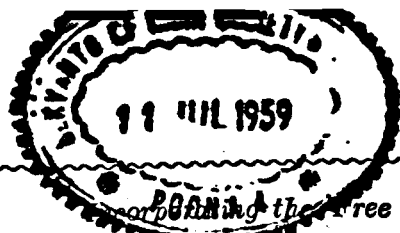


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EDITORIAL

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLT AGAINST THE REDS IN KERALA

THE deep dissatisfaction and anger of the people in Kerala with their communist government has come to a head. The obnoxious provisions of the Education Act which seek to control private education in Kerala is only the straw that broke the camel's back or spark that set fire to the all-pervading discontent that has grown from the first day of the assumption of authority by the communist party.

The struggle that began on the 12th June with the picketing of schools and offices by the followers of the Nair Service Society and the Catholic churches soon passed into graver channels with the Government's resort to police firing in three places.

The Government had made elaborate preparations to put down the popular challenge to their authority. They had alerted the military; they had recruited and armed a Home Guard, temporary police, mostly out of reliable communist cadets. They had appealed to Nehru to safeguard the democratic constitution. The Defence Minister spoke of the necessity to maintain law and order.

There is much confusion regarding the true objectives of the people's wrath and the strength of the organisations that are leading them.

One remarkable feature of the crisis is the well-nigh universality of the opposition. All sections of the people seem to be responding to the lead of Mannath Padmanabhan the Nair leader and the Catholic authorities.

There has been a split between the Nair groups and the Thiya or Ezhava groups recently on the score of the continuation of reservation of jobs in the administration to the latter beyond the ten years period determined upon at the time of passing the present constitution in 1950. Mr. Padmanabhan himself had agitated for such reservation to them 25 years ago on the ground of their backwardness. But today the Thiyas have advanced and come abreast of the advanced groups in the matter of education and participation in the services and commerce. But they wish to preserve their privileges and the communist government has won their support by promising reservation for a further period.

In fact, the communist government has abandoned its secular universalism and has carried the principle of caste and subcaste reservation of jobs to an unheard of point. Of course they have no compunctions in this matter since they have no consciousness of integral nationalism which is thwarted by such compartmentalisation in patronage. On the contrary, they are keen on splitting the nation into fragments in pursuit of their Soviet internationalism according to which all people's should come under the rule of Moscow as the Soviet fatherland. In fact, a Soviet picture shown in India some time ago began with a scene of Moscow bearing the legend: *Moscow—the Future Capital of the world!*

The most important feature of the Kerala revolt is thus the popular character revealed by it. The call of the Nair leader and the Catholic schools has aroused practically the whole of Kerala in their support.

All political parties—the Congress, the PSP, the RSP and even the Jana Sangh (that is still in its in-

fancy in Kerala) have found it expedient to identify themselves with the popular upsurge. The attempt of communist leaders in and out of Kerala to minimise the depth and width of the revolt and relegate it to the position of a few disgruntled minority is unconvincing.

CONSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS TO THE KERALA STRUGGLE

British and other foreign journals and observers have come out with the judgment that though the communist government is not loyal to the spirit of democracy (and only seek, as is well-known throughout the world, to use democracy to destroy it in the end), yet having allowed it to come to power through democratic channels, it should not be dismissed by mob action. To do so is to give democracy a deep shake and undermine it throughout India and the East.

The *direct action* now under way in Kerala—namely picketing of schools and government offices, they say is unconstitutional, since the democratic remedy of turning the government out either by a vote censure in the legislature or by defeat at the polls is open to everybody dissatisfied with the government.

Nehru had expressed uneasiness before the commencement of the struggle and had hoped that only constitutional means and methods would be resorted to by all concerned.

Nehru is concerned with the Kerala crisis in more capacities than one—(1) as Congress party chief (in substance and reality if not in form), (2) as the head of the Government of India responsible for keeping the country free from foreign influence through the CPI and (3) as a *socialist* favourable to the communist bloc as the leaders of progress. It remains to be

seen what advice he will give to the parties involved in Kerala—to the communist government, to the Congress party of the State and to the people generally.

Who will predominate in Nehru's personality in this trial—for it is a trial of his statesmanship—*Congressman*, *Head of the Indian Government* and guardian of national interests or *Socialist* with international sympathies anxious to socialise his country to bring it into the van of "progress" as the communists understand it?

The result will be known before we go to press. We may hazard the guess that the socialist in him will take the upper hand, that he will seek to subordinate the local Congress to his Policy and ask them to stop agitation and that he will fail to understand the truly universal and popular character of the revolt and take resort to abuse of "communalists" Nair and Catholic, the former more than the latter. The result will be the saving of the communist government from the destruction they richly deserve and the frustration of popular forces and local political organisations. The rift between the people and the local political parties will widen. The Kerala people will have to seek new leadership and will pass through a period of confusion and discouragement. And democracy at the grass roots will have a sharp setback.

In all the speculation and ignorant advice and condemnation we are having in the Indian and foreign press, the nation is nowhere in the foreground of even the background. Democracy without nationalism implies universal humanism for which the world is not yet ripe. Today, each nation has to fend for itself.

The paramount consideration in estimating the possibilities of the current crisis is therefore the effect that any settlement, right or wrong, is likely to have on *national security* by way of the effect it will have on the growth of the Communist Party of India. A wrong decision will give it a filling all over India.

Once before, Nehru made himself responsible for the opportunity he gave for the CPI to rehabilitate itself in the national eye by allowing them to participate in the elections of 1951, though their guerilla war in Telengala had hardly ceased and they had hardly completed their surrender of arms. Their word that they would be *good, non-violent democrats* thereafter given to Acharya Vinoba Bhave in prison where he visited some of their leaders was accepted by Nehru.

To-day they have shown their alignment with international communism in their acceptance of the Chinese lead in the matter of Tibet in preference to that of the Indian people and Government. But Nehru will ignore this and will harp on the constitution and give them the benefit of democratic rights.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has taken the line that the Congress party should not participate in the direct action struggle against the democratically constituted government of Kerala. He thinks that it would set a precedent to communists and others to upset governments in other States. A government returned to power by the votes of a million people could be destroyed by the direct action or mob attack of twenty thousand disaffected persons, says Rajaji. This would

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bring *insecurity* to *all* governments, at the Centre and in the States and should not be countenanced by the Congress party.

This argument is identical with that urged by the British press such as The Manchester Guardian.

THE ATTITUDE OF LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES

All local political parties have declared support to the popular upsurge and have forged a United Front. It may be recalled that even at the very outset more than a year ago, the Defence Minister had asked them *not to combine* in a United Front against the communist government. He was more anxious to preserve communist power than to strengthen Congress influence or even national unity.

But the local Congressmen are on the spot and *feel the pinch of the shoe*. They have found that to keep aloof now from the fury of the popular revolt is to liquidate their hold on the people and commit political suicide. The people have legitimate grievances and not to voice them is to betray them.

The local Congressmen are surprised at the universality of the people's reaction and naturally wish to use it for retaining their lead. So too the PSP, the RSP and the Muslim League.

Mr. Dhebar had reported unequivocally against the Communist Government. The charge sheet prepared against them now by the Kerala Congress only numbers the counts mentioned by Mr. Dhebar. A surprising thing in this matter is the wonderful alignment of *all communal forces*—The Nairs, the Catholics, the Anglo-Indians and the Muslim League as well. The Nair leader, who is worshipped by the Nairs and others more than ever Mahatma Gandhi was by the people in general has asked that the Thiya schools should not be picketed and the S.N.G.D.P. of the Ezhavas too has responded sympathetically and asked its followers not to oppose the popular movement against the communist government. The Nairs too have softened with regard to the Ezhava claims for preferment in the services and are inclined to make common cause with them in the national interest.

The most hopeful feature therefore is the softening of communal barriers and the emergence of a *national resistance* to the communist evil and threat to national life and culture—why even to *normal civil life and human rights*.

The threat of the communists has gone deeper than political rights. It has touched the basic conditions of life and liberty and property.

The communist party men have assaulted opponents and even murdered them. They have bent the police and the administrative personnel to their will. They have filled the party coffers with government money by various devices and deals. They have enriched party men through liberal grants to so-called co-operatives, excluding others from such preserves. An atmosphere of *insecurity* has hung over Kerala from the very first days of communist rule as acknowledged even by Nehru.

The people found that none of the parties was able

to bring any succour to them. The Education Act sought to give control over teachers to the government. The nationalised textbooks sought to indoctrinate the young. Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan who has built up his 4,000 schools and colleges in rivalry with the Christians was inspired by the patriotic cultural renaissance of the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Movement and is shocked at the new materialism and alien personality worship of the chelas of Moscow.

The source of the resistance is therefore indigenous and national. Those who neglect it put themselves down as unrepresentative of the dominant national feeling of the Kerala people.

The movement has shown that the communists have blundered in displeasing every section of the people. This opportunity should be taken to dislodge them from power.

In this matter, Mr. K. M. Munshi (who calls for a declaration of emergency by the President and the assumption of power by him as the right solution) is nearer the essence of the situation than the foreign advisers and Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

The benefit of the Constitution cannot be given to a government avowedly determined to undermine its spirit. The Government of Kerala has *undermined the constitution* from the first day of its charge when it discharged hundreds of criminals from the jails. Murder is not murder to them if committed by their party men. They cannot be dislodged through the polls as they will control the election machinery as at Devicolam.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

First-Class Scout: "Did you read about the Scout who swallowed his teaspoon?"

Tenderfoot: "No, what happened to him?"

