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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
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## EDITORIAL

### THE FUTURE OF THE U.N.O.

FOR some time past, the future of the United Nations has become a much discussed and debated question. The year 1961 posed many crucial challenges to the U.N. such as the Congo conflict, the Soviet Troika Plan for the reorganisation of the U.N., and financial crisis that threatened its very existence. As for the Congo problem, the latest news from the Congo about the strong and energetic military action taken by the U.N. authorities to bring Katanga's President Tshombe to his senses and to strengthen the Congo nationalist Government headed by Mr. Adoula and maintain the territorial integrity of the Republic, shows that the United Nations is now determined to assert its own authority in this area. The Troika Plan which was sought to be revived by Russia on the tragic death of the Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was defeated and U Thant of Burmah was appointed as the acting General Secretary invested with the full power of the office. This completely foiled the attempt on the part of Russia, as Mr. Kennedy said, "to replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis and confidence with great confusion." The financial challenge was also met at least temporarily by the floating of a \$200,000,000 bond issue. Thus on balance it could

be said that the U.N. with commendable patience, grit and foresight successfully faced and solved all these grave problems and proved its indomitable will to survive.

But all the same it cannot be denied that a feeling of strong discontent and alarm has been long simmering among the statesmen of the founder European nations of the U.N., at the political influence increasingly wielded by the new entrants into the U.N. particularly the Afro-Asian Nations just emerging into freedom from their long colonial slavery. The African Nations, together with India and other Asiatic countries outnumber the European members of the U.N. have been pressing hard for an early liquidation of Western Colonialism in Africa and Asia.

It was these African States which exerted a powerful pressure on India to liberate immediately the Portuguese enclave of Goa even by military action so as to give a powerful impetus to their movement for colonial liberation. And India in her own interests, as well as those of the colonial peoples of the world could not have turned a deaf ear to these appeals out of an exaggerated and unrealistic sense of dedication to the now much discredited creed of 'Non-violence at all costs and under all circumstances'.

But the recent intemperate outbursts of Mr. Stevenson, the American U.N. representative and Lord Home the Foreign Secretary of Britain go to show that the Western Nations have failed to properly appreciate and assess this Afro-Asian sentiment of anti-colonialism. Though Britain in the post-war period has been dispossessing herself of her colonial territories she has been able to exert but little influence on her 'oldest ally' Portugal to follow in her foot-steps in respect of Portuguese Colonies in India and in Africa. America, another leading member of Free-Alliance has also unduly worked herself into a frenzy and has been preaching the Sermon on the Mount to Mr. Nehru, perhaps out of spite for the latter's frequent homilies to them on non-alignment and peaceful negotiations.

In this game of mutual recrimination and mudslinging the democratic and free countries seem to have neatly forgotten that the international political behaviour has yet to define clearly the limits within which force could be used in solving national and international problems and also has yet to decide whether problems like liquidating foreign enclaves within the heart of a country were national or international issues.

But the U.N. headed by U.S. and U.K. cannot afford to neglect any longer this greatest challenge of anti-colonialism without undermining its own future and also weakening the World Free Alliance against the Communist menace. The U.N. was no doubt originally founded as Lord Home

has said, for maintaining Peace and Security in the world by avoiding the Third World War. Until now even against the machinations of Russia to break this Free Alliance in the U.N. it has held together keeping before its steadfast gaze the above ideal. Instead of therefore wasting their wrath and indignation, none too justified, at the liquidation by India, of Portuguese Colonial rule in Goa and at the resurgent freedom movements in Afro-Asia, the leaders of Free Alliance particularly of America and Britain should employ all their political maturity, experience and statesmanship in the task of forging a peaceful and effective method of transferring, without undue delay, political power to colonial peoples without jeopardising peace and security in these areas and the world, under the aegis of the U.N. Assembly. Instead of conjuring up before the world the fears of 'Pandora's Box' and 'the end of the U.N.' and 'the conflict between the Whites and the Blacks' it would behove the statesmen of the U.N. to address themselves to the task of developing this Organisation in the words of Mr. Lippman 'as a bridge between old societies of the Atlantic community and new societies which are coming into being elsewhere.'

#### INTEGRATION OR DISRUPTION?

The Preliminary Report of the Emotional Integration Committee headed by Dr. Sampurnanand as expected, has only echoed His Master's Voice by recommending that the Three Language Formula suggested by the Chief Ministers' Conference, be implemented from the secondary stage of education in the coming academic year. The Report admits that this Formula has been followed more in its breach than in its observance in the various States. The reason is obvious. The South Indian States and Bengal have never taken kindly to Hindi and the Hindi speaking States have never thought of voluntarily undertaking to introduce some South Indian language in their educational curriculum. Thus no State in India at present appears to be in a mood to favour the enforcement at any stage of education—Primary, Secondary or University—of the study of more than two languages, that is, the regional language and some all India language preferably English. In the light of this patent fact the Committee would have done well to emphasise the important role played by the English language in promoting national integration and could have safely recommended its continuance as the sole national language of India. But Hindi chauvinism which has such a powerful grip on the minds of the Congress leadership appears to have come in the way of such a rational and realistic approach being made to this question by this Congress-ridden Committee.

The other recommendations such as admission of students to educational institutions solely

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on the basis of merit and economic means elimination of any mention of any caste and religion from the application forms in Government offices etc., are so hackneyed and obvious that one is left in doubt whether the Congressmen and the Committees set up by them are seriously concerned in tackling this problem at all and whether they have not been raising this nightmare of National Disintegration with an ulterior motive and purpose.

This is not to say that this problem does not at all exist and does not merit any consideration. But it should be remembered that it is no more serious than other socio-political problems with which it is so closely interlinked and inter-related. India, it is admitted on all hands, is not a full-fledged nation in the fullest sense of the word. Under the British regime it was a nation still in the making. The British system of centralised administration and the liberal education imparted uniformly throughout India through the medium of English language, created in the country for the first time, a nucleus of an educated and enlightened National Community infused with the spirit of Western Liberal thought and culture. This section of the Indian population forged the Congress as a powerful instrument of fostering a healthy sentiment of national unity and cohesion among the people. Under the enlightened guidance of the Congress leaders drawn from this national community, common people learnt to cherish the liberal democratic ideas such as those of a Civil State, the Rule of the Law, Equality before the Law, Civic virtues and citizenship rights, Individual Freedom and Liberty. But in the post-freedom days the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Nehru has replaced these healthy Liberal ideas with its own dogmas and beliefs such as 'Secular State'—whatever it might mean—the rule of the High Command Personality Cult, negative moral virtues like Prohibition, Statism and has thus undermined the very basis of nationalism and democracy so laboriously built up by the Founders and Builders of the Congress. Instead of encouraging a non-partisan and objective approach to the national problems the Congress is giving a peculiar twist and turn to every one of them so as to serve its party interests rather than promote national welfare. On the top of all this, come the Congress brand of State Socialism and the virtual One Party Rule which directly militate against the Directives and Fundamental Rights mentioned in the Constitution. Despite all tall talk against casteism, linguism and communalism, the Congress Raj is fully exploiting all these very dark and reactionary forces to perpetuate itself in power. It is deliberately creating national disintegration and chaos so as to facilitate the ultimate imposition of the Congress Party dictatorship on the people in the name of

bringing about National Integration, Security and Peace. The people must therefore realise before it is too late that National Integration will always remain a myth and a mirage until and unless the Congress is pulled down from its high pedestal of political power and influence.

## HERE AND THERE

There is a Government-run school in Kerala with no pupil on its rolls but with a teacher: this information was furnished by the Chief Minister of the Kerala State Assembly. But this is far better than to have a school with pupils but without a teacher, which is the usual feature of newly started Primary Schools in rural areas under the Five Year Plans. In the former case, at least one educated person secures a job. Moreover, it fulfils the criterion of the amount of money spent—it does not matter how—on a certain project, generally laid down by the Planners to assess its success.

What is meant by Ram Rajya is made clear in the Election Manifesto of the Ram Rajya Parishad. Secular State would be disbanded and a new Constitution would be framed according to Shastras; cow-slaughter would be banned and Family Planning, prohibited. This is the first step. The next step perhaps would be to ban Cinema posters and women's education. 'Sati' may also be revived to instil into Indian womanhood the spirit of self-sacrifice for the husband.

Soviet will go all out to prevent war', said Mr. Khrushchev in his New Year's message. What is meant by communist Peace has been further clarified by China's Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi who has pledged his country to the Pursuit of Peace, that is to say, (1) strengthening the unity of the Socialist Camp, (2) following Panchashila. So whatever strengthens Socialist Unity and Socialist Brotherhood brings world peace and prevents world war. Marxian dialectics indeed!

