physical distribution of goods and services should start like the famous recipe for rabbit stew—"First, catch your rabbit."

In the case of distribution this reads, "First, produce."

It is surprising how few people are taught to understand that if a nation wants more, it has to produce more.

We cannot distribute any more than is produced; neither can we distribute any less.

This is another way of saying that the material welfare of any nation depends upon its per capita production of goods and services.

2. Talk of increased production frequently causes ungrounded fear of over-production; fear that we will not consume all we produce.

The truth is, it is impossible to produce more than man wants because his wants are insatiable.

The situation we call over-production is actually unbalanced production—too much of this and not enough of that.

Perfect balance is, of course, impossible because there is no way to forecast precisely how much of a given product customers will buy during a given period; but most of this imbalance is corrected so quickly that it is scarcely noticeable in the economy.

3. However, as everyone knows once in a while there come times when large quantities of goods remain undistributed.

This is not brought on by lack of money: production always generates the right amount of purchasing power because in the process of producing (which includes selling) the money paid out in income is enough to buy what has been produced.

In other words the total selling price of the production equals the total income resulting from the production.

So, when large amounts of unsold goods first begin to pile up, it is usually because the people do not consider them good values, even if it is their own demands that previously forced the prices up.

If the situation gets so bad that production and employment must be sharply reduced, many people soon become unable to buy even if they wanted to, and that is when the serious trouble begins.

4. There are two ways of moving unsold goods off the market.

The first—nature's way—is to lower the prices until the buyers cannot resist the "bargains," and lower the production costs (salaries, wages, materials, etc.) to a point at which production can be resumed with confidence.

This is highly unpopular because most people mistakenly believe that if their income is lowered, they automatically lose something, forgetting that less money sometimes buys more goods.

The second way—highly popular, even though against nature—is to maintain prices and wages and other costs, and to call upon government to pump newly-created unearned money into the people's pockets, thus making them willing and able to take the goods off the market and (theoretically) restore production and employment.

This "extra money" method was tried in the United States for the eight years previous to World War II, and at the end of that time, there was just as much unemployment as there had been at the beginning.

5. In spite of this poor performance, the "extra-money" method is still overwhelmingly popular in the United States today.

It is particularly popular with the ambitious politicians who eagerly accept their "Santa Claus" role, and with the labour union leaders whose foremost thought is to keep wages up.

Money (other than gold) is worth only what can be bought with it at the time it is spent.

Adding unearned money to earned money simply inflates prices and production costs and aggravates the very condition it was intended to correct.

But the fact remains that the magic of "more money" blinds the people to reality.

The worst of it is that nature's law of distribution, which is not being permitted to work, is blamed for the "necessity" of government action.

As long as people believe things that are not true, they will continue to act foolishly.

*(Continued from page III)*

out much foreign assistance is to mobilise the internal resources and to encourage the flow of foreign equity capital into the country. Due to the confiscatory pattern of taxation the flow of foreign capital has declined. This is mainly due to the fact that private enterprise in the country has not been given adequate facilities. In order to attract more foreign capital, it is necessary to create conditions within the country which are favourable not only to foreign investors but also to Indian private enterprise. Unless this is done our situation is bound to grow from bad to worse.

## PRUNE THE PLAN; ENCOURAGE THE PRIVATE SECTOR

It is argued by the Government that the economic development of the country cannot take place by allowing free scope to private enterprise and for this reason Mr. Nehru has said that the Public Sector in the Third Five Year Plan would be still more expanded. It has been proved beyond doubt that the so-called public sector has not proved equal to the task and there is a strong case for increasing the scope of the private enterprise. The greatest obstacle in the path of private enterprise at the present moment is excessive burden of taxation. As a result of this, private enterprise has no incentive to invest capital in business. It is a fact that more revenues are required by the Government to implement the Plan; but it is nothing short of madness to kill the goose that was laying the golden eggs by imposing such penal taxes. If the taxes are reduced, Government may lose some revenues in the beginning, but in the long run it will help the Government in developing the country's resources and increasing the national income and the standard of life of the people which are the main objectives of the Plans. As things are at present, it is problematical whether by Planning we can ever achieve our goal. Planning is only a means; it is not an end in itself. If other countries can achieve economic development by resorting to market economy, why should we not follow the same method and achieve the miracle? Will the Government ponder over this problem and face the facts as they are?



preceded by three prior stages: fetishist, polytheist and monotheist.

In the earliest stage of intellectual evolution, primitive man believes in a supernatural power in inanimate objects like stocks and stones, rivers and mountains. These are fetishes. The next higher stage is a clearly formed polytheism with a belief in gods formed on the analogy of human beings with characteristic personalities of their own like Indra, Agni, Varuna, Zeus, Apollo, Athena etc.

Further reflection induces the next stage of monotheism with a realisation of the unity of the cosmos. But this also bases itself on human analogy and imagines a single creator God above the heavens ruling the universe and the affairs of men, laying down the law they have to obey on pain of punishment in hell with rewards in heaven for obedience, worship and loyalty. With further development of the rational faculty, leaders of society develop a system of *theology* putting all ideas derived from experience and sacred books into some sort of order.

When faith becomes dimmer owing to expansion of the spheres of secular life through travel and scientific exploration and the invention of tools enhancing man's control over nature, thinking discards the assumptions of scripture beyond the realm of empirical verification. But retaining the impulse to penetrate to the essence of things behind phenomena, it develops *metaphysics* as a system to explain all things and make the universe transparent to the human mind. But transcendentalism is not given up: only, the transcendental *causes* assume the form of *essences* and *entities* without personality.

Immanuel Kant is celebrated for the giant blows he gave to such metaphysical rationalisations in favour of theology and religion more than a generation before Comte. Comte made full use of the Kantian critique to dismiss theological metaphysics from the realm of serious thought and culture.