First-Class Scout: "Oh, he can't stir!"

* * *

Bus Conductor (calling from upper deck): "Is there a mackintosh down there big enough to keep two young ladies warm?"

Voice from Below: "No, but there's a Macpherson that's willing to try."

* * *

Found in the ads.—For Sale—A violin, by a young man in good condition, except for a loose peg in the head.

* * *

It pays to advertise.—Dilip: "Can't understand why you failed in business."

Ajit: "Too much advertising."

Dilip: "What do you mean—too much advertising." "You never spent a pie in your life on advertising."

Ajit: "That's true, but my competitors did."

Profit Motive Vs. Power Motive

By M. N. Tholal

Prime Minister Nehru has been condemning the profit motive so frequently that it is legitimate to inquire if it is the worst of all the motives that constitute the mainsprings of human action, and therefore rightly and richly deserves the castigation of the great Indian Socialist. It may be said that the only other motive which moves human beings on an almost equally large, if not larger, scale, is the power motive—the desire to dominate over others. This motive is present even in children, as any observer of the young can testify. The mild, gentle and yielding type can be easily differentiated from the aggressive and the domineering, who want to be obeyed by others. Refusal to obey on the part of others is often followed by resort to violence on the part of the domineering, and constitutes by far the greater cause of quarrels among the young. As we grow old and realise that we have no right to exact obedience from others and the theory of equality of men is dinned into our ears with the motto "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," the desire for domination assumes subtler forms, and violence is replaced by cunning devices to persuade the unwilling to render willing obeisance.

PASSION FOR DICTATORSHIP

There can be no doubt that the profit motive has been responsible for the widespread colonialism which followed the industrial revolution in Europe. This was summed up in the saying: Trade follows the flag. That was so because the flag could impose restrictions or even a ban on trade. But the passion for dictatorship, which accounted for the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in France and in our own times of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy and Gandhi in India, has been responsible for bloodshed on an even larger scale than any colonial war—and bloodshed, it must be emphasized here, is the only criterion of evil for those who want peace on earth. The handiwork of Napoleon, Hitler and Mussolini is fairly well-known, but our own Dictator functioned in a loin cloth (since we are a spiritual nation) with non-violence on his lips and his ukases were carried out with the help not of the sword but of fasts unto death and a species of political-cum-spiritual jugglery unparalleled in the history of the world.

For example, his non-violence in thought, word and deed did not prevent him from espousing the cause of the restoration to his throne of a Caliph who had been responsible for the murder of a million Christians in the Armenian massacre (the apostle of non-violence fighting under the flag of a Caliph who perpetrated the Armenian massacre must have been a sight for the gods!) while that same non-violence abruptly suspended in 1922, because of the murder of a few policemen, the greatest movement against British authority at a time when the whole nation was behind him and the Viceroy had publicly confessed he was puzzled and

perplexed. Almost at the same time he told a French philosopher on a visit to India: "I do not work for the freedom of India: I work for non-violence", and acknowledged the truth of the statement in the columns of his own weekly, *Young India*. A man who was espousing the cause of the bloodthirsty Caliph, Sultan Abdul Hamid, cannot be said to have been stating the truth when he said he was working for non-violence.

BOGUS DELEGATES

Gandhi's whole life was exclusively devoted to one supreme end—his own supremacy in the country. That brought him in conflict with his own lieutenants, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, and later, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose on one side and Mohammad Ali Jinnah on the other. He had to capitulate to Motilal Nehru and Das. A decade later he faced a similar capitulation to the younger Nehru and Subhas Bose but he won Nehru over by promising him succession to the leadership of the country—as if the country was his property—and isolated Bose who ultimately left the country to seek avenues of service to the motherland outside her lap. Within the country he could not have remained free because Gandhi himself was indirectly accusing him of violence by emphasizing his fundamental differences with him and thus giving a broad hint to the Government. And thus the battle for the freedom of the country became a battle between Gandhi and Jinnah. We all know how the latter won.

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

With two great communities living in India professing conflicting religions, a religious conflict in India was never out of the question. Statesmanship and patriotism alike therefore demanded a very cautious approach where religion was concerned. But Gandhi was anxious to put other leaders in the shade and the dethronement of the Caliph gave him an opportunity to have himself acclaimed as the leader of the Muslims. His enthusiasm over the Khilafat baffled Muslim leaders themselves, who could not understand it. It was with the support of the Muslim taxi-drivers of Calcutta that he and his lieutenants made sure of victory at the special session of the Congress which approved Gandhi's non-cooperation programme. (It was possible then to have as many delegates enrolled as could be persuaded to part with the delegation fee—even the delegation fee in this case was provided by Khilafatists anxious to capture the Congress for their cause.)

We have seen the Caliph's concern for non-violence: the impact of the Khilafat agitation on Muslim fanaticism any man in the street could have foretold. Yet with an irresponsibility amazing in a leader of a country with conflicting religions he proudly wrote to Romain Rolland: "I am introducing religion into politics". He might have as well said: "I am introducing internecine warfare into politics."

"HINDU FIRST"

But the immediate objective for which he was working so impatiently, and which was the *raison d'être* of his irresponsibility—that of unchallenged supremacy in leadership—was attained. For the time being both the Hindus and the Muslims were highly pleased with him. He said, "I am a Hindu first and everything else afterwards", while his Maulana friends, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, as if for the sake of reciprocity, shouted from the housetops, "We are Muslims first and everything else afterwards." This is what happened to the noble organisation built up by Naoroji, Surendranath Banerji and Gokhale. Why? Because the power motive was in full swing. Patriotic considerations were nowhere in the picture. Every decision the Mahatma reached had the previous approval of the Muslim divines of India and was later rubber-stamped by their "fatwas". Thus the edifice of his national leadership rose on the sandy foundations of Muslim fanaticism. There was only one man of note courageous enough to warn Gandhi publicly. He was Mohammad Ali Jinnah. At the Nagpur Congress (1920) he said: "For God's sake, Mr. Gandhi, do not mix religion with politics". For this sound advice he became the most unpopular man in India.

In many respects Jinnah was the opposite of Gandhi. His ambition was to be a Muslim Gokhale and there was a time when he used to say: "I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards." It was he who brought the League and the Congress together in 1916 at Lucknow and the Congress League Pact was the result. Even popular anger against him, after the Gandhian era began in the Congress in 1920, did not make him lose his balance. It was with his support that Motilal Nehru threw out the Finance Bill several times in the Legislative Assembly where he once asked Government: "What do you want? Do you want Pandit Motilal Nehru to come to you on bended knees?" He was in the forefront in the condemnation of the all-white Simon Commission when it was appointed. But since he refused to wear khadi or call Gandhi, Mahatma, he was *persona non grata* with Congress leaders and the campaign of villification that went on for decades in the Indian Press against Jinnah was, if anything, evidence only of the communalism of the proprietors and conductors of the newspapers of those days.

RESIGNATION FROM CONGRESS

Indeed, if the truth is to be told, Gandhi's own addresses during his tours of the country in the twenties after his release from prison furnish a good deal of evidence of the Mahatma's communalism. A perusal of the second volume of Tendulkar's *Mahatma* confirms this. With the collapse of the Khilafat agitation after the suspension of the non-cooperation movement and the abolition of the Khilafat by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Gandhi must have realised that he had lost his hold on Mussalmans. He reacted to this by swinging to the other extreme by frequent laudatory references to local gods and goddesses in order doubtless to strengthen his weakening hold on the people. The mystic spinning wheel became our atom bomb. After the death of Motilal Nehru he

threw all scruples overboard and threw the responsibility for the failure of the 1930-32 movement squarely on Jawaharlal Nehru and others like him who, instead of spinning, were reading and writing in jail. And he (who claimed the right to conduct movements from inside prison and resorted to fasts there on all possible excuses) had come to the conclusion that he alone had in him the making of a satyagraha and one true satyagrahi was enough—more than enough—to win swaraj for the country.

Resignation from the Congress naturally followed but not the closest dictatorship over that body (!) as was proved in the tussle that ended in the resignation of Premier Khara of C. P. and the forced resignation from presidentship of the Congress of Subhas Chandra Bose on whose election to that office Gandhi let the cat out of the bag by declaring in an unguarded moment: Patabhi's defeat is my defeat! (Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya was Bose's rival in the contest). Gandhi had apparently forgotten that as the sole satyagrahi who had to win swaraj for India single handed he had to develop non-violence as the mightiest of all weapons (to beat the British as well as Bose and Jinnah) by developing the qualities inherent in him as a satyagrahi. If the example he gave was any indication, obviously a true satyagrahi's stock-in-trade consisted of fraud and subterfuge.

What Gandhi could not stand was defiance of his views. Yet there never has lived another man whose writings or speeches are so full of absurd statements on almost all subjects on earth. It is hardly a tribute to our intelligence as a nation that a man who talks tommy rot—there is no other phrase for it—becomes so dear to our heart. That state of things continues under the auspices of his successor.

HINDU-MUSLIM ENMITY

I was trying to illustrate my observation in the first paragraph that "as we grow old... the desire for domination assumes subtler forms and violence is replaced by cunning devices to persuade the unwilling to render willing obeisance." These devices, while they are successful with some, antagonise others. And that is what happened. In his efforts to please the Hindus by evening prayers and the like, he further antagonised Muslims whom he had roused from their slumber of ages and communal riots became a chronic feature of life making Hindus and Muslims enemies of each other. That was the one certain result of his leadership. A Hindi proverb says: *Chaubeyji Chhabbey banne gaye, Dubey hoke laut aaye.* (A Pandit learned in the four Vedas went to become master of six Vedas and came back as master of two).