Shri K. D. Malaviya the Union Minister for Oils and Mines now wants Aggressive Socialism to be practised in India. At Avadi Congress Nehru introduced socialist Pattern; the Second Five Year Plan turned this Pattern into Oppressive Socialism; it is now no wonder that our Ministers are realising that the Third Plan cannot be implemented without the help of Aggressive Socialism which will carry on a relentless war on the people as was done in Russia under Stalin.

Without Comment: Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party described the Congress as a 'one pillar house' and Prime Minister Nehru as its 'only pillar'.

# Foreign Policy After Goa

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**M**ILITARY action for the absorption of Goa marks a new stage in the foreign policy of the country. Till the last moment there was a doubt whether serious action was seriously meant at all. Mr. Menon even let fall a remark that Goa would not be liberated by our armed forces but by Goanese freedom fighters within the enclave!

But the pressures generated by Nehru's own statements, his incautious utterance at the Bombay African-Asian conference of anti-colonialists that he did not rule out force to take Goa, the expectations roused by the massing of forces along the border, the indignation caused by Portuguese firing on Indian fishermen's boats, their raid into Indian territory and shooting of Indian villagers, the political groups clamouring for action among whom were the communists under Aruna Asaf Ali—all conspired to wring the order for action from Prime Minister Nehru after agonising suspense and delays for weeks.

But all is well that ends well.

The swift and efficient campaign of the army finishing the episode in about 26 hours has helped to cut off unhealthy and dangerous developments in the UNO and elsewhere. If the affair had been prolonged even by a few days, the USA and Britain and France would have tried other measure to effect a cease-fire and Nehru might have yielded to their pressure leaving a part of Goa still in Portuguese hands! He might have repeated his Kashmir cease-fire intervention which has unwisely left a third of Kashmir in Pakistani hands.

Apart from Portuguese provocations, there seems to have been a graver impulse behind the urge for action. The Chinese have threatened (in their latest Notes accompanying their further incursions into Ladakh) to march across the McMahon Line in North Assam if India resisted further advance in Ladakh area. And Indian feelings are aroused to boiling point against the inaction and vacillation and pusillanimity of Sri Nehru in this regard and are exasperated at the continuation of the old attitudes of minimising the gravity of the situation and refusing to mobilise the nation on an adequate scale for war-effort.

Hence some action was called for to show that after all the Government were not utterly wedded to inaction and philosophy of absolute non-violence.

Also, the approaching general elections and the candidature of Sri Krishna Menon in Bombay were material consideration that tilted the scale

in favour of action, all protests that election had nothing to do with the decision notwithstanding.

Besides, there was the possibility of the Portuguese selling the lease of Goa and its harbour to the Nato Powers or to Pakistan in the first instance. It may be recalled that there was such a deal brewing between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Portuguese before Sardar Patel's Police Action in Hyderabad. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon hinted at a similar possibility in his press conference in the USA.

And with Goa as a base—sea, air and land—in hostile hands committed to the cold war of the blocs, Indian defence problems would become more complicated than they are. The possibility of a war-like clash with China after the winter months and of a reapproachment between China and Pakistan makes the recent action of absorbing Goa all the more timely.

It is to be hoped that the new line of defending vital interests of security by force evidenced in the present police action would be accepted as the normal duty of a national government. Foreign policy and defence preparations should be readjusted from this point of view. The nation should be mobilised and trained for all-out co-operation with the war effort both by recruitment and by establishing civilian channels of assistance to the armed forces in supplies, air raid defence, relief to wounded in base hospitals, relaxation to troops on holidays etc.

The greater intensity of anger shown by Mr. Adlai Stevenson in his speech in the Security Council than even the British representative has surprised Indians. The USA was supposed to be the least colonial-minded of the Western Powers. But Mr. Stevenson far from accepting the moral justification for the demand for Portuguese withdrawal, characterised Indian action as aggression and wanted the Security Council to order a cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops! It was only the Russian veto that quashed the proposal and saved India from embarrassment. Hereby hangs a tale whose lessons should be carefully conned by Indians of all ranks, whether in official position or not.

As Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon hinted, that there was talk of a deal between Portugal and Mr. Dulles a couple of years ago when Mr. Dulles after a colloquy with Mr. Cunha, the Portuguese envoy declared his acceptance of the Portuguese claim that Goa and the other Portuguese foreign colonies in India, Africa and China were

parts of her Overseas territories, part of the metropolitan mother country of Portugal! What was the consideration that induced Mr. Dulles to accept and endorse such a ridiculous claim, such an absurd psychological monstrosity?

Obviously, the offer of Goa as a base to be developed as part of the Western Line of Defence or offence against Russia and her new, widespread empire of international communism.

It is quite likely therefore that Mr. Dulles had arrived at a Deal, a secret understanding, if not a written treaty with Portugal for the use of Goa and its sea and land facilities as a base in the Arabian Sea.

Indian action absorbing Goa has deprived the USA of the use of the coveted base which would have been of immense advantage to the West in case of war. In this light, the emotional intensity of Mr. Stevenson's outburst against India and his drastic move for a cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian forces from Goa becomes intelligible.

The recent furore in the USA against the Indian resolution in the UNO calling for a total ban on nuclear Tests by all nuclear powers just when the Russians had completed a long series and before the USA could estimate the gains by way of information amassed by Russia as a result of her tests has no doubt added to America's emotional revulsion against India. Mr. Kennedy must have referred to this in his talks with Sri Nehru when the latter visited the USA recently. Mr. Krishna Menon was made to see Mr. Kennedy and make it up.

The Goan action has therefore added to the growing reservoir of ill-will and suspicion between the two countries. A business man from America who had entered into a partnership agreement with an Indian Firm for the production of watches in India has cancelled his agreement on this ground of Indian "aggression"! This is a symptom of the feeling among the general American public about Nehru's policies of putting the West on the same moral plane as the ruthless totalitarian communist States!

Mr. Michael Brecher, a Canadian professor who has written a good political interpretative biography of Nehru reveals that his famous subject told him in 1958 in an interview that he believed that Russia did not want any further territory. Nehru is reported to have said that if only the Western Powers ceased to threaten Russian security by aggressive pacts against her and her dominions, she would even withdraw from East European States!

This is like saying that no woman can be raped if only she consents without resistance!

This view of Nehru makes nonsense of the entire basis and crusading mission and consistent

foreign policy of the Kremlin from the first moment of the founding of the Revolutionary Russian Communist State. Its foundation is class-war with the rider that Western capitalist imperialism can only be fought on an international plane and that Russia is not safe until the whole world becomes communist with a classless society. Hence the encouragement of national communist parties (legal and underground) in most countries of the world for their "liberation"!

Russia and China wish to liberate India from the rule of Nehru and his class who may be national in spirit but bourgeoisie all the same—enemies of the working class!

Today, the Russian Communist Party leadership under Khrushchov has issued a declaration calling for a fresh attack on the national bourgeoisie or middle class worth the name in Ghana, Mali, Soudan, Togo, Nigeria and the Congo. Here communists can go straight to the leadership of the proletariat without the intermediate phase of People's Democracies under national bourgeoisie as in the East European States and China.

Hence the presence of Suslov at the last annual meeting of the Communist Party of India!

It is quite on the cards therefore that China's further push into Indian borders will be backed by Russia on the sly in the beginning and openly when the Indian social order and government are visibly cracking!

We have to consider whether in such a contingency, the USA will come to our rescue.

We have to remember the sad plight of Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956. Encouraged by Radio Europe and other propaganda of America and the obvious sympathy of free Europe, the gallant Hungarians called on them to rush to their rescue. But in vain. Russian tanks were allowed to crush the rebels and lovers of liberty with deadly thoroughness.

If that could happen to a European people closer to British and Americans in blood, we should ponder whether we have any reasonable hope of stirring their sympathies sufficiently to come to our rescue—at least with war supplies in abundance. America poured out her industrial and military supplies to the Russians when Hitler attacked them—for after Russia would come their turn to meet the shock of the Victorian Hitlerite hosts. But such an argument will have a poor pull on the hearts of Americans and British.

And, to add to the inheritance of indifference if not racial hostility, we have Nehru's anti-Western and pro-communist attitudes and policies. These have been aggravated by the vitriolic utterances of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon—Nehru's (and India's) evil genius in foreign and defence policies.

Indian foreign policy has to meet this rising mountain of hostility in the coming period.

The crucial occasion when India will have to mobilise her best wisdom may be created by some action of Pakistan.

Pakistan is endeavouring to get the so-called Government of Azad Kashmir under Mr. Khurshid, (a former private secretary of Mr. M. A. Jinnah) recognised by foreign powers. China seems to have agreed.

In their present mood, the USA and Britain and France may follow suit to teach Nehru a lesson!