With the waning influence of metaphysics, Comte thought that the mind of man becomes mature. It then proceeds on the basis not of imagination but of verifiable fact and systematic thinking based thereon. This is the stage of *positivism*. With this era, the human mind enters the sphere of adulthood and thereafter, it will never recede but will grow evermore and expand its horizons. The ground of thought becomes firm and assured and capable of sustaining uninterrupted progress. Comte gave a great filip to the idea of linear, uninterrupted progress as attainable through expanding scientific knowledge without the fear of backsliding and frequent eclipses in morasses of obscurantism and supernaturalism. Religion in a transcendental sense recedes into twilight and darkness and the sun of reason remains for ever bright and inspiring in the inner realm of mental life.

The three stages distinguished by Comte in cultural evolution are accompanied by characteristic institutions and ruling ideas of their own: The thought of Comte in this respect anticipates the idea of Spengler that each cultural epoch is a cultural whole, all the parts of which cohere in its own individual way marking it off from others unmistakably. There is thus a *climate* of cultural traits in each epoch of each civilisation differing from that of others. Cultural traits cohere into *clusters* or *systems* and any change in one

part persisting for a time will inevitably import a change in the other aspects of the system.

Though the three stages with their sub-phases have not met with acceptance generally, the broad lines of the movement as propounded have proved suggestive and have influenced later thought on social evolution. French sociology has received in Durkheim and Levy Bruhl a permanent impress of Comte's thought. Broadly speaking, it carries a substantial amount of truth. Mankind tends to evolve in its intellectual life from an imaginative picture of the universe peopling it with spirits and entities on the analogy of its own inner life. From this animism, man moves to a more rational view thinking of the world of nature and man on the analogy of his will in terms of inner causes lying behind phenomena. The unifying tendency of the mind gives rise to monotheism and metaphysical monism. When the scientific stage arrives (when verification in terms of sense-perception and experiment and hypothesis become the methods of thinking), we dismiss inner metaphysical essences and confine ourselves to the realm of observable and verifiable phenomena.

Similarly in the growth of the individual mind from childhood through adolescence to manhood, man tends to pass from unifying system based on imagination to scepticism and rational positivism. Hence the child's world of fables and fairy tales gives place to the youth's world of incipient reason and philosophy which is followed by adult's world of realism and observable fact and causal relations within phenomena discarding entities behind the visible scene.

The scientific stage of positivism as well as its relation to metaphysics though true as facts of evolution in a broad sense have not met with universal acceptance among philosophers with regard to their veridical character as revelations of reality. Realism, phenomenalism, logical positivism and other schools of thought still contend with objective idealism and spiritual realism for supremacy.

This whole system of positivism is motivated by the desire of finding a sure basis for social progress. Social progress requires according to Comte a true knowledge of man and nature. Social law needs to be rounded on social fact. Hence he claimed a crowning place for sociology in the hierarchy of the sciences. In sociological thought he distinguishes two aspects—social *statics* dealing with social structure and social *dynamics* dealing with laws of evolution and progress.

J. S. Mill was stimulated by this part of Comte's thought and used it as the basis of his discussion of the methods of the social sciences in his celebrated work on Logic.

The ideas unleashed in his time—the Napoleonic and Restoration periods—were a veritable anarchical medley in regard to their directions for a sound new society. Comte drew attention to his positive polity based on scientific ideas, for a key to a new sociology to make progress assured. Early culture was developed spontaneously. Present and future culture have to be planned rationally. For this purpose sociology is the guiding science of the future.

Comte was impressed with the hierarchy and "guided character" of the Catholic regime of the Middle Ages. He sketched a society of classes functioning in harmony. He stressed the emotional contri-

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# JUSTICE AND CHARITY

By Glen E. Hoover

THE eternal verities do not change from year to year, as do the fashions in automobiles or women's clothes. Nor do the ills of our society result from our failure to find new truths, but rather to our failure to understand and accept the old ones. For this reason, as Justice Holmes once said, it is often more useful to "elaborate the obvious than to elucidate the obscure."

Notions of justice are important in all human relations, but there is time here to comment only on the just distribution of scarce goods and services. You will note that I said "scarce" goods, because luckily for us, what economists call "free goods," the air for example, are normally so abundant that there are no disputes about the equitable distribution of them. If and when some evil genius develops a feasible way to "fence in" the air we need, we would pay tribute to airlords as we now pay tribute to landlords, but as yet we have been spared that species of extortion.

To reach any valid conclusion about the just distribution of scarce and useful goods, we must begin by noting the origin of them. There is, first of all the planet on which we live, the product of Nature or of Nature's God. The more desirable parts of our earth are now the property of private persons, although neither they nor any of their predecessors produced it. Nor is the value of these private holdings the product of their past or present owners, but rather it

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derives from the population which surrounds them. That all men should share equally in the free gifts of Nature is a thesis so obviously just that it appeals to all who can give it unbiased consideration. The practical way to respect these equal rights is not to attempt to "divide up" the earth but to take the annual value of land for public purposes. To elaborate on these principles, before this audience, would be to question your ethical sensitivity and waste our time....

Although one can, in the name of Justice ask that the socially created value of land be used for public purposes so that all may share alike, we have no such equal right to the products of labour. Mankind, in all its stages of development, has recognised that he who produces something has a special claim to it which must be respected by others. The same holds true for whatever he acquires by a free exchange on terms accepted by both parties. Justice does not require that he who goes out and picks the berries, catches the fish or cuts the wood is obligated to share them with others, merely because he is better off than his neighbours. Difficulties arise, however when a group of men work together at a joint task. It is easy to tell what a solitary fisherman has produced. The fish that he brings home—if he is an honest fisherman—are those which he caught himself. But what does a worker in a large factory "produce?" He must have added something to the total value of the output, but how much? How can the value of his services be determined, if at all?

It has been said that where large numbers of men are working together it is impossible to determine the value of the services of any single worker. We are reminded that in the making of automobiles, for instance, there are involved not only factory workers, but also those who mine and smelt the ore, produce the fibre, the wood and all the materials which go into the completed cars. They all must ultimately be paid from the money received for the cars. But if each is to share according to the value of his contribution, how can that value be determined? The easy—but dangerous—answer is, that the problem is insoluble.