As if that was not enough, he approved in 1937 the double-crossing by the Congress in U.P. of the Muslim League with which the Congress had come to a gentlemen's agreement regarding the formation of a coalition cabinet in case the two together succeeded in beating the combination of landholders and business magnates. Surprisingly enough the Congress by itself secured a thumping majority and showed the thumb to the League with the Mahatma's and Nehru's

(Continued on page 6)

Swatantra Party

By M. A. Venkata Rao

AT Last a new party to function as an opposition to the ruling Congress party has seen the light of day with favourable chances of success. People were demanding such a party for years now. Apart from the standpoint of emotional attachment to tradition, Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji delineated the outlines of a viable economic and political philosophy and programme in founding the Jana Sangh. His blueprint of economic development without socialism but incorporating the essentials of social security and labour-capital unity in profit-sharing (and management participation) still stands as the open door to a viable future. But the special problems of his time—viz., the fate of the refugees thrown out of Pakistan-held areas, the need for assimilating Kashmir, the need for a more positive foreign policy defending the interests of Indians abroad and less favourable to the camp of international communism, the need for a radical change of policy towards Pakistan and Pan-Islam in general pushed the economic and political or democratic contents of Jana Sangh's platform into the background.

But today the way in which socialism has been built into national policy since the Avadi declaration in 1954 and has come to dominate economic and social reconstruction in terms of Five Year Plans of the Soviet Pattern has brought economic, administrative and even democratic problems to the fore. The results of the working of the Plans and the acceleration of the pace of socialist transformation and its spread into agriculture and rural relations have brought discontent to a head. Both industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy as well as the vast mass of middle class and lower middle class consumers and wage and salary earners are experiencing the unbearable

(Continued from page 5)

august approval. The point was that Jinnah should not have a finger in the pie. The banner of Pakistan was unfurled and we know the consequences. Even after Pakistan had been conceded, and there was no *casus belli*, a million were murdered and ten millions uprooted from their homes, losing their all in the greatest catastrophe of our land and one of the greatest in history—and all this because of the Mahatma's insistence on the purity of the means which no one else could understand much less implement.

That is only one example of the functioning of the power motive and Jawaharlal Nehru as the joint performer with Gandhi is surely aware of what power motive can do! Even today power motive is rampant in disregard, as usual, of all our declared principles and objectives. Our Prime Minister is often found supporting the powers who are trying to uproot from the world the principles which, according to his own repeated declarations, he holds so dear. That is perhaps what constitutes our moral approach to international problems.

able suffering of high prices and inflation (added to unemployment that has remained scarcely affected by the new employment offered by the Big Projects of the Plans One and Two). Also, the saving and investing classes are finding their margins diminish, margins of income above expenses as well as dividend levels owing to the increased costs of production all round.

On the 30th May in Bangalore and 4th June in Madras two informal meetings were held of leaders from many walks of life (both) under the guidance of Shri Rajaji. Shri Rajaji was reluctant owing to his age to lead the new party proposed directly. But his published utterances and his speeches had already committed him in the public eyes to the opposition point of view and to the idea of an opposition political party as a rival claimant to the suffrages of the people, not merely as a focus of public criticism.

Two groups came together in these informal gatherings. One was the industrial group symbolised by The Forum of Free Enterprise and the other was the rural element represented by the All-India Agriculturists' Federation. Mr. Masani and Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan figured prominently in the former and Sardar Lal Singh and Mr. Jinaraja Hedge in the latter. A number of retired officials like Mr. V. P. Menon were also in the picture.

The Madras meeting soon developed into a sponsoring gathering with Rajaji agreeing to *mother* the new party in public on the understanding that leaders able to give full time to the arduous and hazardous mission would take up the reins. On the agricultural side, in addition to Sardar Lal Singh (who however could not attend owing to illness), Hedge and Ramachandra Reddi, the gathering included Professor N. G. Ranga known for over twenty years as an outstanding leader of the Kisan movement with his headquarters in Andhra. He had presided over peasant gatherings and had openly opposed the Nagpur policy of co-operativisation of all farming.

Messrs. Bhailalbai Patel, Dadubhai Amin and P. D. Patel had come from the Gujerat area of Bombay and supported the idea of the new party. There was a representative from Orissa. Punjab sent telegraphic support as also U.P. and Bihar and other places. Madras contributed a sprinkling of retired officials, lawyers, journalists and business men. A couple of Bangalore business men were also in evidence.

There was much misgiving that the Prime Minister may not take kindly to the new party coming out into open opposition and his henchmen with or without his knowledge and countenance might harass supporters, particularly those from the ranks of business. But Rajaji's open support was felt to create sufficient strength to obviate much trouble, as his name would give direct access to Nehru and injustices and undemocratic harassment to fair and open debate could

be brought to his notice effectively. Sure enough, this anticipation was fulfilled dramatically when Nehru took notice of the new party the very next day from Ooty and formally welcomed it as enlivening political life in the country.

Thus both big business and big agriculture as well as intellectuals and administrators have rallied together in this new party.

Shri Rajaji was stressing for sometime before the meeting that the new party might very well cast itself into a *conservative* mould to operate as a check or brake to the ultra-radical run-away socialism and communism of Nehru's Planners. But conservatism is today associated with *status quo*, *reaction* and opposition to modernism all along the way. What Rajaji is thinking of is conservatism with a sufficient consciousness of permanent human values built into traditional ways of life and the conventions and understandings of democratic functionings. In fact he wants to conserve the *Constitution* which is being eroded today by socialistic ideas of the liquidation of property and the supplantation of private occupations by the Government. But it is undeniable that he has also in mind the overall retention of the inspiration of religion and traditional morality with which spiritual values have come down to us from ancient times. But the modern person wants what is valid in spiritual values (namely morality in the sense of liberty, equality and fraternity) to be supported by a materialistic philosophy or at least by an attitude of religious neutrality stressing only the humanistic basis of morality.

Thus from the standpoint of philosophical orientation, there is no consensus among the elements sponsoring the new party. But this gulf can be kept in the background since the main fighting concerns threats to values nearer daily life such as high taxation, inflation, invasion of property and personal rights etc.

The draft manifesto that was passed at the Madras meeting puts the scope and contents of the Opposition Point of View succinctly and comprehensively.

The opposition is directed centrally against the socialistic pattern of society from which all current miseries spring needlessly setting sound administrative and financial procedures at naught. It is declared that social justice and welfare could be reached *more certainly* and properly in other ways than through the techniques of socialism.

Herein Rajaji and his associates are in line with the central conviction of libertarian thinkers both in India and abroad. "The Indian Libertarian" of India, "Freedom First" of Britain and "The Freeman" of America and a number of similar journals backed by thinkers imbued by the spirit of liberty have been putting forth ideas in criticism of collectivism which is not confined to communism. It is a universal trend that is contracting the sphere of individual liberty, responsibility and initiative even in America, the classic land of private enterprise. In fact, private enterprise is everywhere in disrepute with the exception of West Germany and Japan.

Mr. Masani is spearheading this opposition to socialism in terms of Indian administrative policies not neglecting the world trends towards liberalism in his speeches. He has delivered critical speeches in Bangalore, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay advocating a return to free economy though under limitations such as those of social security and mixed economy that seek to confine Government industry within narrow channels. This aspect of mixed economy has to be re-thought in the light of basic economic and democratic requirements. For if we concede mixed economy giving a right to the Government to take over sectors of the economy, there will be no place at which a barrier could be logically imposed on Governmental action. It is clear that the new party thinkers will have to take a lesson from libertarians and develop a philosophy of government that limits its legitimate functions to its historic sphere of law and order, justice and military defence from foreign aggression. Any intrusion of the Government into economic life should be temporary and short-lived and only in response to an emergency such as providing for fair price depots of food grains when free economy cannot function adequately on account of deficit production or availability.

There is next the socialist dogma of *class war* from which emerges all its ideas of the liquidation of property and the construction of an impossible egalitarian society. It is this idea that reconciles so many good men to the robbery of Peters to pay Pauls. The Swatantra party opposes this dogma with the Gandhian notion of the *trusteeship* of wealth and property. Of course the idea needs fundamental thinking. It needs thought about the unity of society and the function of the Government as the agent of the common good instead of being, as Marxism says, the agent of the possessing classes. Socialism envisages a classless state assuming that class hierarchy is inherently contradictory to social unity. It contemplates a unity *without differences* which is both *logically and factually impossible*. The new party thinkers have to reconcile class with social unity, as for example the kind of unity that is possible between capital and labour. The unity possible under socialism is that between the tiger and the cow *inside the body of the tiger*. Under capitalism, capital is the tiger whereas under socialism, labour is the tiger, according to the dialectic of Karl Marx.

Now trusteeship demands a policy of *co-existence* and *panchsheela* between capital and labour, the conditions and terms of which require to be clearly defined. There is much labour of thought yet before the new party founders. The spiritual and conservative background of Rajaji, the free economy of Mr. Masani and the demand of Professor Ranga for self-employed status to peasants and artisans and the demand of Sardar Lal Singh and large landowners and planters for free development of large scale economy in agriculture in the interests both of production and of liberty (without ceilings or high ceilings) are all sources both of strength and weakness to the new party. They bring strength immediately since they rally different ranks and groups and vocations towards

the new party promising freedom from the oppressions and threats of current policies. But they are a source of weakness since they do not spring from a common background of idea and feeling. In fact, the fraternity and equality that is neglected by liberal democracy in favour of production take revenge in socialism. The new leaders have to reconcile the conflicting aspects of democracy in ways satisfactory in terms of current practical policies.