We know that the UNO has shelved decision on the Indo-Pakistan dispute only because the Indian case is legally correct but Pakistani interests are paramount with the West owing to Pakistani alliance with them as against Russia!

With this Goan strain fresh in their minds, the USA and Britain will be disposed to back Pakistan against India without hesitation. Friends in war are more to be valued than neutrals with a bias towards the enemy! This is not a judicial attitude but ought to be intelligible to us as part of the psychology of war and defence.

In this light, the Nehru policy of ruling out military pacts under all circumstances is shortsighted and irresponsible.

Even the Afro-Asian new States supported us in Goa only in their own interests as it promised to be a long step towards the liquidation of Portuguese and other African colonialism.

In any open conflict with Pakistan, we cannot rely on Islamic and African countries, even for verbal and moral support.

If there is no further open conflict with China, Russia may support us in any embroilment with Pakistan as Pakistan has openly allied herself in the CENTO and SEATO with the West in their war plans against communism.

If a conflict should arise in spite of all patience on our part, it is to be hoped that Indian diplomacy will meet the situation well prepared.

One aspect of such preparation is the stepping up in the efficiency of our propaganda against Pakistan's lies. We should make an all-out effort to convince the States of the world of the correctness and morality of our stand in Kashmir.

If in spite of all argument, it is urged by a majority of the UNO States that as Kashmir has

a Muslim majority, it should naturally and logically go to Pakistan, even as Hyderabad with its Hindu majority went to India, we should have the grit to demand that in that case, all Muslims in India should be sent to Kashmir and a peaceful exchange of property and population effected before any transfer. This is not communalism but simple justice. If the Pakistanis take their stand on religion, so be it; let us also take our stand on religion or culture and have a homogeneous State and national society. We should remember in this connection that Indian Muslims, even so-called nationalist Muslims, are some of them engaged in organised propaganda and mobilisation of Muslim sentiment for a further **Muslim Homeland in India!** Mr. Charan Singh, the UP Minister for Home Affairs has made this statement in public.

But if China precipitates a conflict before Pakistan or simultaneously with her, our foreign policy will have to meet its gravest challenge.

Even President Eisenhower who sent troops into Lebanon to forestall a communist coup there, said while in India that no one knows who is right and wrong about the Indian border dispute with China. So America will not come to our rescue and Russia of course cannot owing to her ideological tie with China.

We should also revise our economic plans so as to minimise dependence on foreign aid as much as possible. We should store oil and food grains and step up our manufacture of defence equipment, not keeping it a close preserve of the inefficient public sector. The shadow of war should govern every aspect of our policies hereafter—domestic as well as foreign.

China may offer a tempting truce on condition of taking communist members into a coalition under the leadership of Nehru! This is a calamitous turn in affairs against which public opinion should be alerted. This is the road by which East European States were communised with communist Trojan horses within the Government!

Altogether, India enters into an era of greater perils and complexities after the police action in Goa. Russian approval is consoling today but it may prove treacherous if we rely too much on it.

Western alienation is uncomfortable but it is the part of wisdom to counter-act it tactfully and win them over.

# The Goa Imbroglia

By M. N. THOLAL

PRIME Minister Nehru's account of how India was forced to take action in Goa, when she did, does not sound very convincing and the discriminating newspaper reader is left with the impression that the real reason for the action—the approaching general election—was not even mentioned by him at the Press Conference in New Delhi on December 28. That Goa is a province of Portugal is a statement which cannot be accepted by any democrat, who must, by virtue of his faith in democracy, be anti-colonial, and India would have been justified in driving out the Portuguese as soon as she became independent. But she did not do so for good and sufficient reasons. For one thing, she got involved in Kashmir and had to go to her rescue. For another, there was a graver problem to tackle than the dependence of Goa, and that was Hyderabad.

It was only after saving Kashmir and Hyderabad for India that her Army could march into Goa, but Mr. Nehru and his Government could not possibly go on marching the Indian Army in all directions without earning a very bad reputation in the world. So there had to be a period of waiting and it was prolonged because the Prime Minister developed a fondness for passing as a Man of Peace. Even as it is, the Indian Army has been on the march three times within the fourteen years of India's freedom and has also massed its troops on the Pakistan border twice or thrice. These are facts worth mentioning in this connection, without necessarily condemning the marches or the massing of troops.

India has a very good case for marching into Goa and it is a pity the Prime Minister could not make it out, and in trying to do so put his foot into it by arguments which do not bear scrutiny and are only a repetition of his unwarranted diatribes against NATO. I have heard the speeches and read the writings of his father, and even my critical faculty used to find it very difficult to find loopholes in them. But his son's speeches and writings are usually so full of loopholes that he can always be trusted to transform a good case into a bad one. The main reason perhaps is his prolixity and the lack of critical faculty, particularly in the sphere of self-criticism, which his father possessed in abundance. And he does not seem to care either, his main argument, unuttered, being, "Well, if you criticise and condemn

me like that, I shall go over to the Soviet Bloc". That in any case, is not doing justice to his country or to himself in the eyes of sensible people the world over. There is no sense in not presenting your case as vigorously and convincingly as it can be done. Losing one's temper is just the way of not being able to do it. If Mr. Nehru is temperamentally unfit to present his case, as seems to be the case, he should have someone, or a number of people to do it for him. There is no dearth of able men in the country if one is on the look-out for them, like Motilal Nehru.

## U. N. CHARTER

Mr. Nehru could have put India's case in a few telling sentences which would have gone ringing round the world. He could have said, "If we are wrong, the independence of the United States is wrong, the Constitutional monarchy of the United Kingdom is wrong, the advance of democracy in the world is wrong, the existence of the United Nations is wrong". He too could have quoted from the U.N. charter itself:

"We, the people of the United Nations, determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small..." This be it noted, comes before the determination "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained" and even here justice comes before respect for treaties. And then comes the determination "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". "And for these ends," continues the Charter, "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". Was Portugal living in peace with India as a good neighbour for the last 450 years? And again, "to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest". Was Portugal ensuring the elimination of armed force by the acceptance of UN principles? And did not India use armed force "in the common interest"? In fact our violation of the UN Charter is only superficial, if it is conceded, as it must be, that the deprivation of Portugal of her Indian colonies is in the common interest. If that is not common interest, what is?



## RED HERRING ACROSS THE SCENT

Instead Mr. Nehru makes an attempt to emphasise the division of the world into black and white as a result of the Goa action in an apparent effort to frighten the western powers, although he said, "I do not like this division of opinion, to put it very crudely, between white and black. It is a bad sign, but there it is." But where is it? The Russians supported India to the point of vetoing the western resolution. So did the Russian colonies, better known as satellites, as in duty bound. (I cannot understand why the East European nations and the Baltic countries under the Russian heel are not referred to as Russian colonies, even by Russia's opponents. This failure on their part is a major failure so far as propaganda goes.) But where is the occasion for being "troubled" by the kind of mentality developing—the Black versus the White and the suspicion of each other and the dislike of each other? He himself admitted almost in the same breath that the USA, "in regard to the colonial issues had been for the last year or two, taking up an attitude much nearer to ourselves and also many others." "Many others" presumably refers to the United Kingdom and France, who have been liberating their colonies. In fact the latter deserve more praise for they are sacrificing what they have, while the USA has nothing to sacrifice. It might have like Soviet Russia added many lands in the neighbourhood to its own territories, but the fact remains, to its credit, that it has not done so.

By stressing the "Black versus the White" without good and sufficient reasons, Mr. Nehru can only be said to be fishing in troubled waters of his own creation. Indeed, the United Kingdom was bound by treaty to come to the aid of her old ally, Portugal, but she did not do so. In fact she refused point blank. So did the NATO powers. Yet Mr. Nehru could not miss the opportunity of having an unwarranted fling at the NATO alliance which, "though it had nothing to do with Goa"—these are his own words—"encouraged Portugal in its intransigent attitude". How? Surely Portugal must have sounded her NATO allies and they apparently refused aid of any kind against India. Does Mr. Nehru mean to imply that the NATO powers first promised aid to Portugal and then backed out. He does not say so. Nobody has said so. And the proposition is absolutely ridiculous and so is Mr. Nehru's charge against the NATO powers. He has got into the habit of attacking NATO to please Russia.

## NO SENSE OF PROPORTION

In his Press Conference the Prime Minister gave several instances of his lack of the sense of proportion. He referred to an article in a

New York newspaper which, according to him, categorically suggested "in polite language" that India should be driven out of Goa and Goa should be restored to Portugal. "Just think what this means and, if an attempt is made, what will happen in India of course and in all this world. But it is casually mentioned that the colonial power should presumably by force be placed there. My head reels when I read all this. If out of their thinking this kind of thing emerges, it is not surprising that their actions are wrong and often lead them to trouble".