It is dangerous to conclude that we have no method for determining the value of a worker's service, because such a conclusion leads logically to a system of equal pay for all workers who contribute to a common task. Such a system of rewards, in my opinion, would be fatal to the economy of any people who would adopt it, except, perhaps, in small religious communities where the normal economic motives are suppressed, or completely eliminated. It is worthy of note, I believe, that the notion that all workers in a joint enterprise should receive equal pay finds no more favour in the USSR than in the USA. It runs counter to the common-sense of mankind, everywhere and at all times.

Fortunately, however, Justice does not require that

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we determine how much of the value of an automobile, for instance, should be attributed to each worker who has helped in the building of it. Justice requires only that each worker shall get a "fair" wage in the market in which he sells his labour. And if the word "fair" is to be more than "weasel" word, it must mean a price for his labour determined, in the way "fair" prices for all goods and services are determined, i.e., in a free, competitive market.

We are often told that there can never be free competitive markets, and that if there were, we could have no assurance that the prices determined in them would be just prices. The facts remain, however, that there are no alternatives to free market pricing, other than prices fixed by governments or private monopolies. Where competition is impracticable, as in the public utility field, prices are fixed by governments. With this exception, free peoples insist that goods be priced in free markets, and they may ultimately conclude that the services of workers be priced in the same way.

Charity is a topic more often discussed by clerics than by economists, but it plays an important role in the distribution of our goods and services. . . . The traditional distinction between Charity and Justice is becoming blurred. . . . We should not juggle the meaning of the words to deceive either ourselves or others. If and when we cannot support ourselves we should take out Charity "straight," to use a bartender's term, and not call government assistance a "pension." Let there be no further corruption of our English speech, for we cannot think clearly unless we use words according to their accepted meaning. We can afford all we now spend for governmental charity, and probably more, but we should not try to justify it by resorting to euphemisms, or pretending that things are not what they really are.

Another innovation in the field of governmental charity is that it is now often demanded for whole classes of persons. The farmers, for instance, insist that they are not getting their "fair" share of the national income, and therefore all farmers, rich and poor alike, must be given governmental subsidies of one kind or another. Our protective tariffs are essentially devices which restrict imports and thus compel consumers to give charitable aid to producers. The builders and operators of our merchant marine, unable to compete with foreign companies, also demand—and get—what are essentially charitable payments from the Treasury.

The most recent development is the aid we give to needy, "under-developed" countries. Few of them can show that their "need" is the result of wars, natural calamities, or any worsening in the chronic poverty of their peoples. Consciously or otherwise, they measure their "need" by contrasting their poverty with the relative riches of other nations. In this way, the more productive peoples, by increasing their productivity, add to the "need" of the poorer ones, and therefore, presumably, should alleviate it by charitable grants. Appeals of this kind are often supported by implied threats that if not granted by the productive nations of the West, aid will be asked of the USSR, or the appellant country will adopt a communist regime.

Many of us who favoured the Marshall Plan for war-torn Western Europe cannot agree that we should

aid nations simply because they are "under-developed" and needy, and particularly so when requests are supported by threats. Such countries should be told that they can have free access to our private capital markets where solvent borrowers can always get loans for projects that are economically sound. We should tell them too that we will tear down our tariff walls, and every other barrier that prevents them from selling in our market, anything that they can produce and our consumers wish to buy. If such a programme is rejected as a churlish one that must be rejected in favour of communism, they should be told where to go—in the strongest language that protocol will permit.

—*Land and Liberty*

## In Lighter Vein

Mr. H.S. Subrawardy is likely to come up up again in Pakistan's political horizon—News.

Must have used yards of sack cloth and tons of ashes.

According to Marketing Reports and other scientific papers, losses of foodgrains stored in Indian conditions are considerable—Report.

That's why our wise Ministry has decided to grow and keep food for us far away from Indian conditions.

Shops in Saidapet, Madras, remained closed the other day in protest against Ceylon's ban on imports of Indian-made lungies—Report.

If they don't sell, let us see how Ceylon will ever buy again!

More and more people are becoming interested in visiting museums—Prof Kabir.

Few prefer to stay.

Slow growth of post-basic education was discussed at a seminar in Dindigul—News.

The reason: slower growth of basic education.

Quality control has been introduced to cover a wide range of fruit products—Report.

Which includes fruit products without fruits.

For the next seven years there will have to be a slowing down in practice of the socialistic pattern of society.—Dr. Gopal

Preparatory to a dead stop after seven years.

Produce films for overseas—S.K. Patil.

And not films overseas.

### WONDER DRUG

Old Stevenson walked into the pharmacy and said: I've heard a lot about wonder drugs. Can you give me something that will keep me from growing older.

"Sure", replied the chemist. "Do you prefer arsenic or rat poison?"

Father to little boy who told his parents he was bottom of the form: You must try to do better. At your age Winston Churchill was top of his form."

"Yes father," said the boy, "and at your age he was Prime Minister."

# JAN SANGH CALLS UPON NEHRU TO WARN PAKISTAN FROM ANY ACTION AGAINST KASHMIR

*Bangalore 24th December. At the All-India Jana Sangh Conference held here during the Christmas Week, the following important resolution in Indo-Pak tensions was passed unanimously.*

*The resolution warns Nehru Government that the military junta in Pakistan is preparing for a jihad and for occupying the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It calls upon the New Delhi Government to warn Karachi that any action against Kashmir will be treated by India as an act of aggression and war. Here is the full text of the resolution:*

## INDO-PAK RELATIONS

INDO-PAK relations have been strained since the day Pakistan was established as a separate State. In fact this estrangement is inherent in the circumstances in which Pakistan was born. Pakistan came into existence through the planned working up of Muslim hostility towards Hindus and India and it is keeping that hostility alive to sustain itself against the natural, historical, economic and cultural factors that point to re-unification of the two States. To that end its rulers have, from the very first day, been looking upon India as their enemy No. 1 and behaving accordingly. Expulsion of all Hindus from West Pakistan and squeezing out all the politically conscious Hindus and the distant possibility of the ultimate conversion of the rest to Islam in East Pakistan, has been their planned policy. Kashmir and canal water issues are being deliberately kept alive for the same purpose. Pursuit of a foreign policy motivated by the desire to harm India, planned military build up and systematic ejection of all Hindus from Pakistan's border areas, infiltration of Pakistan Muslims to settle along the Indian side of the border and recurring incursions into Indian territory inspite of repeated protests and agreements have been some of the outward manifestations of Pakistan's hostility towards India.