Other aspects of the manifesto stress the need to lower taxation levels so that people might be left with some money to save and invest. Inflation and excessive borrowing are also deprecated.

In agriculture, the party stands for a regime of peasant proprietors the smaller of whom are to be assisted to acquire economic holdings through state aid. Service cooperatives based on peasant property rights are endorsed but joint cooperative farming envisaged in the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress is opposed frontally and bitterly as importing communism and the liquidation of property and individual freedom by the same token.

In industry and commerce, the new party manifesto expresses faith in the encouragement of incentives for higher production and expansion which are promoted by competitive enterprise. It stands for the restriction of state enterprise to heavy industries and the starting of pioneer industries where private enterprise is not prepared.

It announces that the amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution that made compensation for acquired properties nonjusticiable will be repealed if it comes to power.

It declares opposition to excessive bureaucracy proliferating in the name of welfare. It is opposed to the resulting Statism or collectivism.

There has been widespread response from most parts of the country to the new party. The leadership it has secured from Rajaji and the areas of economic life that have sponsored it—business class, agriculture and planting, the small self-employed peasant and artisan, free intellectuals that have been expressing themselves in favour of indigenous thinking instead of mechanical limitation of alien ideologies, retired administrators disgusted with current corruptions and harebrained procedures in policy making and professional men—doctors, lawyers, teachers etc. assure a growing future.

The party has sufficient appeal to the intelligentsia and of course to industry, commerce and agriculture to have fair opportunities for growth. But there is one lacunae—namely organised labour. Big labour is yet unrepresented in the new party.

Also the main trends of current world opinion in social and political matters is in favour of collectivism in the name of the common man and against the privileged and the well-to-do. Of course, it has to make headway against the immense influence of Shri Nehru.

Everything depends on the hard work put in by evergrowing bodies of dedicated men. Much new blood and youthful enthusiasm and day to day work on a high level of devotion are called for. Workers are needed—a party of leaders without an army of workers will not succeed. The country watches the fortunes of the new party with interest and even anxiety.

—:o:—

Compensation Or Expropriation

By Rustom C. Cooper

The Constitution of India guarantees fundamental rights to the citizens of India, but the working of this constitution has clearly shown that these rights have not been respected; on the contrary they have been violated by the authority. For example, in several cases the fundamental rights of the citizens to get a fair compensation upon acquisition of property have not been respected by some of the State Governments. In this connection the Prime Minister of India observed. "If we are to acquire property, I think we should pay just and equitable compensation." But the State Governments have rudely shaken our confidence in the Constitution and this becomes all the more so when one finds that the aggrieved party is completely and permanently helpless and devoid of any judicial remedy whatsoever. Cases have come to light in which the sentiments have been thwarted at the State Government level. The country is facing a grave danger by allowing a temporary majority in a State Legislature to abuse the fundamental rights of the citizens. The legislation in question is the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act 1953. Under this legislation estates and rights in agricultural estates of various landlords were acquired by the State of West

Bengal on 15th April 1955. Section 17 provides for the method of computing the compensation. It is based upon the graded scale merely depending upon the net income of the estates acquired. The section does not consider the expenditure incurred by the owner for the development. It also does not take into account the market value of lands on the date of acquisition. A further fact to be noticed is that a major portion of even this meagre amount of compensation will be paid in non-negotiable bonds bearing interest at only 3% whereas the prevailing rate of interest is much higher. Such bonds are repayable equally over a period of 20 years. In other words, this means that the owners have to wait for 20 years to receive even 1/10th of the original investment. This should act as a serious eye-opener to every citizen as it clearly indicates how doctrinaire thinking when allowed to tamper with the fundamental laws of the land can undermine some of the vital institutions like right to private property and leave citizens helpless before the Leviathan of the State. Every lover of democracy and economic progress should ponder over the wise words of a leading thinker "The freedom to
(Continued on page 22)

C. R.'s New Party & Libertarianism

By S. Ramanathan

All right thinking people in India should welcome the advent of the new party ushered in by Rajaji. The very fact that people belonging to the Jan Sangh, the P.S.P. and other parties professing various shades of Socialism have associated themselves with the move is a confession that all these have failed in their previous efforts to form an Opposition to the Congress and that they feel a fresh effort is needed if a genuine Opposition is to be built up to challenge the ruling party. Independent opponents of the Congress like Shri Masani, and those who have deliberately withdrawn from politics like Shri Jai Prakash Narain, have joined this new effort. Pandit Nehru, the leader of the ruling party, has blessed the venture because he feels acutely that the one party rule which he has fathered during the last ten years has undermined his pretensions to democracy. Democracy has no meaning whatever unless there are at least two rival political parties which are based upon genuine differences of principles and not merely of personalities and which are capable of taking over power and forming alternative Governments. It is an undisputed fact that there are only two giant parties in India to-day, neither of which is rooted in a political ideology or principle. The Congress and the Communists are totalitarians whose ideologies do not very much differ from each other. Communism is a kind of religion and not a political principle. The Congress also originally was based on Gandhism which was never a political principle but only a religious creed. Gandhi delighted in proclaiming to the world that he derived his politics only from his religion. But Congress party men have progressively made the discovery that Gandhism does not work in practice and have therefore given it up except in name and the outward formality of wearing Khadi and mouthing slogans of Sarvodaya. Moreover, Congress men find that their Communist rivals use slogan which are more effective and catch easily among the ignorant and the poor. They are now making a grand effort to steal the Communist thunder. The latest phase of this change over is the Nagpur programme of land co-operatives and joint cultivation. The Communist party is aware of this defeatist attitude of the Congress and is willing to bide its time so that it may stage a dramatic take over from Nehru who has grown old and will soon be unfit to wield power. Indeed, there is grave apprehension in the minds of many that there is an understanding between Pandit Nehru and the Communists by which the former will carry out in practice the policies of the latter while occasionally indulging in brave words of condemnation of the Communists, while the latter will not seek to undermine the power of the former and will act merely as a parliamentary opposition. No one takes seriously the efforts now being made to establish a Nehru dynastic rule and to pass on the inheritance to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her children. Backward as our people are they are not so helpless

as to be imposed upon in this manner. All these facts add up to create a situation in which the generality of the people of India feel the urgency of the need to form a new political party.

But the new party will succeed only if its sponsors are inspired by a progressive ideology which will goad our people to march forward into the new era of science and technology. The former attempts to form opposition parties were defeated because of their backward outlooks. The slogan of reviving Hindu religion was the bane of the Jan Sangh. The attempt at revival of feudalism decimated the Ganatantra Parishad. The revival of Gandhism by the P.S.P. and other so called Socialists proved to be their undoing. The new ideology must be defined so as to suit the modern world and the new civilisation of the atomic age in which we live. The temptation to hark back to a golden past is overpowering but fatal. Secularism and the negative attitude of indifference to all religions is not enough. There must be a positive drive to rid our people of sectarian fanaticism which has bedevilled our past history. The new party, by whatever name it may be called, whether it be Conservative, Swatantra, or the Rightist, will have to sail clear of the dangers which have undermined the earlier efforts at building up an opposition party.

In this connection the speeches of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who is the leading theoretician of the new party, have to be watched and studied. Let us hope that C. R. will open a new chapter in Indian history untrammelled by past mistakes of parties and individuals including his own.

One point Mr. C. R. has emphasised will have the hearty approval of all Libertarians, namely, that the new party will emphasise the importance of safeguarding the interests of individuals as against the totalitarian effort of Pandit Nehru and the Communists to dissolve the personality of the individual in the vague generality of the mass. State Socialism is the political principle which drives both the Congress and the Communist parties to swallow up the individuality of the citizens. If the new party would be steady and unfaltering in its adhesion to the principle of liberty for the individual it is bound to gather strength in the long run and Libertarians in India and elsewhere in the world will bless this new effort.

It is also noteworthy that Mr. Rajagopalachari has spoken against the baneful propaganda indulged in by the Congress as well as by the Communists which creates class division and class hatred. The most precious possession of every man is his individuality and in a healthy society he does not belong to any class whatever. Even in a defective social set up, as obtains in India to-day, the right way to serve public interest is to combat sectional consciousness such as those that pertain to class, caste, creed, colour, race, language etc.

Another point that Mr. C. R. has pin pointed is that all efforts at the building up of State socialism would benefit not the people at large but only the party bureaucracy. This fact is so evident in the present Congress set up which has furnished infinite opportunities for party men to feather their nests while the people at large grow poorer and poorer and their standard of life is going down day by day. The party itself acts as a parasite spreading the infection of self aggrandisement all around and corrupting the springs of public life. We must feel thankful to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari for having brought out into the limelight the fact so vehemently denied by Pandit Nehru that the Mundhra bribe of two and a half lakhs to the Congress party funds was *quid pro quo* for the L.I.C. funds of a crore and a quarter that were placed at his disposal to boost his undertakings besides the five crores of accommodation money advanced by the State Bank. It was an open scandal that the numerous land gifts by the Congress Governments were allotted only to supporters of the present regime, most of whom jumped into the Congress band wagon at the close of the National fight against foreign rule, while such gifts were refused to the martyrs who sacrificed their all in the early days of the Non-cooperation movement but could not see eye to eye with the ruling class which was ushered into power when the British left our shores.