Mr. Nehru is highly emotional and I can well believe that his head reels on reading that kind of stuff. But why does he waste his time going through such stuff and nonsense? Does he find time hanging heavy on his hands? Has he nothing better to do? Thus he wastes his time and then complains, "I have no time to think". He has incidentally confirmed the stories going round in New Delhi about his inordinate interest in newspaper cuttings even when the journals concerned are third-rate. Why should he attach any importance whatsoever to what a New York newspaper "casually mentions"? The American Press is free and American newspapers do not represent Government opinion. And why should his head reel on reading something which should be treated with contempt or ridicule? And why should he equate a newspaper opinion with American opinion? The Americans have been taking him at his word and were thinking all his peace talk was sincere and the Goa action has naturally come as a shock to them. To think an apostle of peace behaving like that! The Goa action is certainly inconsistent with the picture of an apostle of peace which, in their credulity, they had formed of him. It is for that the Americans deserve to be blamed—for putting Mr. Nehru on a pedestal which he admittedly, it is now obvious, did not deserve.

Another glaring example of his lack of the sense of proportion he gave at the Press Conference was when he referred to Rajaji in the following words: "Nobody understands him; nor does he understand anybody. All his policies in regard to India, if I may mention, are bad economics, bad sense and bad temper". If nobody understands him, his following would not have been increasing in the country and would not have included some of the greatest in the land. For any one to say that Rajaji does not understand anybody is not only sheer impudence but abuse, and abuse is no argument. And how many people have authorised Mr. Nehru to declare on their behalf that they do not understand Rajaji? They not only understand him but they—including Congressmen—realise that Rajaji has exposed the true character of the Congress.



## Taxation And Economic Growth

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

ONE of the objectives of our Five Year Plans is to achieve rapid economic growth of our country, but the progress made by us during the last ten years of planning has not been satisfactory. The prices of the consumer goods are daily rising; the unemployment problem has become very serious and this fact has been admitted by Mr. Nanda, Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning. According to him the main answer to the problem of unemployment lies in the intensive economic development. He wishes to achieve the economic growth at the rate of six per cent per annum, by increasing the national income from Rs. 14500 crores to about 33000 crores and by undertaking the investment of the order of Rs. 53000 crores in the next 15 years. But he forgets the simple fact that the present tax policy retards the economic progress of our country.

During the last ten years our national government has levied a number of taxes not only to raise the revenues but to establish a socialist pattern of society. As a result of these various taxes incentives to save and invest have been greatly reduced. Economic development is a function of saving and investment. In the pre-independence era the private sector used to play a dominant role in starting new enterprises and taking risks, but at the present moment the role of public sector has been greatly widened with the result that the private sector is not allowed to play its dominant role in the economic development of the country. Tax policy of our government hinders the progress of the private sector and this is one of the causes of massive unemployment that we witness at present in our country in spite of inflation. Inflation and unemployment are incompatible but in our country both are existing side by side and the main cause is the present taxation policy of our Government. The main objective of tax policy is not only to raise maximum revenue to the Government but to provide conditions that will stimulate the growth of savings at the maximum rate and the investment of those savings in such a way that will promote maximum economic development by promoting the activities of the entrepreneurs to ensure proper investment of savings in sound enterprises. In other words the tax policy should be incentive oriented. Taxation policy is one of the most important factors that influence savings and investment and in return the economic de-

velopment of a country. Increases in taxation, reduces very greatly the capacity of individuals, and companies to increase their rate of savings. Incentives to save and invest are also influenced by the industrial policy of the Government, by the availability of the markets to absorb the products of the industries and by the investment opportunities.

Incentives to save and invest have been greatly reduced during the last ten years due to instability in taxation policy. "Stability in taxation acts as a powerful factor in promoting confidence, provides a spur to the incentives to save and invest and can, therefore be of great importance." During the Second Five Year Plan period there was not a steady increase in the rate of savings and investment. The Reserve Bank of India estimated that the rate of savings stood at 8.6 to the national income in 1956-57 but this has fallen to 7% in 1957-58. In the last five years the rate of savings has remained more or less stagnant. The Third Plan is based on the assumption that the rate of savings would increase to 11.5 per cent of national income. To achieve that objective and to accelerate the economic growth of our economy it is necessary to make important changes in the taxation policy. At present we have mixed economy where both public and private sectors play their part and economic growth depends upon private as well as public savings. During the last five years public savings instead of rising have actually declined. In the book "Savings in India" published by National Council of Applied Economic Research it is estimated that public savings have declined from Rs. 208.9 in 1951-52 to Rs. 141.8 crores in 1957-58, inspite of the fact that the net investment made by Government has increased from Rs. 221.1 crores to Rs. 794.8 crores in the same period. This increasing investment made by the Government is by attracting private savings as well as by foreign aid. From this it is quite clear that private savings are of great importance in accelerating the economic progress of our country. During the last five years the tax policy has been dominated or influenced by the necessity to raise increasing revenues at the expense of the various other objectives of taxation policy. "There has been a continuous pressure during the past five years to raise ever increasing amounts through taxation to finance reckless expansion in the bureaucratic machinery. The

expenditure on the civil administration i.e. non-developmental and non-productive expenditure rose from Rs. 94.08 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 233.35 crores in 1959-60. It further rose to Rs. 260 crores in 1960-61 representing an almost three fold increase in this expenditure. While some increase in expenditure is inevitable in a developing country it is impossible to justify a rise to almost three times the level prevailing six years ago. This tendency has to be checked in the third plan if the rate of investment in the economy is to be increased. It must be pointed out that substantial portion of revenues frittered away by the Government in non-developmental expenditure could have found its way into proper investment channels if additional taxation had not been levied. An increase in non-developmental expenditure at the cost of productive investments represents an inexcusable waste and a factor retarding India's economic development". To increase savings in India it is essential that nuisance taxes" like wealth tax, expenditure tax and gift tax should be abolished because these taxes have not yielded enough revenues to the Government but on the other hand they have caused more harassment to the public at the hands of the Government servants. These taxes have resulted in tax evasion on a very large scale and a loss to the exchequer. This state of affairs can be remedied by reforming the present tax structure in such a way that the net revenue to the exchequer shall be maximum. Multiplicity of taxes during the Second Five Year Plan has actually reduced the capacity of the people to save and invest. This tendency must be reversed by creating proper atmosphere to the private sector. The present taxation policy of the Government to reduce inequalities of income and to establish an egalitarian society is detrimental to rapid economic development of our country". An excessive emphasis on the objective of reduction of inequalities of wealth and income and politician's temptation to soak the rich by levying extremely high tax burdens on the upper classes could retard economic progress in the immediate or near future by depressing the level of savings and entrepreneurial activity. In an underdeveloped country like India voluntary personal savings are only possible by the middle and the upper income classes who can have a small surplus after meeting their necessary consumption expenditure. The vast mass of people live at economic levels which are so low that any increase in their income tends to be immediately spent on consumption expenditure, so voluntary savings are totally nonexistent. Under the circumstances the levying high direct taxes on the richer classes merely in order to achieve the goal of reducing inequalities of wealth and income must result in a fall in the level of private savings and retard economic development".

The Planning Commission has proposed to

levy additional taxation to the tune of Rs. 1710 crores during the Third Plan. A large part of these taxes will be indirect because the scope to impose more direct taxes has been limited. Direct taxes have shown a tendency of diminishing returns. As a result of indirect taxes there will be a rise in costs and prices leading to inflation in the country. During the Second Five Year Plan the prices of consumer goods have actually risen to 42% and this rise in prices has imposed a heavy burden on the people with fixed income, while the Government Contractors have reaped the fruits where they have not sown. It is necessary that common man should get benefits from planning and this can be achieved by giving relief to the private sector in the form of taxes. As a result of this he will have incentive to save and invest which will accelerate economic growth of our country.

### INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT AND GROWTH

In the lexicon of international politics, no word is more badly, or basely, used than imperialism. The tale of rich countries impoverishing little nations has been told thousands of times, apparently gaining converts each time around the circuit.

One result of this widely held, if dubious, belief is a certain ambivalence toward investment by foreigners in developing countries. While outside sources of capital spur development in the recipient country, fears of "exploitation," "colonialism," or just plain "foreign domination" have led many countries to put up barriers to outside investment that throttle development.

How much more slowly would the United States have grown if we had placed discriminatory barriers in the road of foreign capital and entrepreneurship? Any country that wishes to develop its resources, and increase the real income of its people, is destined to take a slower path if it relies exclusively on savings generated from within. For one of the central characteristics of a low-income economy lies precisely in the relatively low levels of savings that it can produce.