The situation took a turn for the worse in March last when Pakistan started continuous firing on the Eastern border and forcibly occupied Lakhimpur in Tripura and Tukergam; a strategic Indian village in Assam. The Nehru-Noon Agreement that followed, not only failed to put a stop to Pakistan's aggression, but, what is worse, stipulated transfer of a large chunk of undisputed Indian territory to Pakistan.

The developments that have taken place in Pakistan since then have further aggravated the situation. The new military regime of Gen. Ayub has made no secret of its open hostility to India. It has gone to the extent of openly invoking the support of religious leaders to create the spirit of holy war against India in the Pakistani youth. At the same time it has started a systematic policy of hurling insults on India such as by beating officials of Indian High Commission in Dacca and Deputy Director of Survey of West Bengal together with continuous and concentrated firing on Indian territory across the border. Reports of heavy concentration of troops on the Kashmir and Bengal borders are also pouring in.

All this conforms with the reports about the pledge taken by the ruling military junta of Pakistan to conquer Kashmir and secure a corridor to unite East Pakistan with the West Pakistan are portents of a

danger about which India can remain complacent only at her peril. The attitude adopted by the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru towards this exhibition of Pakistani aggressiveness is most regrettable in so far as it not only encourages Pakistan to persist in its policy of aggression but also creates a false sense of security in the Indian people.

The Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh therefore, warns the people and the Government of India to wake up to the realities and implications of this grave situation in time, if a repetition of a catastrophe analogous to that of 1947 is to be avoided.

It calls upon the Government to adopt a firm and realistic policy towards Pakistan in the following lines to put a stop to Pakistan's aggressiveness and create confidence in the people.

1. Pakistan be given a clear warning to clear-out of Tukergam and Lakhimpur by 15th January failing which the Government of India should take all steps within its power to throw out the aggressor.
2. Pakistan should be told that any unilateral breach of cease fireline whether in Kashmir or in East Bengal or Assam will be treated as an act of aggression against India as a whole, and dealt with as such.
3. The military regime of Pakistan has by its violent and aggressive action against Indian territories rendered Nehru-Noon agreement null and void. Therefore, the bill regarding its implementation now before the parliament should be withdrawn.
4. Supply of coal, steel and cement and other strategic materials to Pakistan be stopped forthwith.
5. Steps be taken to recover 12 thanas of Sylhet District which had been given to Indian by the Radcliffe Award but which have since been in the wrongful occupation of Pakistan.
6. Survey should be made about the increase of Muslim population on the Rajasthan and West Bengal Assam borders and those who have infiltrated into Indian territory from Pakistan be driven out.
7. Arms should be supplied to Hindus living along the border to enable them to defend themselves and the border against the recurring Pakistani incursions.
8. Immediate steps should be taken to give compulsory military training to all Indian Youth.

## A READER'S MISCELLANY

Real happiness comes to him from whom others derive happiness.—Zarathushtara.

The time to be happy is NOW, the place to be happy is HERE, and the way to be happy is to make others happy.—Robert Ingersoll.

The Duty of a Philosopher. The duty of a philosopher is clear. He must take every pain to ascertain the truth, and having arrived at a conclusion he should noise it abroad far and wide, utterly regardless of what opinion he shocks.—Henry Thomas Buckle.

Whosoever comes to me, though whatever form I reach him. All men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to me.—Gita.

Those that know the least are loudest in their advice. Intellectual poverty of ideas is always in direct proportion to the prodigality of words.—Robert Ingersoll.

The man who sees that he is a fool is not a great fool.—Chang Tse.

History is little more than the register of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind.—Gibbons.

He who would live must fight, he who does not wish to fight in this world, where permanent struggle is the law of life, has not the right to exist.—Hitler (Mein Kampf).

It is the wicked wind that blows the skirts knee-high. But heaven's just and sends dust to shut the bad man's eye.

Ironically enough, the threat to our democracy comes not from bullets but the ballot—the threat of a communist dictatorship installing itself through constitutional means.

—D.R. Mankekar, *Indian Express*, December 10.

Socialism today stands as much in need of corrective as capitalism did in the last century.

—*Indian Express*, December 3.

The only Indian News which appears in Chinese newspapers is about Kerala.

—Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, *Statesman*, December 25.

Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon is an orphan of Indian politics, who has no friends in the party and very few within the Cabinet, thanks to his genius to make enemies and scare away people.

—Dr. R. Mankekar, *Indian Express*, December 3.

The fortunes of Mr. Krishna Menon are as avidly studied in the communist countries as his misfortunes in the Western world.

—Dr. K. Shridharani, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December 22.

In the past decade the Middle East has seen a long struggle between Arab nationalism and the West; now the struggle is between Arab nationalism and the Communist East, and the battleground for the moment is Iraq.

—Michael Adams, *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, December 25.

Europe is the continent of yesterday. Africa is the continent of tomorrow.

—Tom Mboya, *The Economist*, London, December 20.

### THE AGE OF DISCRETION

"Thelwall thought it very unfair to influence a child's mind by inculcating any opinions before it had come to years of discretion to choose for itself.

I showed him my garden, and I told him it was my botanical garden.

"How so?" said he; "It is covered with weeds."

"Oh," I replied, "that is only because it has not yet come to its age of discretion and choice. The weeds, you see, have taken the liberty to grow, and I thought it unfair in me to prejudice the soil toward roses and strawberries."

—*The Freeman*

(Continued from page 8)

again be hearing echoes of the Kashmir dispute and war cries of the eternal "jihad" because even Nazimuddin will need a popular slogan to keep himself steadily in the saddle. But Nazimuddin is no peace pigeon. Way back on October 21, 1951, when Nazimuddin was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, while delivering a funeral oration on Liaquat Ali Khan's murdered corpse, he said, "Kashmir was an issue of life and death to 40-lakh Muslims. The lives of 40 lakhs of people could not be played with. Each one of these 40 lakhs is a suppressed flame, and if these flames burst out they may destroy the entire edifice of peace." So Nazimuddin is also prepared for a war with India. So are 80-million Pakistanis. And war with Pakistan has to come some day whether we want it or not.