Having acknowledged the merits of the new effort, we must nevertheless be watchful of the dangers inherent in some of Mr. Rajagopalachari's speeches which provoke a reactionary trend. Having spent out his life in the service of Ghandism it would be difficult for him, at his age, to grow out of the inherent weaknesses of the Gandhian tradition. One such weakness is faith in the principle of Trusteeship which is based upon feelings of generosity aroused in the rich towards the poor, resulting in various acts of charity. While charity by individuals has to be commended, national life and the building up of economic strength cannot be made to depend upon such fleeting and unreliable emotions on the part of individuals. The entire Sarvodaya movement has proved a fiasco. It is tragic that instead of learning by this failure the new party is trying to walk in its foot steps. Echoing Mahatma Gandhi's words needs no political effort. It is cheap to imitate Mr. Vinoba Bhave and do *pada yatra*. If the new party walks that way its fate is sealed.

Another feature of Gandhism, which they have to discard if the new party is to make any progress, is the Charka mentality. Behind this mentality is the philosophy that modern scientific and technological progress not only do not matter at all but are positively harmful and should be shunned. If Gandhi were alive to-day he would have made the Congress practice the Charka programme with greater vigour than is done now. The late Mr. T. Prakasam, who was the Chief Minister of Madras, refused permission for the installation of improved models of spindles and looms in the textile mills with disastrous consequences to the entire industry. Pandit Nehru takes a middle of the road course in this matter, conceding on one

hand all the demands of the charkha advocates, which fortunately for him and the country do not amount to very much, and encouraging on the other hand modern mechanised industries. He condones several items of expenditure devoted to the revival of obsolete industries. Such a drain is a tragedy in this poverty stricken country. The pretensions to modernise and "improve" the charkha into what is known as the "Ambar charkha" is a fraud on the public. I know Mr. C. Rajagopalachari shares my view on this subject but whether he will be able to speak out his mind in the forum of the new party is another matter. But the party will have no future and their words in regard to economic development in India will carry no conviction unless they discard the attitude of mental and moral laziness which Pandit Nehru has assumed in this vital issue.

The most important test by which the people of India will judge the worth of the new party is their attitude in regard to defence. The Congress party take credit for having won freedom from foreign rule by the Gandhian method of non-violence. This is a blatant falsehood. India attained political freedom by the march of international events in the post-war period. Britain released her hold on India because that hold was paving the way for the advent of Communism. Until and unless this truth is brought home to the people of India the strangle-hold of the Congress party upon Indian public cannot be released. The new party must summon the courage to strike at the false pretensions of the Congress. It will be a fight not only against the political ascendancy of the Congress but also against the intellectual ascendancy of the false doctrine of non-violence which is accepted without question by the gullible public.

During World War No. 2. Gandhi had the temerity to advise the Allies to lay down their arms and resort to non-violent satyagraha against Hitler. Had the Allies acted up to the Gandhian advice, the world would have been immersed in total misery by now. Pandit Nehru has not the courage to discard Gandhism openly but he side-tracks the Mahatma by maintaining a dichotomy between his words and his deeds. He has managed to annex Hyderabad and to keep his hold on Kashmir by such tactics. But whether he will be able to hold his own if it comes to a show down between India and Pakistan is problematical. We have the glaring example of Tibet before our eyes to-day, a sovereign people who took the principle of non-violence seriously and did not maintain an adequate military force to defend their freedom against external aggression. They have lost their sovereignty, it seems, once for all. No nation can afford to be lukewarm about its defence. There is a suspicion in the public mind that Pandit Nehru's well known schizophrenia is weakening our defence and that his loyalty to the Mahatma is preventing the build up of an adequate military force. The new party, if it is to secure the suffrage of the people and to acquire the strength to displace the party in power, should come out with an open declaration in this regard repudiating past weaknesses and inspiring the people with an iron determination to defend their freedom with adequate force.

Laos And Tibet

An Illustration of Sabotage

By Damodar J. Prabhu

Mr. Nehru has blatantly interfered in the internal affairs of Laos. On May 28, Mr. Nehru sent a note to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Mr. Gromyko urging a revival of the three-nation Armistice Commission for Laos to avert the "explosive" situation there.

A concern quite in contrast to the equivocal unstatesmanlike attitude he exhibited over Tibet. Perhaps his concern over Laos is no accident for that small and sparsely populated country is busy driving out the last remnants of the communist Pathet Laos forces from its interior.

Obviously, by any standards and more especially by Mr. Nehru's own, this is an internal affair. It Hungary and Tibet could be considered internal affairs the more reason to refrain from the affairs of Laos. The Laotians are having a difficult time for survival; as a geographical fact, Laos is bounded on the north by the thickly populated communist N. Viet Nam and China and is remote from India. North Viet Nam has reiterated that the situation in Laos has "deteriorated". This is but natural for the communists there are weeded out.

But it is surprising that Mr. Nehru urged a revival of the Armistice Pact, a desire which is expressed only by N. Viet Nam, China and the rest of the Soviet Camp.

How can the internal affairs of a small country remote from India be of any concern to Mr. Nehru and how at all could it be termed "explosive". It is strange that Mr. Nehru who kept quiet over a very explosive international incident of aggression that occurred on his own border, i.e. Tibet, should show great concern over a situation which no one except the communists have called "explosive".

Mr. Phoui, the anti-communist Prime Minister, who came to power has declared the 1954 Armistice Pact invalid; and that the pursuit of communist Pathet Laos forces is an internal affair of no concern to other countries.

Now why should Mr. Phoui behave like this and resent the interference of Mr. Nehru? The answer is a bit too clear and thick if one examines some of the past activities of the three-nation commission.

The three nations are Poland, India and Canada. In 1954, the Commission gave a strange recommendation. American military aid was forbidden for Laos. And this was recommended in spite of the fact Laos was surrounded by a very determined and powerful communist neighbour and needed military aid more than anything else.

The result of this was to make Laos weak and helpless to communist infiltration until Mr. Phoui took over and declared the agreement invalid. This peculiar recommendation is probably the main cause of the "explosive" situation for it is clear that with military aid permitted, Laotians could have kept their country clear of the communists.

Now Mr. Nehru has taken the initiative and asked

for the revival of the commission. Poland and the Soviet camp have been urging the revival of the Pact much before the present crisis. Only Canada, the third member, has refrained. The Canadians agree with Mr. Phoui that the whole business is an internal affair.

However, according to the 1954 agreement, India's assent coupled with that of Poland can overrule Canada to revive the commission. So in the event of a revival it will be in effect a two-nation commission of India and Poland, Canada's presence being reduced to a superfluity.

Now the ostensible purpose of Mr. Nehru in so urging is to "explore" the possibility of a cease-fire between the government forces and the communists. Rather superfluous now that Mr. Phoui's forces have gained victory over the communists. The only effect of the cease-fire will be to keep the Government forces out of operation and the communists in operation.

The old strategy of sabotage. N. Viet Nam is very anxious—the news item of June 2nd reveals its premier has asked Mr. Nehru to use his prestige to revive the commission.

Now, one can understand the nervousness of the N. Viet Nam Prime Minister, but what about the nervousness of Mr. Nehru? Does Mr. Nehru want to establish the communists and throttle a small country as he helped them over in Tibet?

The contrast between his attitude on Tibet and Laos is too great to be dismissed lightly. In 1950 he meekly acquiesced in the Chinese conquest of Tibet, thus doing away with a buffer state. In '59, in face of the most violent eruption there, he took no action maintaining he had no facts. Indeed one remembers with a certain distaste his unblushing denunciation of Mr. Patterson of "Manchester Guardian" whose only fault was that he was good enough to warn us of the dangerous events on our border.

How now this statesman who maintained complete restraint and inaction on this vital issue acts so energetically on Laos, so remote from his country? How does he know he has now all the facts? Does he think the communists are greater adherents of truth than Mr. Patterson? If it is so, then he is one of the few people in an enlightened world capable of such a belief.

But Mr. Nehru has long passed the stage when one could excuse him being taken in by the Reds. Even if it were so, it is no compliment to him; for it qualifies him as an unstatesmanlike, short-sighted man. Surely those who excuse him for this do not want a simpleton for a Prime Minister. But Mr. Nehru is no simpleton. He is a well-read and intelligent man. Prolix books full of sentimentalism and no genuine thought and even more absurd speeches need not be our sole criterion in judging him. People who have known him agree to his charm and intelligence.

Reluctantly then we conclude that Mr. Nehru's actions stem from his conviction.

Ethics Of Civil Disobedience

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

The sense of frustration in the heart of the common citizen of India is now eating into his vitals. There is a general sense of helplessness and mental necrosis among our people. The backbone of the lower middle class of the Indian nation is broken. The cost of living is soaring higher every day; blackmarketing rampant and corruption widespread in Government and non-government sectors.

Until the year 1947, our main battle was directed against the ruling British clique. But today our battle is against domestic foes, all those vested interests and reactionary forces that stand in the way of India's economic, ethical and intellectual progress. If "that government is the best that governs least," then, that government is the worst, that governs most. That government becomes a thousand times damnable when it thrives on the fat, blood and sauce of the subjects. All totalitarian governments are such shepherds feeding on their flock. Sham democracies that take the name of democracy to make hay while the sun shines also become the deadliest weight on the common citizen of a country, when political power, taxation money and country's resources are all canalised to boost up the government in power, to the detriment of the common tax-payer, the man-in-the-street.

There are two ways of fighting a government that fails to deliver goods to the common man: violent revolution through brute force, when might alone is right, or through non-cooperation with, and civil disobedience to, the unjust and unprofitable laws and measures and policies of a government. The Kerala Government prepares new text-books for the schools to teach the growing children that Marx is the god to be worshipped and that history is to be re-written under the light of communist paradise. But facts are facts and mere whitewashing cannot make a crow white. The Central Government is bringing out so many Five-Year Plans to hoodwink the public, to raise more money from the people to feed the Government, with few benefits trickling down on the people.