While in this day and age the right of sovereign nations to develop their own political and legal structure according to their own lights is hardly open to challenge, the developing countries can do much to promote their own progress by adopting the principles of impartial treatment of all persons and businesses, domestic and foreign, large and small. Respect for the Rule of Law, so laboriously nurtured during the 19th century, has been notoriously weak during the 20th. If growth is really an important objective, can the precepts of a free society be disregarded?

—Economic Intelligence,  
Washington.

# ★ Equalising Opportunities—III

## NEXT STEP FOR MANKIND

BY WENDAL BULL

Henry George clearly saw that land-value represented pure appropriative power. He said for example, "Thus land rent or land value does not arise from the productiveness or utility of land. It in no wise represents any help or advantage given to production, but simply the power of securing (he meant obtaining) a part of the result of production. . . . land can yield no rent and have no value until someone is willing to give labor or the results of labor for the privilege of using it." (In passing we observe the customary euphemism in George's language—it is men who yield rent, not land). But George's solution of the problem was specifically designed so as not to disturb anyone's willingness to comply with the custom of yielding tribute for the right (why call it a "privilege"?) of using what nature provides freely. His Single Tax proposal, instead of removing the tribute-compelling power enjoyed by private land owners, merely provides that government shall take from land-lords the amount of the rent realized.

George was admirably clear in his understanding that the ownership of land was virtually equivalent to the ownership of men. One wonders if he would have advocated—had he lived in the days of the anti-slavery movement—that the private ownership of slaves should be corrected by having the government take over the proceeds of the institution. The abolitionists did not focus attention on the privacy of slave ownership. Could they ever have been convinced that the government's collection of the net proceeds of the business would solve the problem? I doubt it. And I think it is fortunate that they did not try to get slavery socialized. Likewise, I do not want property in land socialized. Collection by the government of the net proceeds of the tribute-compelling power represented in land titles would seem as obnoxious to me as collection by the government of the net proceeds of the tribute-compelling power represented in titles to men.

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## CUSTOM THE ILL-NOT ADMINISTRATION

If property in land is a wholesome custom and if the land-tenure problem is merely a matter of determining by whom and to what ends the income from it is to be administered, then George's Single Tax proposal is highly commendable. In this case a political expedient is all that would be required. This Single Tax is such an expedient. It proposes that government should take back the net proceeds of the power—inherent in the privilege of commanding land rent—which it shall continue to grant to land owners.

There are two principal reasons why George's proposal seems inadequate to me. 1) It proposes no breaking down of what, I consider the inhumane custom under which men slavishly continue to pay for the right of access to those necessary physical grounds of life which Nature offers without cost. 2) It proposes no new understanding of the implications of the great principle of equal unalienable rights belonging to all men; hence no new faith among the people in their own powers jointly to undertake the responsibilities of self-government.

As I see it, the land problem is but one facet of the larger problem of man's inhumanity to man. This central and ancient problem is not accessible to legislation. Legislators and administrators normally function in harmony with established custom. Until popular demand initiates a change, precedent is their guide. The tribute-compelling aspect of the central problem may be even more deeply hidden by legislative acts conceived within the common-law traditions. The popular acceptance of privilege for some and privation for others of domination for the mighty and subservience for the beaten; of the authorities on one hand and the irresponsibilities on the other; and of superior armed might as the ultimate sanction of what is called "social order"—these are some of the customs which need altering. It is hardly the business of legislators to alter the customary attitudes of the people.

I N my view the land-tenure problem has to do with administering rent and punitive government only secondarily and negatively. The positive consideration is how to establish equality of freedom for men in using the land.

The primary consideration is how to change men's minds. Thus we are led into critical examination of usual attitudes about property, economic values, and the kind of money we use. Men's minds will not change constructively in the understanding of freedom until their understanding of property rights, of values, and of exchange, have been carefully explored and rationally integrated.

First, what is property? We usually assume that whatever the law says is ownable is a normal and right form of property. Almost all of the plentiful disputes about property pertain to who owns it, not to whether it should be owned at all. The economists and social reformers are concerned with the administration of property—by whom, for what purposes and how it should be managed—not with the nature of property, nor whether our usual conception of it is rationally valid or in the best interests of the general well-being of men.

Coming to the matter from a different angle, I have no wish to disturb anyone's convictions as to whether property should be owned privately, jointly, corporately, communally or governmentally. What I have to say is addressed to persons holding any of these beliefs and to persons who hold, with Vinoba Bhave, that all property belongs to God. Let us explore possible distinctions between different kinds of property rights, as arising from different kinds of claims. There may be one kind of property which is a manifestation of the armed domination of the ambitious and aggressive over and against the beaten, and another kind which is akin to the unalienable rights with respect to which all men are created equal.

Man's exploitation of man will not be halted, I believe, by a people who assume without question that the usual understanding of property and how to measure its value is natural and right. We of the U.S.A. are such a people. But we do not have to remain so. We are just as capable of revising our ideas in these matters as our forefathers were of changing their ideas about the divine right of kings. We can change our ideas about property and how to measure its value just as well as our predecessors changed their ideas about slavery and the rights of women. With fresh insight and fresh responsibility we can take the next step in liberating humanity from ancient and inhumane customs. Americans could take the lead again in the long, long, struggle toward complete emancipation from fear and cruelty.

#### Probable Origins of Property.

Probably the first property of which prehistoric men became aware was spoils of war. Property is whatever can be held, first by bare might,

later by governmentally organized armed might, against all other claimants. Likewise, the first experience of property was a communal group experience—not "mine" as opposed to "thine," but "ours" as opposed to "theirs." "They" were strangers, and at least potential enemies. Within these communal groups there was probably neither private property nor exchange between individuals. Matriarchs at first, later patriarchs, still later commissars, take care of the distribution of goods within communes.

Thus when trading first arose, and probably for a very long time, it took place between tribes, not between persons within a tribe. Gift-giving between half-friendly tribes may have led to trade in some cases. On the other hand, when disaster struck, plundering forays into foreign territories could augment the tribal wealth. Some tribes became professional plunderers. But in all cases it seems that considerations of power and prestige were associated with property long before considerations of equality came into the picture.

The relative justice of conflicting claims to private property is a domestic issue which could not have had any prominence until there was trading by persons with other members of their own group. Demands for fair dealing probably were not raised until after the precedents of power and prestige were assumed to be natural, and then only after the unfairness of the mighty had become insufferable. Fair play in property transactions within a community is a public virtue which the most elemental jurisprudence probably did not overlook. Gravely compromised though the concept of justice must have been in those ancient times, the origins of the property rights in equity had nothing in common with the origins of the property rights of plunderers and sharp traders in their dealings with outsiders, half-friendly, potential enemies.

Nevertheless, these two incongruous kinds of property rights have become compounded in our laws and in our conception of what is ownable and what makes it so. The acquisitions of the mighty in war were celebrated, no matter how the innocents of an "outlandish" people were made to suffer. The custom of the plunderers brutally to enslave their captives, and to become rich at their expense, was approved as a matter of course. Only the native sons were understood to have rights in equity—such as it was. And of these the warring class became the dominant minority enjoying privileges not extended to the commoners. Thus we can imagine how in those prehistoric times the claims of equity in property became joined with the incompatible claims of plunderers.

Does Mr. Nehru realise what he is saying when he is saying it? Often enough it seems he does not, for his sentences make no sense at all. It seems that the articulation continues when the brain has stopped working—"diarrhoea of the mouth"—to use his father's famous phrase, in the truest sense of the phrase. What other explanation can there be for his senseless sentences, if his ability to express himself in English is not to be disputed, as it assuredly cannot be. The Prime Minister's trouble in this instance seems to be that Rajaji cannot be dismissed as a communalist and he cannot answer his main charge that corruption is stalking the land in the form of licences, permits and quotas. Mr. Nehru does not even refer to it.

### COLD WAR

Referring to the cold war Mr. Nehru said it is a "corrupting, corrosive thing in the minds and hearts of men". We had thought, and almost all of us still think, that nothing can be worse than nuclear war, which the next war is bound to be, if it comes. We think so because it will mean annihilation of humanity, and nothing can be worse than that from the human point of view. But Mr. Nehru thinks otherwise, for he says, "the cold war is worse than actual war," because in the processes of cold war, "you destroy your mind and heart and pervert your thinking". Mr. Nehru has so far given only one example of the destruction of mind and heart and perverted thinking—that of Rajaji—and even granting that it is a good example, one swallow does not make a summer, certainly not when it is an imaginary swallow. "That is what we are suffering from," Mr. Nehru added. Nobody in his senses would go so far as to suggest that Mr. Nehru's mind and heart have been destroyed, but his statements at the Press Conference on December 28 were a good example of perverted thinking from beginning to end.