The question before us is: Are we going to fully utilize the breathing time we have got to prepare ourselves for shooting war with Pakistan? That question is to be answered by our leaders who monopolize all the patriotism in the country. On the other hand, if the blind have not noticed yet, we find a quiet jubilation in certain sections of our defence services at the way democratic governments have been toppling down in Burma and Pakistan. It seems that certain persons nursing certain after-Nehru ambitions of power are already cultivating the Indian Army and quite a number of undeserved promotions and privilege have recently rained on our surprised army boys. A Communist-sponsored periodical has already begun to see rainbows of army rule in India with the direct help and inspiration of the Communist Party.

These are the straws in the wind today but they will be used to make bricks one day for the tomb of democracy in our country if our Congressmen do not open their eyes and read the fateful writing on the wall.

We have warned. God save our motherland.

—*Filmindia*

# **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

## **MILITARY MOBILIZATION ON OUR FRONTIERS**

**KARACHI:** With the Formal Promise of additional 115 million military aid from Washington for the year 1959, the Military Junta here is confident of outstripping Indian Defence Forces in what is called "offensive capacity."

The faith reposed by New Delhi in the US pledges to restrain Pakistan from using American arms and equipment in a war against India to annex Kashmir seems to be only helping Karachi in obtaining more substantial military aid from her overseas patron.

Already the massive military aid which Karachi has received during the past four years, since the US-Pak military pact was signed at the close of 1954, has tilted the balance in several respects in favour of Pakistan.

Lest India be complacent about the staggering addition to Pakistan's firepower, BLITZ'S Intelligence in Pakistan is outlining, this week, the extent of the military preparedness of the Islamic Republic, so that the people at home may make a fair balance-sheet.

### **40 CRACK BATTALIONS IN "AZAD KASHMIR"**

Firstly, in the so-called "Azad Kashmir", Pakistan has concentrated 40 battalions. Although Pakistan is forbidden to press additional forces in this area by the cease-fire agreement she has been able to replace all the irregulars by regular forces trained by Americans. These units being trained in Mountain warfare at Mirpur, Muzafarabad, Gadiabidullah, Chilas and other centres, are claimed to be more than a match to our forces on the other side of the ceasefire line.

Further, they have a fully-equipped Division in Rawalpindi, Abbotabad, Cambelpur, Chakwal, Havelian and Manasara, another Division in Peshawar, Quetta, Naushera and Bannu; and a third Division at Kohat Landikotal, Thal, etc. Besides, there are a few independent Brigades named after Tippu, Hydri, etc, which function directly under the Army Head-quarters at Rawalpindi.

### **VAST EXPANSION OF MILITARY AIRFIELDS**

Pakistanis have modernised their air bases at Rawalpindi, Abbotabad and Cambelpur. The Americans have constructed two huge air bases at Chitral and Gilgit. Apart from this vast expansion in airfields, Pakistanis enjoy superiority in respect of geographical location and accessibility.

In the matter of weapons, Pakistanis claim to have definite superiority. India and Pakistan separately inherited at the time of the Partition a fleet of out-moded aircraft, bombers like Liberator, fighters like Vampire Spitfires and Hurricanes. It is true that India got more of these than Pakistan, but after Karachi entered into a military alliance with Uncle Sam, the Pakistan Air Force has grown tremendously.

### **LATEST FIGHTER BOMBERS AND ROCKETS**

They have received quite a number of Sabre-jet fighters (fighters-bombers) fitted with cannons capable of engaging enemy planes both at high and low altitudes and equipped with the latest type of rockets. They have also acquired Turbo-jet bombers capable of reaching an altitude of 40,000 feet. In addition Pakistan has acquired 25 heavy strategic bombers of B-47 and B-52 types.

It may be recalled here that the Soviet Union has already officially protested against the construction of missile-launching bases and construction of airfields with 4 k. metre-long runways with the capacity to receive bombers of the US Strategic Air Force.

Alarmed by the speed in which the Pakistani air force has been expanded, India last year purchased a number of aircraft, but they cannot yet match the Pakistani acquisition.

Modern radar sets acquired by Pakistan are claimed to be of great accuracy, capable of directing their planes on the targets in incredibly short time.

### **GUIDED MISSILES & NUCLEAR WARHEADS**

It is also known that Pakistan is in possession of guided missiles, capable of engaging targets in the air and on the ground. The rockets of various types can also be used with nuclear war-heads. These missiles may be under the custody of the Americans in Pakistan, still they are not very far from the Indian border.

It is also learned that Pakistan has acquired latest American equipment for guiding their planes while landing under all types of weather conditions. Americans have also supplied them with know-how in signalling for indicating targets both ground-to-air and air-to-ground type.

### **ELECTRONICALLY CONTROLLED WEAPONS TOO!**

Additionally Pakistan possesses heavy anti-aircraft guns which are electronically controlled. These are far superior to India's 3.7" which are manned physically. The predictors used by the heavy anti-craft guns are also electronically controlled and have longer ranges.

The light Ac-Acs now in use in Pakistan are also electronically controlled and far superior to India's 40 MM. weapons.

### **BETTER GUNS & ARMOUR THAN INDIA'S**

The range of field and medium guns of Pakistan is longer than India's. They are capable of firing nuclear warheads. The range of these guns is claimed to be 50,000 yards, more than double the Indian range.

Armour is also superior here: For the Americans have supplied a large number of Patton tanks, while India has yet to replace here old Churchills.

In East Pakistan, Americans have built several military bases in Dacca, Khulna, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Noakhali, Jessore and Comilla. Naval and air bases have been built at Chittagong, Chalna and Narayan-gang.