Leonine violence characterised the French Revolution, the October Revolution in Russia, the Fascist Revolution in Italy, the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, in China and elsewhere. If, on ethical and humane grounds, we eschew that path, the only course left for conscientious citizens to fight the Government and help to create the order of society fit for humans to live with freedom and dignity, is non-cooperation with the Government and forthright civil disobedience. If there are a large number of individuals and groups courageous enough to court legal sanctions of an unjust government, we can paralyse the government machinery and make them do people's will, what is right and just, instead of what is cooked out and sold as glamorous by the government.

Leo Tolstói, Henry Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi,

through precept and example, has taught us this practical philosophy of civil resistance to an unfair and unjust government. Henry Thoreau says:

"All men recognise the right of revolution, that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75."

Today also we say that the time for revolution is not ripe. This is an illusion. Wherever there is an unjust law and any trace of injustice in us or in our government we are bound to become revolutionaries, only, not through physical force and violence, as the governments do, but through moral and ethical force as all rational humans do. Thoreau was imprisoned a number of times for his refusing to pay the government taxes, and for not abiding by the government policies and directives which was against his conscience. So was Gandhi many a times kept under prison bars. But their spirits could not be beaten nor conquered even by the mighty American or British governments.

No-tax campaign alone, if organised on a state-wide scale, can make the government mend its ways. Through civil disobedience alone we can force the government to utilise public revenue for the good of the people, and not for self-indulgence and self-advertisements of the Government servants and bosses. Ethics of civil disobedience is based in human values, in the fact that man is prior to state and governments and that all governments should exist only to serve man and his needs, not vice versa. Man is not for the sabbath, but sabbath for man.

ATTENTION

Scholarships granted to Post-graduate students in Economics, who are able to undertake research in Free Economy from Libertarian point of view. Send full particulars of age, qualifications and occupation etc. to:

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What Is Socialism ?

By Leszek Kolakowski

Mr. Kolakowski a prominent young philosopher of Poland, wrote this article for the official student newspaper *Po Prostu*. The publication of the article was forbidden because of its anti-Soviet character. It was, however, circulated privately and created a profound impression upon the students of the country. It fell in the hands of an American journalist and was published recently in the *New Leader* of New York.

We will tell you what Socialism is. But first we must tell you what socialism is not. It is a matter about which we once had a quite different opinion than we have today.

Well, then, Socialism is not:

A society in which it is a crime to be the brother, sister, son or wife of a criminal.

A society in which one person is unhappy because he says what he thinks what he thinks, and another happy because he does not say what is in his mind.

A society in which a person is unhappy because he is a Jew and another feels better for not being a Jew.

A State whose soldiers move into the territory of another country first.

A State where anyone who praises the national leaders is better off.

A State in which one can be condemned without a trial.

A society whose leaders appoint themselves to their posts.

A society in which ten people live in one room.

A society which has illiterates and smallpox epidemics.

A state which does not permit travel abroad.

A state which has more spies than nurses and more people in prison than in hospital.

A state in which the number of officials increases faster than that of workers.

A state in which one is forced to resort to lies.

A state in which one is compelled to be a thief.

A state in which one is forced to resort to crime.

A state which possesses colonies.

A state whose neighbours curse geography.

A state which produces excellent jet planes and bad shoes.

A state in which cowards live better than the valiants.

A state in which the lawyers in most cases agree with the state prosecutor.

Empire tyranny, oligarchy, bureaucracy.

A state in which the majority of people seek God in order to find solace in their misery.

A state which awards prizes by pseudo-authors and knows more about painting than the painters.

A nation which oppresses other nations.

A nation which is oppressed by another nation.

A state which wants all its citizens to have the same opinions in philosophy, foreign policy, economics, literature and ethics.

A state whose government defines its citizen's rights but whose citizens do not define the government's rights.

A state in which one is responsible for ancestors.

A state in which one part of the population receives salaries 40 times higher than those of the remainder.

Any system of government toward which most of the governed are host.

A single isolated state.

A group of backward countries.

A state which utilizes nationalistic slogans.

A state whose governments believe that nothing is more important than their power.

A state which makes a pact with crime and then adapts its ideology to that pact.

A state which would like to see its Foreign Ministry determine the political opinion of all mankind.

A state which finds it difficult to distinguish between enslavement and liberation.

A state in which racist agitators enjoy full freedom.

A state in which there is private ownership of the means of production.

A state which considers itself solidly socialist because it has liquidated private ownership of the means of production.

A state which has difficulty differentiating between social revolution and armed assault.

A state which does not believe that people must be happier under socialism than elsewhere.

A society which is very melancholy.

A caste system.

A state which always knows the will of the people before it asks them.

A state which can mistrust the people with impunity.

A state in which a view of history is important.

A state in which the philosophers and writers always say the same as the generals and ministers, but always after them.

A state in which street maps of cities are state secrets.

A state in which the returns of parliamentary elections are always predictable.

A state in which there is slave labour.

A state in which feudal fetters exist.

A state which has a world monopoly on scientific progress.

A state in which an entire people, through no desire of its own, is moved to a new location.

A state in which the workers have no influence on the government.

A state which believes that it alone can redeem humanity.

A state which considers itself to be always in the right.

A state in which history is a servant of policy.

A state whose citizens may not read the greatest

(Continued on page 14)

Thoughts On Tibetan Tragedy

By a Lecturer in History

With the exception of the Communists and their fellow-travellers, India has been deeply shocked at the recent Chinese aggression in Tibet. It is very natural. First, there is a very close cultural relation between India and Tibet. Tibet is known as essentially a religious country and that religion was introduced to Tibet by the Indians. In this connection the names of Santirakshita, Padma Sambhava Kamalasila and Dipankara Srijnave are worth mentioning. It is impossible to think of the Tibetan religion without a reference to these Indian scholars. Santirakshita and Padma Sambhava established in Tibet the order of the Lamas and the former was made the first abbot of the monastery at Bsam-ya which was built up after the model of the monastery at Odantapuri in Magadha. In art also Tibet owes very much to India and "the seclusion and conservatism of the hills helped Nepal and Tibet retain and store up whatever was received from Eastern India of the Palas during the eighth and the three subsequent centuries and more, and carry on the East Indian mediaeval tradition of art, almost untouched and uninfluenced by any other element, till very recent times." (The struggle for Empire, p 666). Many Sanskrit books on Buddhism were translated into Tibetan both by Indian and Tibetan scholars and thus grew up a Tibetan Buddhist literature which forms a very important source—sometimes "the only extant source of

(Continued from page 13)

works of contemporary literature, not see the greatest works of contemporary painting and not hear the greatest works of modern music.

A state which is always well pleased with itself.

A state which asserts that the world is very complicated but actually believes it to be extremely simple.

A state in which one must suffer long before and can get a doctor.

A society that has beggars

A state which believes everyone to be enamoured of it, whereas in truth it is the opposite.

A state which is convinced that nobody in the world can conceive anything better.

A state which does not mind being hated as long as it is feared.

A state which determines who may criticize it and how.

A state in which one must each day refute what one affirmed the day before and always believe it to be the same.

A state which one does not like to see its citizens read back-numbers of newspapers.

A state in which many ignore muses rank as scholars.

That was the first part. But now, listen attentively, we will tell you what socialism is: Well then socialism is a good thing.

—New Leader

our information regarding the India Buddhist scholars and their works". (Ibid p. 416). About nine of Jnanapada's Sanskrit works on Tantra which are lost in India are preserved in Tibetan. The Nalanda University organised a school of Tibetan studies. A very backward people in the material sense, Tibet is famous for her culture which is very largely a contribution of India. In a sense Tibet is the cultural outpost of India. So when the people of Tibet are a victim of aggression and their culture in danger it is no wonder that India is rudely shocked. Indian sympathy for Tibet is not an expression of any expansionist design; it is rooted in history and tradition.

Secondly, recently liberated from the clutches of Imperialism after a protracted struggle, India instinctively raises her voice against all imperialist aggression whether it takes place in Indo-China or Egypt or Hungary. Persons not obsessed with the philosophy of International Communism would consider the recent Chinese aggression in Tibet as imperialistic in nature.

Thirdly, the problem of Indian security is closely connected with the Chinese conquest of Tibet. Tibet so long served the purpose of a buffer state between India and China and the problem of the Himalayan frontier was not an acute one. But those days are now over. China with her vast population and huge army, fully equipped with modern methods of warfare, thanks to the help supplied by the Soviet Union, has now a common frontier with India extending about 1800 miles. And in the Chinese maps, large parts of Indian territory such as Ladakh, Sikkim, portions of NEFA are shown as Chinese territories. One need not be an expert in international relations to understand the danger that all these mean to Indian security. Dr. P. C. Chakravarti in his recent lecture on Sino-Indian Relation published by the Jadavpur University remarks "Entrenchment of China in Tibet and destruction of Tibetan autonomy will permanently impair our relations with China. Only ideological fanatics can ignore or deny the imperatives of geography". (p. 17). The Himalayan region is no longer (it was not so even in the past) an insurmountable barrier between India and China. Therefore, the Chinese aggression on Tibet has shocked India not simply because of cultural and sentimental reasons, as our Prime Minister said, but also because of political reason. One need not take an alarmist view of the situation but it is unwise to minimise the danger and to ignore the sound advice of Cromwell to keep the powder dry.