Mr. Nehru does not seem to understand or pretends not to understand what the cold war is, or what its object is. The object of the cold war is to prevent farther Russian expansion, as was witnessed during the years after the last world war in which Russia practically annexed a dozen countries now known as her satellites or absorbed by her by force or show of force because they had been wrongly placed under her sphere of influence by President Roosevelt whom Stalin succeeded in winning over, leaving far-sighted Churchill in the lurch. The object of the cold war is to prevent a hot war and the former has so far admirably succeeded in doing so. But of course if the cold war is worse than a hot war, nothing can be worse, but no man in his senses is likely to agree with Mr. Nehru's preference in the matter. I can only add, it takes

all sorts to make the world, and Mr. Nehru has at last given us his silly reason for condemning the cold war.

### MR. NEHRU'S BRIGHT ASSISTANTS

In one of the notes sent to the Portuguese Government by the Government of India, the latter hoped that, "in accordance with the immutable principles of humanity and the irreversible process of history" the former would leave their colonies. The phrases are as impressive as they are senseless. What are the immutable principles of humanity? In India they seem to be those underlying the caste system. And what is the irreversible process of history? If it refers to democracy, Russia is reversing it and Mr. Nehru is giving a helping hand in the process. And even the irreversible process of history is unacceptable to Mr. Nehru if it upsets his apple-cart, as he declared with reference to Kashmir.

The fact of the matter is that Kashmir saved Goa for a long time during which Mr. Nehru tried his best to appear as a Man of Peace. Poses do not last long and the mask of peace has dropped down suddenly, as it had to one day. Mr. Nehru is certainly entitled to say to the West and Japan, "Damn you, what do you mean by believing all that I have been saying. Your credulity is not my fault. It is your own fault, so blame yourselves." As for getting keyed up, as he emphasised at the Conference again and again, any one who knows Mr. Nehru knows that he can get keyed up whenever he likes or wants to.

**ATTENTION !!!**

### OUR GIFT OF THE MONTH

To The New Subscribers of  
**"THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN"**

During **JANUARY 1962 :**

**CONQUEST OF CHINA BY MAO-TSE TUNG**

**BY SITARAM GOEL**

*Write To*

The Manager,

The Indian Libertarian,

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,  
**BOMBAY 4.**

# Nehru Versus Rajaji

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Portuguese Prime Minister's claim that one of the missions of the 3,500 Portuguese troops in Portuguese India was "to force the Indian Union to set on foot a large military operation which would shock the world" and that this mission had been fulfilled cannot be denied. It has in fact been admirably fulfilled and that is all the comfort the Portuguese Prime Minister can draw from the loss of Goa, which he refuses to recognise as a "fait accompli". What, however, should concern us Indians much more than the incidental dropping of a mask is the fact that the vetoing by Soviet Russia of the resolution in the Security Council calling for suspension of hostilities in Goa, "once more", as the Portuguese Prime Minister said, "drove the Indian Union into the arms of the Soviets".

This is considered the most deplorable aspect of the Goa imbroglio here. It may please Mr. Menon, I doubt if it will please Mr. Nehru for the latter is not the man to feel happy in any one's arms. But it is for this very reason, if Dr. Salazar is sincere in his opposition to Soviet Russia, that he should have decided to quit India before the Indian Union marched her troops into Goa. Surely this driving of the Indian Union into the arms of Russia has been done by Portugal and not the Portuguese Prime Minister. Indeed, the less the latter talks of "the pattern of our moral sensitivity" the better it would be for his reputation and that of his country.

If Dr. Salazar is so sure of the "definite individuality" of the people of Goa "formed there down the centuries by the interpenetration of cultures and by the crossing of various races", he should have offered what the Dutch are offering to the West Irians, freedom to choose their destiny under UN auspices. This he failed to do and thus failed to put India in the wrong. Not only that. In failing to do so he proclaimed his affinity with Soviet Russia. After all, the western Powers cannot call themselves democrats or form a democratic bloc successfully, if they stand for denial of the right of the people to choose their rulers, like Soviet Russia.

It is Portugal that is weakening the collective defence system against Soviet Russia and thus playing the latter's game. Dr. Salazar has thus little reason to complain of the "paralysis of the so-called collective defence system" and his refusal to recognise the "fait accompli" in Goa will only be an indication that Portugal in her shortsightedness continues to ply the Com-

munist game. It will be interesting to hear from Dr. Salazar what it is that his country ultimately stands for. Rule by force or with the consent of the people ruled? If the former, he is in alliance with Soviet Russia, whether he realises it or not. If the latter he has so far given no indication whatsoever of his attitude. In the former case, it would be a fine example of the meeting of extremes, both serving the same purpose. And it would be no credit to Dr. Salazar's intelligence for him to say that he does not see the point.

## PLEA FOR ROMAN SCRIPT

The National Integration Committee has recommended the adoption of the Roman script for a temporary period to promote emotional integration in the country, but is very doubtful if the proposal will be accepted. Jawaharlal Nehru in his autobiography tells us how he was in favour of the Roman script but had to give up pursuing the idea owing to the opposition the proposal created. The Madras intellectual and Education Minister, Mr. C. Subramanian, presiding over a function marking the publication of an anthology of Tamil poetry, a Sahitya Academy venture, also pleaded last year for the adoption of a common script by all Indian languages, suggesting that it should be the Roman script. It is well-known that Roman is the easiest script and some alphabets can be added to it for certain sounds found in the regional languages. It is equally well-known that the Devanagiri script is most complicated for reading and writing. It is, indeed, strange that while we all stand for every one reading at least three languages we are not prepared to make that easy for the common youth. In Europe people are able to learn more than one language easily because of the common script. The Roman script is already familiar all over the country and its adoption will make it easy for the South Indian to read north Indian languages and vice versa. The Roman script will act like a magnet, attracting the student to the unknown language through the known script.

Obviously it is for the Hindi-speaking people to adopt the proposal of the National Integration Committee first, because, for one thing, Hindi is the language spoken by the largest number of people, and, for another, because it is Hindi that is claiming for that reason for adoption as the common script of the country. It is for the Hindi-speaking people to show the same tolerance in the national interest which they expect



non-Hindi-knowing people to show in the matter of the adoption of the Hindi language as the national language and the Hindi script as the common script. They would thereby be furthering the cause of Hindi itself. Surely, tolerance is not a one-way traffic.

Obviously, again, people who stand for election in the Hindi-speaking areas cannot take up a stand for the Roman script, even if they are intellectually persuaded that it is for the good of the country, because of their chances in the elections being affected thereby. It is for the scholars who do not care for the votes of the people to take up cudgels on behalf of the Roman script for the good of the people and for enabling them to learn other Indian languages, which will take the people far towards national integration. Everybody knows that a known script attracts while an unknown script repels. It is all right for people to advise others to work hard, but that is always easier said than done. We must make things easy and not difficult if we want our advice to be followed. It is purely a practical question and should have nothing to do with patriotism so-called, which is really fanaticism and narrowmindedness, about which Maulana Azad used to say it is the "root of all evil". Let the teachers and professors, therefore, get together and proclaim the necessity of adopting the Roman script to facilitate the learning of several Indian languages by Indians. We Indians have a tendency to get bogged up in the means, forgetting the objective.

#### NEHRU'S DIATRIBE ON RAJAJI

Serious objection has been taken in New Delhi to the Prime Minister's unmannerly references in his last Press Conference to ex-Congress President and ex-Governor-General C. Rajagopalachariar. That only proves what those who know Mr. Nehru have been saying about him, that he gets excited at the mention of the name of an opponent. This is not exactly the virtue of a balanced personality, associated with his great father, and even with his sister, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit. Perhaps the Prime Minister thought he would be making a laughing stock of Rajaji by saying, "Nobody understands him, nor does he understand anybody", but all that he succeeded in doing was to make a laughing stock of himself. Polemics apart, no one can honestly deny that Rajaji is a truer, a much truer disciple of Mahatma Gandhi than Mr. Nehru is or ever was. In his Autobiography Mr. Nehru condemns almost all that Gandhiji stood for. But Mr. Nehru understood him all right and was often found shouting "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai". Was it only to shine in his reflected glory? He has gone on record saying, "We are what he made us". After that, if he says he does not understand Rajaji, there would appear to be something wrong again

with his professions.

And is it because Rajaji has at last begun to understand the Prime Minister that the latter says, as if in self-defence, "nor does he understand anybody"? It must have been Rajaji's affection for Mr. Nehru, as an old colleague, that prevents him from understanding him for a long time. For, love is proverbially blind. But Rajaji's patriotism has, happily for the country, triumphed over his affection. Rajaji's main fault is that he is growing popular in opposition to Mr. Nehru—a sign doubtless that the people do not understand him!—and is promoting an opposition party to him and that very successfully. That from the personal point of view is of course an inexcusable fault, and Mr. Nehru can seldom get out of the personal point of view. If anybody wants to understand Mr. Nehru he has to remember that, otherwise he will succeed only in misunderstanding him. That is something which pressmen are now beginning to understand, with a good deal of help, it must be acknowledged, from the Prime Minister himself.