### **A BLEAK PROSPECT**

Planning is Mr. Nehru's pet hobby horse, the darling of his heart on which he lavishes all the wealth of his ageing affections even as old parents get wrapped up in the imaginary virtues of their last offspring! He contrasts the demands of the atomic age on our minds, and speaks of dynamism and what not. But no one asks him how he can square his devotion to the speeds of the super-sonic era with his patronage of the economics of the charkha on which crores are being thrown away. Planning is already in the doldrums though we are still in the middle of the second plan period. Help has been extended to us much as expert swimmers

save a drowning man from the water; but we are apparently determined to learn nothing and forget nothing from our past experience.

There is much talk already of drawing in perspective the contours of our third planning period targets. But all the heresies and sophistries of self-styled net economists are receiving such official countenance that we seem committed to embark on further dose of inflation, of uncoordinated and haphazard expenditure bringing in its wake more woes to the hapless middle classes. The assurance has been given that the private sector would have its due share of new plan target schemes. But there is no assurance that the pace of government certainty as to the extent to which fresh taxes might be spending would be slackened. Above all there is un- contemplated or the incidence of old ones aggravated.

Railway fares, postal and telegraph rates, customs and excise duties, Court fee rates will all be increased during the terrible third plan period.

#### DANGER IN DEFICIT FINANCING

Mr. Per Jacobson, Chairman of International Monetary Fund, has warned India that resorting to deficit financing would result in depletion of resources leading to inflation. In spite of the warnings given in the past, our Government has resorted to deficit financing on a grand scale and the result is the inflation that we face at present. Unfortunately our Finance Minister is not prepared to accept that there is inflation in the country. Mr. Jacobson has rendered a great service to India by expressing against deficit financing. He says "You cannot get real resources by printing money. People soon found out that creation of credit beyond what is needed for increasing the working capital for industry and the normal increase in circulation will either add to inflation or lead to a loss of monetary reserves. That has been the experience everywhere."

"Persistent deficit financing that relies on credit creation from the central bank is only another name for using up your monetary reserves and I am afraid the facts prove that. If you take the balance sheets of the Reserve Bank of India you will find that the amount extended to the Government as credit has its counterpart in the reduction of the Bank's sterling assets."

#### PAKISTANI ATTACKS CONTINUE

In spite of Prime Minister Nehru's warning the other day, Pakistani attacks on the border villages are going on unabated. It seems that mere verbal warning from this side no matter uttered by however big a personality will not silence them. The need of the hour is action. Let the Government of India take some active steps to silence the Pakistani barbarians in the interest of national prestige and also for saving life and property of Indian citizens who live on the border facing Pakistan.

#### THE GRAMDAN HOAX

After the great myth of Bhoodan was exploded, Vinobha launched his GRAMDAN MOVEMENT. And now comes the news that the gramdan revolution in Koraput was a total debacle. Most of the gramdan in the district, we reliably understand, has been fictitious. But our gramdan gossellers continue to go about the country preaching the supposed virtues of gramdan. Some of them even go abroad to preach the gospel of Vinobha who is acclaimed by them as a second Mahatma! The propagators of this new cult of Bho-

dan, Gramdan and Sarvodaya want us to be blind believers in their cult. They dislike any scrutiny, introspective or external, into their beliefs and practices.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain says that he advised the socialist governments in Europe to practise the doctrine of Sarvodaya. It is a sound policy to export things that are of no use to anyone.

(Continued from page 12)

short he might challenge the leader himself for a change in leadership.

The cost of putting up the township at Abhyankar Nagar has been estimated at 25 lakhs. A trifle, a mere bagatelle to pay for the rapid crystallisation of a socialist pattern of society. These twenty five lakhs did not obviously come from the poor man's paise or the widow's mite. They must have come from the swollen bank-balances of all the beneficiaries of Congress graft, corruption, and patronage through licenses and what not. Serve these money-bags right-for hastening the day of their own dissolution. The role of capitalists in transitional India is a shameful and humiliating spectacle. The prince of them—one of the Birlas—declared sometime ago, (and that while abroad) that the role of the Indian capitalist is like that of the Indian *pativrate*—namely to put up with all disgrace and degradation and neglect and suffer patiently. Well the patience is obvious enough, but all the other virtues claimed are mostly notional. The beauty of this subservience to the powers that be is that they come back assuming new shapes and thriving more than ever under a specialistic pattern! They thus furnish a classic example of stooping to conquer.

Congress tactics in the coming Nagpur by-election betray a cynical exploitation of regionalism, casteism and all the other '-isms' against which Pandit Nehru inveighs monotonously. For the choice of Mr. Aney as the Congress candidate shows a spirit of opportunism at work which gives the lie direct to the professions of unsullied nationalism which are mouthed by the leaders of the Congress. Mr. Aney was never, in the first place, an orthodox congressman. All his active career he followed the spirit of Tilak, and held office under the 'Satanic' government of the British when the ideal of Congress was non-cooperation. He is the exponent of the demand for a Vidharba state which is to be carved out of the Samyukta Maharashtra area. It is anticipated that the Vidharbites would plump for Aney, and that his victory could, thereafter be claimed by Congress as a vote against the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra! Logically, Mr. Aney's success should pave the way for the constitution of Vidharba. If the Maharashtrians could only play the game with at least as much shrewdness, they might puncture Congress pretensions by conceding Vidharba if it was demanded. Time may be counted on to bring the Maharashtrians together notwithstanding the machinations of current Machiavellis out to frustrate the deepest hopes of the Maharashtrians.

As for Mr. Aney, we frankly have no respect for him since he is willing to function as Congress's cat's-paw in an inglorious hunt after power-politics!

Libra.

# Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore

Social Philosophy Series: 4th Lecture

Lecture on "J. S. Mill on Freedom of Thought and Discussion"  
On 7th November, 1958 By M. A. Venkata Rao

After giving a brief resume of the three previous lectures and indicating the place of J.S. Mill in the development of democratic thought posited on the basis of philosophical individualism, Mr. Venkata Rao gave a substance of Mill's views on the value of freedom of thought and discussion from the standpoint of intellectual and moral progress. It is vital to democracy and to healthy and vigorous spiritual life.

1. Freedom of thought and discussion is essential for current errors in social thought and institutional thinking to be corrected in a spontaneous way. It is only the impact of new thought that can induce a reflective reconsideration (on the part of leaders of society) of current ideas, feelings and modes of behaviour.