The Communist Government of China seek to justify their conduct on Tibet mainly on two grounds, namely, first, Tibet is an integral part of China and so, no foreign country should interfere with the activity of the Chinese Government in Tibet and secondly, the conflict between the Chinese Government and the Tibetan rebels is a conflict between progress and re-

action, the Chinese Government obviously representing progress and the Tibetan rebels representing reaction. The Chinese Government have characterised the Tibetan rebellion as the work of "the reactionary clique of the upper social strata" (China's National People Congress Resolution on Tibet). Let us see whether such arguments stand the test of history, logic and morality.

Historically speaking, Tibet was never a part of China. The Mongols and the Manchus of course conquered both China and Tibet and that does not make Tibet an integral part of China. In the past the political relation between China and Tibet was one of conflict and dispute. The Communist China also occupied Tibet by means of military invasion. Thus it is nothing but the military force that has made Tibet an integral part of China. Physical might is the only basis of the Chinese right in Tibet. The Chinese Government claims that "the People's Republic of China enjoys full sovereignty over the Tibet region just as it does over the region of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ninghsia". ("Renmin Ribao" of May 6 which is reproduced in Peking Review of May 12). If that is so then why was a Sino-Tibetan agreement concluded in Peking in 1951 guaranteeing several rights to Tibet? Even if Tibet is regarded as a part of China, other nations have a moral duty to raise a voice of protest and indignation against the aggressive conduct of China. Have we not bitterly condemned the 'apartheid' policy of the South African Union even though it happens to be an internal matter of the country. If the Tibetan rebellion is actually engineered by "the reactionary clique of the upper social strata", how has it taken the shape of so gigantic a movement? The argument of Communist China is that "the majority of the 20,000 or so rebels are labouring people who have been coerced or hoodwinked into joining the rebellion". (Peking Review). Such is the traditional argument of all the imperialist powers and it will convince none except the henchmen of the Communist Imperialism. The Chinese plea that it stands for progressive reform in Tibet which is a very backward and primitive country will also cut no ice. A country has no legal or moral right to impose its own conception of progress upon another country. Battles of progress are first fought in the minds of men with new ideas and not in the streets with guns. Moreover this imposition of 'progressive reforms' in Tibet is a clear violation of the 17-point Sino-Tibetan Agreement. In clause 4 of this agreement it is said "The Central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The Central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of the various ranks shall hold office as usual." The clause 7 includes "the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and Lama series shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect any change in the income of the monasteries". Again, "in matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord,

and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet". (Clause II). Thus the Chinese arguments defending its action in Tibet have neither any moral nor any legal basis. It is aggression, pure and simple.

Tibet is doomed. An ancient country with rich culture is obliterated from the scene of history. 'Progress' indeed! It is, however, imperative on our part to take lessons from the Tibetan tragedy. Should we still fight for a seat of Communist China in the Security Council of the U.N.O.? Should we still believe that a Communist country can really follow the policy of peaceful co-existence? Should we still consider the Communist profession of peace as genuine? And lastly should we still allow the Communists of our country whose extra-territorial allegiance is proved beyond all doubts to function taking advantages of our democratic constitution? If we do not think afresh on these problems then we must conclude that Tibet has fought only in vain.

NEWS DIGEST

INDORE, June 15.

MR. DHEBAR'S STATEMENT

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, former Congress President, told a largely attended public meeting here last night that the "Communist Government in Kerala has lost the confidence of the people and that is the reason for the present conflict between the Government and the people in that State." Mr. Dhebar said people were afraid of the Government and wondered where they were leading the public.

Mr. Dhebar said that no Government could implement the welfare schemes provided in the Five Year Plans if it lost the confidence of the people. He said the present trouble would continue in Kerala as long as the State Government did not take steps to satisfy the people through self-introspection.

RED PARTY'S POLICIES

Referring to the policies of the Communist Party of India, Mr. Dhebar said that from the very beginning the party went in wrong directions. Conditions in India were not similar to those in China or Russia, he said, and added that "Communists in India have no love for their country and its prestige."

The policy of the Kerala Government, he said, was only to take care of Communists and adopt such measures as would progressively weaken the opposition. From the actions taken so far by the Kerala Government, Mr. Dhebar said, it was clear that the Government was only for Communists and not for others.—P.T.I.

GENOCIDE IN TIBET

After two months' careful analysis of Red China's suppression of last March's revolt in Tibet, the U.N. International Commission of Jurists reported that the

Chinese (1) have killed 65,000 Tibetans, (2) are attempting to "destroy the national and racial group of the Tibetans", and (3) are stamping out Buddhism and its shrines.

There is a "prima facie case" of the crime of genocide against the Chinese Reds, the jurists concluded. Their findings will go to the U.N. in the hope that they will prompt appropriate action.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN WILL SIGN TWO PACTS ON CANAL WATERS

KARACHI, June 19 (PTI)—India and Pakistan will sign two canal water treaties—an interim treaty for a five-year period and a comprehensive international treaty for a longer period—according to Mr. G. Mueenuddin, Chairman of the Indus Basin Supplies Organisation here yesterday.

He said the first question to be discussed at the forthcoming tripartite conference at London would be signing of an interim five-year treaty to regulate water supplies between the two countries.

Mr. Mueenuddin, who will lead Pakistan's delegation to the London conference, said that the conference would sit down to work out heads of agreement for a permanent international treaty.

This would cover every aspect of the problem involved in sharing of the Indus basin waters between India and Pakistan.

Mr. Mueenuddin said although the World Bank had not yet finally fixed the date for the London conference, it would probably be in the first week of August.

According to official sources here, Pakistan has approached the World Bank for "some additional aid" to expand facilities for training of engineers required in the process of building replacement works.

—Free Press Bulletin.

India had an adverse trade balance of Rs. 2.01 crores in January, 1959 against a deficit of Rs. 2.02 crores in the same month of last year.

—Neetee.

2,000,000 TONS OF RICE IMPORTS

The easiest way out of any situation is to beg or borrow from abroad and to tide over difficulties for which Government is consciously and deliberately responsible—this seems to be the position taken up by Government on questions of major economic policy. When the food situation is getting out of hand, and when nationalisation of foodgrains trade is being forced down the throats of the country, albeit in two stages, and when the agricultural portion of the Plan is crumbling into dust, Ajit Prasad Jain took comfort from the Government decision to import 2,000,000 tons of rice and a substantial quantity of wheat to tackle the food needs of the nation. What this gigantic quantity of food costs, where the money for these imports comes from, and in what manner do Government propose to reply new financial commitment abroad—these and other questions have been completely neglected even in the Lok Sabha. When one remembers that Nehru declared from the house tops that there would not be any food imports after

1950, and when similar declarations concerning the achievements on the food front were made to allay suspicions on the part of even our gullible public, and the Food and Agriculture Minister had to confess that Government were wrong in neglecting agriculture in the Second Plan and that this experience would be remembered when the Third Plan is finally adumbrated, it becomes clear that there is complete defeat facing Government on the food front.

—Commerce & Industry.

One hundred and fifteen delegations were sent abroad during 1958-59 and approximately Rs. 47 lakhs worth of foreign exchange was spent on them.

—Neetee.

Rice imports have shown a steady increase recently. According to official figures, India spent Rs. 1.26 crores on rice imports in January this year against Rs. 59.25 lakhs in the corresponding month of last year. The expenditure on imports of rice in 1958 rose to Rs. 44.03 crores from Rs. 16.9 crores in the preceding year.

—Neetee.

PAKISTAN TO GET 30m. DOLLAR AID FROM WORLD BANK

KARACHI, June 19 (PTI)—Pakistan's Finance Minister, Mr. Mohammed Shoaib, said here yesterday that the World Bank would give Pakistan between 25

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million and 30 million dollars as loans during the current year.

Mr. Shoaib, who returned here yesterday from Washington, where he attended the executive meeting of the International Bank of Reconstruction, said that Pakistan would also receive 30 million dollars as aid from the American Development Fund. The U.S. Government would make provisions for this additional grant, which was in addition to 70 million dollars already granted in its current budget, he said.

—Free Press Bulletin.

KERALA WANTS MADRAS POLICE AID

Madras, June 9—A unit of the Madras Special Armed Police may soon proceed to Trivandrum to assist the Kerala police to deal with the "school closure" agitation.

Officials here are surprised at the request from the Communist Government, as Kerala had earlier rejected a Madras proposal for the establishment of a common zonal police force. Madras, however, may not turn down Kerala's request.

Commenting on an Ernakulam report that Madras had agreed to send a unit of the Malabar Special Police to Kerala, the State Home Minister, Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, told newsmen today that no decision had so far been taken in this regard.

He, however, indicated that a request for "police aid" had been made to Madras by Kerala. At any rate, he said, the Malabar Special Police could not be sent to Kerala as almost the entire force was now serving in the North-East Frontier Agency.

—Organiser.

SWATANTRA PARTY FORMATION MOVE WELCOMED

TENALI, June 17: Dr. M. Chenna Reddi, presiding over a two-day convention of the Socialist Democratic Party here, said that he welcomed the formation of a new political party on an all-India basis by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Prof. N. G. Ranga and expressed confidence that this would create a situation which would force political workers all over India to think seriously and act quickly.

He hoped that at the Ahmedabad convention of the Swatantra Party, attempts would be made to evolve a basis for organising all the democratic forces in the country into one single organisation.

Dr. Reddi said that the Congress, during the 12 years of its administration, had belied the expectations of the people.