Mahatma Gandhi used to refer to Rajaji as his "conscience-keeper"—a tribute which he paid no one else, not even Motilal Nehru. According to Mr. Nehru, Gandhiji must have been a fool to have selected a man "who does not understand anybody" for his conscience-keeper. And why was the man "who does not understand anybody" chosen by the Congress Party to be the Governor-General of the country and to be Mr. Nehru's boss, who could turn out Mr. Nehru any moment he liked? It would be interesting to know if Mr. Nehru himself was a party to that decision or was only saying "Yes" to Gandhiji everytime because it paid him to do so. Rajaji has ventured on a path which is not paying and all honour to him for that. Has Mr. Nehru ever stood for his convictions? If so, when? India's journalists would like to have an answer to that question, which is not absolutely immaterial.

### Book Review

**NEHRU: His Democracy and India: By Atulananda Chakrabarti. Published by Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 437. Price Rs. 25. Published on 1st July, 1961.**

This is a work of a mature thinker who made his debut into the literary world so long ago as 1934 with a book on cultural fellowship in India which was introduced by a Foreword by Professor S. Radhakrishnan. He received encouragement by Dr. Rabindranatha Tagore as well. And Mahatma Gandhi is said to have been struck by the author's quality and zeal. We called him a



man with a mission" and asked him in Harijan, May 1940 to fulfil it through speech and writing.

Hindus and Mussulmans in India, Call it Politics? Not by Politics Alone, Five and a half Lakh Villages on the Move, The Mahatma and his Men; (Three Volumes), The Second Five Year Plan, Asoka and the Young, Thoughts on Indian Education..Z..these are listed among his previous publications. The title reveals the intense interest of the author in the current problems of national reconstruction and the comprehensive range of his reflections.

The present work is a thoughtful and informed review (largely critical) of the role being played by Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister as the moulder of India's life and destiny from before the days of independence right up to July 1961. The book was finished too early to note the Police Action of December 19 resulting in the liberation of Goa.

The book is cast into a historical and scientific setting that focuses the growth of India in democracy and modernism generally indicating the role played by Nehru and Gandhi in the complex national drama.

It shows the divergence of mental climate between the Mahatma and Nehru from the very beginning. It shows the way in which Gandhi was betrayed by Nehru and companions in the acceptance of Partition.

A major thesis of the book is that Nehru's socialism was and is an unnecessary diversion of the democratic stream of thought and aspirations of Gandhi and Congress and liberal India. It stemmed more from the personal influence of Nehru and his Leftist inspiration than from the necessities of progress.

Mr. Chakrabarti makes the point that democracy has been abandoned in essence even before being given a fair chance. He thinks that democracy understood in its genuine spiritual meaning is sufficient to guide the growth of the nation in humanitarianism, social justice and freedom for all.

But he does not in spite of the several chapters he gives to the subject, develop his theme in any convincing way. It is true that nationalism and democracy together can be developed to lead to a progressive, just and harmonious society affording opportunities for the development of personality to all citizens. It is arguable that nationalism and democracy understood in terms of humanist values are capable of overcoming class war by the offer of creative justice to the underdog and developing social solidarity and so bypassing Marxism. This is a valid point but needs more ample justification and clarification than is given here.

The author suggests that Lincoln's formula of government of the people, by the people and for the people should be supplemented with the idea of "with the people" to round off democracy into a perfect organic whole. Opportunities should be provided for the people to participate in governance in a day-to-day manner through representative committees that are consulted at all stages of policy making. This would break down the isolation of the citizen from the government in the intervals of general elections.

There is a useful chapter on ancient Political Thought showing the roots of constitutionalism in Indian political tradition down the ages.

The book concludes with a critical chapter on Foreign Policy in which the unpracticality and personal nature of Nehru's attitudes are shown as resulting in a betrayal of national interests.

The book is a further welcome sign that the intelligentsia is at long last waking up and realising the unreality and danger of Nehru's leadership domestic as well as foreign.

The Five Year Plans and their socialist inspiration are also subjected to searching criticism.

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## Gleanings from the Press

### GOA IS RED'S VICTORY OVER NATO AND INDIA

The way Krishna Menon continues to antagonise the Press, the people will be turning against India, even if their Governments maintain a semblance of friendship. Ultimately in democracies, the Government will begin to conform to the dispositions of the people. This may have very serious consequences. First the Third Plan, which depends on aid from Free countries will be left in ruins. Secondly Food supplies which we are receiving as gifts will be withheld on one excuse or another, making our famine nearly as serious as that of China. Thirdly components and raw materials for Industries, so rashly established, will only be available on foreign exchange, which we cannot afford. Not only will idle capacities of factories increase but there will be, on one hand shortage of consumer goods and on the other marked unemployment. Fourthly, our defence against China and Pakistan may be affected if our equipment, which is mortgaged for spare parts and consumable supplies is stymied, as our Canberra planes were in Congo for lack of bombs and our Jet planes in Bangalore for lack of engines. It is probably this that has pleased China to the extent of congratulating us on vacating the aggression in Goa. The communists have succeeded in driving a wedge between India and

the countries which were helping its development so far. They will do everything to widen the wound till we come to depend completely on Communist countries. Goa is their victory over NATO and it may ultimately be their victory over India. If this is realised both Nehru and Menon should stop shooting their mouths, hoping the world will forget if not forgive a "fat accompli", however much it is disliked.

—Insight

## News & Views

### **MASANI DEPLORES NEHRU'S "CHEAP JIBES" AGAINST SWATANTRA PARTY NEHRU CHALLENGED TO COMMENT ON PARTY MANIFESTO**

MADRAS,

THE Swatantra Party had no intention of entering into any kind of coalition with the ruling party, Mr. Minoó R. Masani, its General Secretary, said here. His party was, on the other hand, keen on ending Congress rule.

In reply to Mr. Nehru's query whether the Swatantra Party belonged to the 19th or the 15th century, Mr. Masani said that the Swatantra Party belonged to the latter part of the 20th century, but the Congress belonged to the first quarter of the 20th century. Mr. Nehru was "mentally stagnated" and his economic thinking was good only for the early 30's of this century.

This was evident from his own "misguided and wrong" statement describing the economic scene in the United States where, according to him (Mr. Nehru), State enterprises flourished to a much larger extent than in India. This description was wrong, Mr. Masani said. Production in the U.S. was entirely in the hands of private enterprise.

#### **PERMIT FOR EVEN A PIN**

The private entrepreneur in the U.S. did not require any licence to start any kind of factory while in India he would have to go round the corridors of the New Delhi Secretariat to get a permit for producing even a pin.

He went on to say that Mr. Nehru's pointless criticism of the Swatantra Party by caricaturing its leaders was "unworthy of the Prime Minister of a great nation." It would be useful if Mr. Nehru referred to the points raised in the Swatantra Party's manifesto—which, incidentally, had been accepted as the best among the election manifestos—and commented on them.

Nevertheless, Mr. Masani said, Mr. Nehru's

reference to the Swatantra Party at Patna had been provoked largely by the fears of local Congressmen about the Swatantra party's popularity in Bihar. This was certainly complimentary to the new party.

### **'IDEOLOGIES ARE INVOLVED, NOT PERSONS' —KRIPALANI**

#### **SCHISM SEEN IN CONGRESS ON SUPPORT TO MENON**

THE contest in the North Bombay Parliamentary Constituency was not a personal conflict between himself and Mr. Krishna Menon, but was essentially a conflict between two ideologies—one emphasising the integrity of the country and the other encouraging the forces of subversion—, declared Mr. J. B. Kripalani in Bombay.

Addressing a public meeting at Vikrholi, he said that in putting up Mr. Menon as a candidate from North Bombay the wishes of Congressmen from the suburbs were flouted by the Congress High Command and as such Mr. Menon did not represent even the party which had put him up as its candidate.

Mr. Kripalani, in the course of his speech, stated that Mr. Menon was a crypto-communist. As evidence of this, Mr. Kripalani told the gathering that when the people of India were engaged in the "Quit India" movement in 1942 Mr. Menon had opposed the same in England.

#### **ASSOCIATION WITH REDS**

He further pointed out that because of his close association with the communists in England the British Labour Party had taken action against him. Even after the Chinese aggression Mr. Menon has not condemned the attitude of the Indian communists. Indian communists had reciprocated by deciding to support Mr. Menon's candidature in North Bombay, he added.

Mr. Kripalani reminded the audience that Congressmen were divided in their attitude to Mr. Menon's candidature, but communists and their fellow-travellers were actively supporting him.