Any obstruction on the part of governments in the way of such new thought in any sphere of life—religion, social custom, political principle or value—implies the assumption of infallibility of judgement on their part which is not permissible to fallible human beings. To say that only certain ideas are to be believed on pain of punishment is to claim that the authorities are holders of the final truth about them.

There have been many notorious instances in history to show the disaster ensuing from punishments inflicted on great men and great institutions by dogmatic persecutors in authority. The death of Socrates, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and

and persecution of Christianity by Roman emperors (among whom are included even noble personalities like Marcus Aurelius) are examples cited by Mill to show that the mere feeling of possessing the truth on the part of intolerant authorities is no guarantee of their actually being right.

2. Truth is so complex that no idea or principle concerning any sphere of experience can claim to be totally true. Conflicting doctrines should be allowed to be discussed freely in society, if the full truth is to be discovered.

In the absence of such free opportunity, the stock of ideas current in society is likely to become stale and dogmatic. Even truth has to be constantly re-thought in the light of its grounds and applications if its vitality and creative power are to be retained.

The practice of reserving freedom of speculation to a chosen elite like the clergy in Catholicism has its own evil. It discourages thought on the part of the common citizen. The elite themselves will lose the stimulus of facing criticism and the common people will stagnate.

3. The views held by authority will lose their power of influencing character and conduct if taught without genuine conviction of authority or revelations lose their moral influence on the springs of conduct.

4. There is a morality of public discussion which demands the presentation of public affairs or ideas of public importance in an objective

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manner, without distorting them  
though suppressio veri and sugges-  
tio falsi and without vituperation  
and emotional intensity clouding  
the issues.

Mill goes to the length of saying  
that even systems of religion and  
ethics like Christianity require to  
be supplemented by other codes  
and ideals, like the Greek and Ro-  
man or modern secular humanism,  
for Christian ethics like the Ser-  
mon on the Mount are too narrow,  
ascetic and world-negating and  
leave out much of the glory of hu-  
man nature.

In these days when totalitarian-  
ism of the communist and other  
varieties is so popular and demo-  
cratic ideals are in retreat, it is very  
necessary to spread the doctrine of  
democratic freedom in thought and  
discussion as the indispensable foun-  
dation of free society in all its spher-  
es like economy, political rights,  
religious or secular belief, free cul-  
ture and free science. The pheno-  
mena of the Soviet Government  
punishing authors of novels like *Not  
by Bread Alone* and *Dr. Zhivago*  
for expressing views contrary to of-  
ficial directions or lines are instan-  
ces of the danger of official intoler-  
ance. In India, we have official his-  
tories (e.g. the book on 1857 by  
Dr. Sen) published by the Govern-  
ment to popularise official inter-  
pretations of history and the indoctrin-  
ation of the young through official  
textbooks, (not alone in Kerala).  
These are portents that need the  
utmost vigilance of lovers of demo-  
cracy and free society. Mill's views  
will help us in the formulation of  
the principles implied in the fun-  
damental rights of free thought, ex-  
pression and public discussion.

### PAN-HUMANIST MANIFESTO

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.

Subscribers of the Indian Libertarian and members of the L.S.I. will receive it as a gift on application.

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# Book Reviews

## A PAN-HUMANIST MANIFESTO

**A PAN-HUMANIST MANIFESTO**  
by Ralph Borsodi. Published by  
Libertarian Social Institute, Arya  
Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bom-  
bay 4. Price 8 as. In U.S. 25 cents.  
In U.K. 1 shilling)

The Manifesto under review is submitted to the real elite of each country that is "to those who would assert themselves and take over the intellectual and moral leadership of mankind from those who have demonstrated confusion, incompetence, lack of vision, greed and venality, bigotry and brutality." The main object of the author is to humanise the society and according to him a good society cannot be created unless thoughtful persons influence and see that the power is properly used. In order to achieve this objective the author rightly says that the new elite must be fully equipped with knowledge and wisdom of both West and East, of modern and ancient, and they should not only instruct but motivate others to live a morally, intellectually and culturally like superior persons.

At the outset the author has analysed in a lucid manner the ills that the world suffers today and according to him the education that is imparted at present is faulty and there must be a reorganisation of education. Universities should be autonomous and they should be free from the external control. All human beings must be taught that they are the members of humanity and not of a particular religion. The creation of New Elite and reorganisation of education will humanise mankind but if the new world is to provide better for mankind's liberty than what the free world is now providing, then the people must enjoy all the fundamental rights without which no individual will be able to develop his or her personality and perform the functions that is assigned to him or her in a new society. For this the functions of the Government should be limited and the main function of the government will be to preserve these rights and not to curtail them. In such a society the power will flow

from the people and not from the centre. It is a usurpation of rights to descend the power from the centralised state to the people. Real democracy can function only when the local bodies are autonomous and small where the people can participate in solving their own problems. In larger communities participation of the people becomes only formal. The present autocratic governments must be replaced by federation beginning with the district and ending with the world. Thus the author rightly points out that the world federation will solve the present rivalry or cold war. The principle of federation requires multiplicity of units of government each with specific functions delegated to it by smaller units until at the base, the ultimate powers are exercised by the people. It is in this way that the real democracy can be established in the world. If effective action is not to be frustrated, then there must be concurrent jurisdiction along with the principles of autonomy and federation. At present liberty and democracy are mocked at and millions of people are ruled despotically. It is the fundamental right of the people that they should be ruled by the government which governs with their consent. Democracy functions well in small units like cantons of Switzerland. The larger the nation, the more imperfect and ineffective are the democratic institutions.

In the new economic order there should be justice and not equality. Justice is in accord with the natural laws; equality abrogates them. Justice is an expression of moral law but equality is a form of compulsory charity. The main economic principle that should be adopted in the new economic order is that each factor of production whether it is labour or capital in industry or in agriculture should be paid according to the contribution that it makes to the production of wealth. In order to establish this principle, the author has rightly and convincingly analysed seven fundamental institutional reforms. They are Free enterprise; The Free Market; Free Trade; Free Banking; Honest Currency; St-

able money Mutualisation; Free Access to the possession of land and freedom of possession.