Mr. Kripalani reaffirmed his view that Mr. Menon was seeking to drive India into the communist camp.

Referring to the liberation of Goa, Mr. Kripalani expressed the view that though the action in Goa was welcome it had come up as a result of pressure from opposition parties and Mr. Menon could not make any political capital out of it.

#### **MADHYA PRADESH CONGRESS PARTY**

##### **CHIEF RESIGNS**

BHOPAL, Dec. 28—Mr. Moolchandra Deshlehra has confirmed the reports that he had resigned the presidency of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

Mr. Deshlehra said he had resigned because he felt there was lot of bitterness over the selection of Congress nominees for the general election.

The executive committee of the State Congress passed a resolution expressing its confidence in Mr. Deshlehra.

The resolution said there was no other person who could conduct the election campaign in the State as efficiently as Mr. Deshlehra.

**1,400 LEAVE CONGRESS, JOIN SWATANTRA INDORE**—One thousand and four hundred Congress workers led by Mr. Kastur Chand Chaudhri, president of the Mandsaur District Congress Committee, have resigned from the Congress and joined the Swatantra Party, according to announcement from the Swatantra Party here.

The announcement said that the secretary of the Mandsaur Jan Sangh, Mr. Umrao Singh Chaudhry, and the secretary of the Socialist Party, Mr. Qureshi, along with his followers, have also joined the Swatantra Party.

#### **ENGLISH AS WELDER OF FREE, UNITED INDIA**

#### **GOVERNOR'S TRIBUTE TO LANGUAGE AT LITERATURE SEMINAR**

MR. SRI PRAKASA suggested in Bombay that Indians would do well to bear in mind that it was English that had helped them to be a free and united nation and opened for them the gates of Western thought.

He made the suggestion while inaugurating the English Literature Seminar jointly sponsored by the British Council and the University of Bombay. He held that politically Indians were never one people, "not until the British made us one." The English language, he said, had been a "great and valuable instrument" in making India one country.

The Governor pointed out that a close study of history would show that although Indians were not a cowardly people, as they readily staked their lives to uphold personal honour or in defence of religion. It is through the English language and the English people," he said, "that we learned to love freedom and to value patriotism."

While he conceded that under the aegis of Swaraj it would be difficult to spread the use of English in India, he hoped that all concerned would see to it that English, an international language, would be kept alive in the country.

#### **DUTY OF INTELLIGENTSIA TO FIGHT COMMUNIST IDEALS SPANISH SAVANT ON CULTURAL VALUES**

DR SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, the well-known Spanish writer and philosopher, said in

Bombay on Wednesday that he considered that the election of politicians and statesmen by massive votes" in democratic countries "makes political life an abomination of the spirit."

He argued that a nation was not a mere conglomeration of people but an integration of its institutions, and that a mere counting of votes in a statistical sense did not represent real democracy.

Dr. Madariaga, who was speaking on "Arts, Science and Modern Man" at the University Convocation Hall, said that intellectuals should consider it their primary duty to fight communism, as it represented the greatest threat to freedom of thought and placed economics above humanity.

The visitor, who spoke at length on individual and collective cultures, held that the element of uniqueness in individual culture was mankind's most precious possession, and that therefore it had to be preserved at all costs. He held that the fundamental value of the appreciation of the world was not utilitarian and therefore, it would be a sad day for the world if human beings ceased to appreciate beauty, truth and goodness—which were valuable in themselves but useless in a utilitarian sense.

He also wanted that collective culture, which was the sum total, a synthesis, of individual cultures, should be guarded against nationalistic bias, to avoid stifling it without the freedom required to make it fertile.

#### **ABSOLUTE POWER ABSOLUTELY TERRIFIES**

The Congress High Command has been informed that some of the Rajasthan princes are prepared to get their wives and brothers to dissociate themselves from the Swatantra Party, if they are assured that their privy-purses will not be reduced. If such an undertaking is given, some Swatantra candidates may withdraw from the elections.

—Link

#### **BLACK MARKETS FLOURISHING IN COMMUNIST CHINA**

MACAO,—Communist China now has flourishing black markets, recent visitors to the mainland report.

A package of 20 American cigarettes is sold in Canton, South China's biggest city, for Rs. 7.70 and a two-ounce can of Hong Kong-made pork for Rs. 3.80.

These imported goods, according to the visitors, are sold freely on the so-called "free market" without Communist interference.

"Apparently, these free markets have degenerated to blackmarkets selling imported goods as well as such traditional Chinese delicacies such

as sharks' fins and abalone", one visitor said.

The Chinese Communist authorities allowed farmers to set up "free markets" to sell their farm produce early this year, after the "big leap forward" and "people's commune" campaigns had backfired.

Refugees from Shanghai also report black markets flourishing in that city. "You can buy practically anything there, from peanut oil to British bicycles," one refugee said.

#### U.K. GINGER GROUP BID TO RESTORE 'GREATNESS'

LONDON.—A new Right-wing political ginger group which aims "to give Britain a lead in restoring her moral standards and former greatness" opened a campaign for membership here yesterday.

The movement claims the support of about 100,000 people already and is spearheaded by the Right-wing London newspaper, *The New Daily*.

In a full-page advertisement in the *Guardian* the group, which calls itself the National Fellowship, set itself 12 main tasks.

Among these tasks one was the elimination of Communism in Britain, a curtailment of the welfare State—which was "breeding a nation of idlers" and the building up of the nation's hydrogen bomb resources.

#### OLD THREAT IN NEW GARB

HYDERABAD,

Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, said here that the "Ittehadul Muslimeen" of Hyderabad was the same old "Razakar" organisation but in a different garb.

He was inaugurating the Congress election campaign at a public meeting here this evening.

Mr. Desai said the "Ittehadul Muslimeen" claimed to speak and work for the Muslims. He regretted that communal outlook should persist even so many years after the partition of the country. It was high time it was realised that India today was a secular State where all citizens irrespective of any consideration of caste or community enjoyed equal rights and opportunities, Mr. Desai said.

The "Ittehadul Muslimeen," which spearheaded the movement for independent Hyderabad through the Razakar organisation before the police action, was revived by the Razakar leader Kasim Razvi after his release from prison in 1958 and before he left for Pakistan. The party announced sometime ago that it would contest the general elections.

#### CONGRESS FAVOURITISM VS. SWATANTRA HONEST COMPETITION

The Swatantra Party is pledged to the guarantee of freedom of occupation and to the pro-

tection of property in what is lawfully acquired and held—protection of profession and property in general, and not protection of profession and property for a favoured few which is the instrument of Congress Power. The Swatantra Party is pledged to what were solemnly guaranteed in the Constitution and will work for the restoration of those guarantees where, by amendment, these have been taken away.

It is a melancholy paradox that the ruling party uses the most sinister form of competition without a pang of conscience, while it gives up the principle of competition where it is truly beneficial to the nation. It stands unabashed for competition in favours, while it thoughtlessly throws away the most precious and the most essential instrument of good and increasing production, viz., honest competition and the judgment of the market. The nation should reject a party that stands for a scheme of favours and vote for the Constitution.

—C. R. in Swarajya.

#### INDIA'S DOUBLE STANDARD

The Indian delegation abstained and did not even speak when the U. N. General Assembly discussed the Malayan resolution expressing concern at the violation of fundamental rights in Tibet. This was despite a formidable case against China built up by many delegates on the basis of the report submitted by the International Commission of Jurists on which, as the U. S. delegate pointed out, there were three Indians. The Malayan delegate held that the General Assembly had no less competence to consider the violation of human rights in Tibet as the apartheid in South Africa.

In attacking U.S. motives for seeking to condemn China for the events in the Tibet, the Soviet delegate—to India's embarrassment—placed the U.S. criticism of India concerning Goa on the same plane as the U.S. criticism of China for the repression in Tibet. He also hinted that everyone speaking of repression in Tibet, including members of the Jurists Commission, were in pay of the U.S. Government. Even this did not provoke comment from the Indian delegation.

—Hindustan Times,

#### LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

November: Dr. Krishnaswamy lectured on Current Politics.

December: Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture on national integration in its sociological context of communication.

22, Dec.: Sri Philip Spratt lectured on Socialism in Retreat in the Bangalore Libertarian Social Institute.

**FORUM OS FREE ENTERPRISE**

A Bombay student, Mr. R. Varadarajan of R. A. Podar College of Commerce & Economics has been awarded the First Prize of Rs. 250/- in the essay competition for students on "The Role of Profit Motive in Economic Development" sponsored by the Forum of Free Enterprise. The Second Prize was awarded to Mr. M.P. Krishnan Kutty, of Madras, and the Third Prize to Mr. K. R. Madi, of Dharwar.

Six consolation prizes of Rs. 25/- each were also awarded.

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