It is undoubtedly true that political freedom is a mockery without economic freedom. It is only in free enterprise that the full employment of labour and capital can be achieved. The present policy of every state to impose barriers in the way of international trade is certainly immoral on economic and social grounds. It is in the free enterprise that the initiative of enterprise and incentives to invest and save find expression. And they are highest when tariffs, subsidies quotas are not imposed. They are the negation of free enterprise and free trade. It is only in free market that just price is established and economic activities are regulated by the laws of demand and supply; but there must be competition devoid of monopolistic element. All monopolies must be mutualised and must be operated in the interests of the users. It is the fundamental human right to trade freely with one another and all forms of protection are the violation of this fundamental right of the individual. If all forms of protection are abolished, the present cold war that is going on the national boundaries can be ended without delay and peace can be established. The control of the banks by the Government must be abolished and according to the author they should be freed to supply credit as required by the borrowers. By freeing the banks from the clutches of the Government, the bebauching of currency and inflation of money can be avoided and as a result of this, business cycles that is ups and downs in business activity, will be abolished. All the natural resources are the gifts of Nature and which by their nature is social property. Land should be privately used and possessed in order to furnish incentive to the fullest use. Mineral royalties and ground rent can be used in lieu of the present "nuisance taxes" which hamper trade and industry and retard the economic growth of the country, for the necessary services provided by the Government. If this policy as analysed by the author in the most lucid manner is pursued, many of the taxes can be abolished. From this it can be said that Mr. Borsodi has properly diagnosed the causes of the present ills and his remedies are

certainly worth consideration by the ruling parties. There is no denying the fact that his analysis is thorough and he never suggests superficial remedies. He is fully convinced that nationalisation of land will not solve the problem and he is of the opinion that the new land tenure on the lines advocated by Henry George in America and Mencius in China should be instituted. As a result of all these reforms and with "limited in place of unlimited government and with world federation instead of national efforts to maintain national defence, the reduction of the costs of the government would be so great that it would be possible to eliminate all taxes on buildings and other goods produced by labour, all income and corporate taxes, all tariffs, all sales taxes and all multiplicity of taxes which handicap labour and capital in the task of providing for the economic needs of mankind."

Mr. Borsodi is of the opinion that a good society cannot be created overnight: it may take one or two generations. Nor the present ills can be abolished by Socialism or Communism or by Welfare Statism. On the contrary they will aggravate the situation. This Manifesto furnishes a programme to reform the society and if implemented fully, will help to combat the present socio-economic ills. It is by transforming the present capitalism and by abandoning socialism or Communism that the new society can be established. At present there is an ideological vacuum, being the consequence of people's disappointment with monopolistic capitalism and their disillusionment with Socialism. It is the duty of all thinking men and women to try to fill this ideological vacuum with a constructive alternative. To do this a large

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number of men and women must be re-educated and humanised. This Manifesto is an appeal to the New Elite to take the leadership, save the world from the onslaught on it by dictators and render the conditions safe for democracy and liberty. Mr. Borsodi must be congratulated for rendering an yeoman service to humanity by the publication of this pamphlet, which should be read by every thoughtful person who really wants to get at the roots of the present ills and the remedies to solve the problems of the modern world.

G. N. Lawande.

**ONE MAN'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM** by A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1957. 157 pp. \$3.00.

Every businessman entangled in the vast governmental network of administrative agencies will appreciate this record of one man's tireless fight for freedom since the early days of the New Deal.

Though a resident and textile mill operator of Knoxville, Mr. Heinsohn holds no brief for the Tennessee Valley Authority. In fighting for what he believes, he has likewise opposed price controls, minimum wage laws, farm price supports, and other political violations of Constitutional rights and economic laws. Typical of his attacks on the bureaucracy is a lengthy exchange, included in the book, with agents of the OPA who insisted that he furnish cost of production figures on a type of shirt material his factory had never manufactured.

Politicians, hired to do a job and eager to stay in office, are seldom influenced by the direct approach Mr. Heinsohn used. It is not surprising, therefore, that his most effective work has been with his friends and business associates.

In 1935, challenged by a new job as manager of a depression-ridden textile factory, he went directly to the workers in the plant. He gave them the facts about the firm's financial status, called for their co-operation, and pointed out that "the final judge is the customer." Mr. Heinsohn's policy of dealing directly with his workers led to trouble with the National Labor Relations Board. But his employees understood and in 1943 they rejected, by an overwhelming majority, the ef-

forts of union agents to organize the plant.

Mr. Heinsohn writes of changeless principles and economic laws, concepts which, unfortunately, one all too seldom hears. If such ideas were more generally accepted, the world situation would be a very different one today. Only when these basic doctrines are widely understood can we hope for an end to government intervention, spending programmes, make-work panaceas, and other political meddling; then and only then may we expect to enjoy and blessings of private enterprise and personal freedom of choice which Mr. Heinsohn rightly praises.

—THE FREEMAN

## Letter To The Editor

Madam,

A Pan-Humanist Manifesto by R. Borsodi published by you, is I consider a step forward in your great work of spreading Libertarian philosophy, ethics and economics in this country.

On page 8, he champions complete academic autonomy. "Without this freedom, they will omit teaching what is offensive to those who control them." In all the Government-controlled and privately dictated schools, the teachers sing the song of them whose bread they eat.

On page 10, his distinction between moral law and statutory positive laws is most significant. Often the positive laws of a state or even a group, run counter to ethics. These laws aim at moulding lifeless marionettes for their bosses and not free inquiring minds. Ethical laws cannot be violated because such a law is the life of our being. Positive laws can only stand if they are rested in ethics. Or else they kill the spirit of man.

I also agree with him when he says that unless the Free World offered a definite programme of work "even the most intelligent people would continue to drift into the acceptance of Socialism and Communism". It was indeed a healthy challenge which inspired Mr. Borsodi to leave us this brochure, a welcome souvenir of his most welcome visit to our country.

Bandra. Anthony Elenjmittam

January 15, 1959

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