NEW U.S. LOAN TO INDIA SOON

WASHINGTON, June 18: A 20 million-dollar loan to India by the United States Development Loan Fund is under consideration here, officials said today.

The officials added that final approval was expected soon.—Reuter.

JANA SANGH TO ORGANISE 32 CONFERENCES

Amritsar, June 8:—A meeting of the Jullundur Division District Organising Secretaries of the Jana

Sangh, party M.L.As. and other prominent workers yesterday decided to launch a membership drive and enrol 60,000 members in the division.

It also decided to organise 12 conferences in cities and 20 in rural areas during the next two months to mobilise public opinion against marla tax, cooperative farming and the Hindu Succession Act.

—Organiser.

FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT IN PUBLIC SECTOR

The Union Government, it is understood, has taken a serious view of the bad management of the accounts of the Hindustan Steel Company and the National Coal Development Corporation.

Latest balance-sheets of the two public sector companies reveal adverse remarks by the auditors on the account management.

The auditors are of the view in the case of the Hindustan Steel that its accounts do not reflect adequately the financial condition of the giant steel company. Experts say that the Hindustan Steel Company, which carries on its store purchase transactions outside India through the Indian diplomatic missions, does not always manage to keep the accounts of such transactions properly.

—Organiser.

THIS IS PLANNING? THOUSANDS OF COMPANIES EVADE TAXATION

New Delhi: It is apprehended that several thousand companies in the corporate sector may be escaping taxation as they do not figure in the records of taxation authorities. This fact has been revealed in a recent study of the company records of the Central Board of Revenue.

According to informed sources, there is a wide discrepancy between the published records of the Central Board of Revenue in regard to taxable companies and those of the Company Law Department.

The department has more than 25,000 private firms on its rolls which are believed to be active. In contrast, the Central Board of Revenue is known to have a bare 10,000 private companies on its records.

This wide gap in the Central Board of Revenue's information channels about active companies is now puzzling official circles here.

Lobby sources here say there is an apparent lack of co-ordination between the Central Board of Revenue and Department of Company Law which normally advises the public sector and Government departments on company matters.

It is considered likely that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry will take up this question with the Central Board of Revenue.

This might result in a better co-ordination of information between the department which regulates the functioning of the corporate sector and the Income-Tax Department which taxes private firms and individuals.

No estimates, however, are available as to the possible loss incurred by the Exchequer by the lack of registration of companies on the rolls of the Central Board of Revenue.

—"Indian Express"

PEKING CAN'T EXPLAIN

The Chinese did not explain how the Tibetans were able to double the size of the army under the very nose of the Peking military commander. But they indicated that the Tibetans, planning to make an all-out fight to rid themselves of Communist rule, had sworn themselves to secrecy.

The Tibetan Government secretly convened a conference in April, 1956, of high and middle echelon officers of the six "Depon," or regimental units, the Chinese said. The conference adopted a pledge to resist the Communist reforms endorsed that same year by the Dalai Lama and his colleague, the Panchen Lama.

The pledge declared "all barracks should keep our action secret. Whether among ourselves or in dealing with others, we would not fear sacrifices."

At this time, it revealed the flag of "the Independent State of Tibet," a lion against a snow-clad mountain.

The Government then furnished more arms and munitions, and a hard core of 312 new men, to strengthen the army, the Chinese said. All its equipment, they added, "came from the British and other imperialists," and its officers gave their commands in English.

They described Khemey Sonam Wongdui, Commander-in-Chief of the army, as British-trained and a "jackal of British imperialism."

—*"Times of India"*

GIRL'S PETITION TO PREMIER

"The Times of India" News Service

TRIVANDRUM, June 22: A 12-year-old girl jumped before the Prime Minister's car as he drove to Raj Bhavan from the aerodrome today.

As soon as the car pulled up, the girl presented a paper to Mr. Nehru.

It listed her grievances against the Communist Ministry in Kerala.

PROVIDING NEW LEADERSHIP SWATANTRA PARTY'S OBJECTIVE

Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., welcomed in Bombay on Monday, the co-operation of all political parties in the country which accepted the Swatantra Party's statement of principles.

Mr. Masani, who was speaking at a question-and-answer meeting to explain the aims and objectives of the Swatantra Party, said that his Party supported the ideals of Sarvodaya.

Mr. Masani explained the circumstances in which the Party was formed. It was founded in response to the prevailing mood of the people. There was great dissatisfaction among the general public, with the existing administrative setup, and there was no organised challenge to the Party in power, he said.

PUBLIC RESPONSE

The Swatantra Party, he said, would aim at providing the country with alternative leadership. He added that the Party had been very well received by the public.

The Party believed that the Nagpur Congress resolution on co-operative farming would lead to "violence, bloodshed and coercion." "We are all keen

on co-operation," he said, emphasising, "but we are for genuine co-operation."

Mr. Raja Hutheesingh, Mr. R. V. Murthy and Dr. R. C. Cooper explained the Party's stand on various issues.

—*"Times of India"*

Snippets

"FORCED MARCH" TO INDUSTRIALISATION. THIRD PLAN'S CRUSHING TAX BURDEN OF RS. 2,000 CRORES

That India is fast marching the path of totalitarianism is further furnished by the following report from the Special Correspondent of the Indian Express from New Delhi.

The Third Plan envisage a crushing tax burden to the tune of Rs. 2,000 crores. That India with one of the lowest-national income is the heaviest taxed country today, seems to have been lost sight of our Planners in their enthusiasm. That Soviet Russia, and even communist China, are paying heavily for their "forced marches" towards industrialism are also not taken into consideration.

In conformity with the communist ideology, the Planners are thinking of "putting the country on a war-footing" in the national endeavour for stepping up the economic development.

Here is the report:—

WHILE discussions among economic experts and policy makers in regard to the Third Five-Year Plan have just got under way, initial suggestions about mobilising financial resources are reported to have revealed the need for a much larger tax effort in comparison to the current Plan.

One of the suggestions, it is learnt, has been that the projected large size of the next Plan might necessitate fresh taxation to the extent of Rs. 2,000 crores over five years as against Rs. 900 crores which, it is estimated, will be the aggregate yield from additional taxes during the Second Plan.

This extent of new tax revenues presupposes very high outlay targets and, according to a suggestion made

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at one of the recent meetings of some Planning experts, these must reach up to Rs. 11,000 crores.

Even though the exact outlay figure might vary, ultimately, it is generally acknowledged that the Plan should be broadly of the order indicated by this figure if the pace of development already generated is not to be slackened with unhealthy consequences.

Those financial authorities who have stressed the need for a fresh tax to the order of Rs. 2,000 crores and even more, are stated to believe that the country can bear this burden although it will involve a great tightening of the belt.

They point out that even at the much lower level of development which obtained about 17 years ago during the war, the people bore the burden indicated by the accumulation of about Rs. 1,300 crores of sterling balances.

The criticism that this accumulation was made possible mainly by the Bengal famine is rejected by those authorities as lacking economic substance and so being based more on political sentimentalism.

WAR FOOTING

They are of the view that an additional tax effort should be forthcoming if national endeavour for economic development is really put on a war footing with all its implications. It is realised, however, that prevalence of stabilised prices of food grains and clothing is an important condition for imposition of new taxes of a large magnitude.

The exchange of opinion which has taken place on the mobilisation of resources is preliminary and the subject will undergo discussion for another nine months at various levels before tentative decisions are made available in the draft outline of the next Plan, likely to be released some time in March or April next.

But it is generally held that while some additional revenues will come from marginal changes in direct taxation, fresh taxation will mainly be in the indirect sector.

NEW EXCISE DUTY

In this connection, one of the possibilities seems to be imposition of new excise duties on commodities of luxury or semi-luxury consumption. Another suggestion thrown up during the discussions is substitution of central excise duties in respect of a number of commodities in place of State sales-tax.

It is pointed out in defence of this proposal that sales-tax offers considerable scope for evasion and such replacement will be profitable. The examples of cotton and tobacco duties are cited.

A third possibility is making incidence of rural taxation more progressive by levy of a surcharge on land revenue according to the size of the holdings.

The discussion on additional taxation is also accompanied by a search for new non-tax sources.

GUIDED DEMOCRACY

A definite change is visible in the Prime Minister's attitude to democracy.

Speaking at a Press conference recently, the Prime Minister said, "Our thoughts should be regimented. "Elucidating his statement, he said that

"thinking means a certain discipline."

The Prime Minister subsequently told the Congress Parliamentary party that those who did not believe in the Nagpur resolution on co-operative farming were "welcome to leave the Congress".

The Congress Working Committee at a meeting also decided to direct all Congress organisations to take action against Congress members publicly opposing the Nagpur resolutions and other declared policies of the Congress.

So the regimentation of minds has already begun. "Those who are not with us are against us" is now the new slogan. Congressmen are no longer allowed to criticise the Nagpur resolutions publicly. If they do so in private, they are told to get out of the Congress.

The Nagpur resolution is a trinity: Co-operative farming, State trading in food grains, ceiling on land holding. All wearers of khadi are now required to worship at the shrine of this new Trimurti. For non-believers there is bell, book and candle.

UNPLEASANT TRUTHS

A committee appointed by the U.P. Government to study the achievements of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service blocks has submitted its report after a year's intensive study.

"Viewed from the point of view of the objectives enunciated by the Planning Commission," the committee reports that "very little progress has been made in bringing about a social and economic transformation and change in the mental attitude of the people."

The committee complains that development programmes have not covered all segments of village life but have been largely limited to well-to-do agriculturists. Other shortcomings are irksome rules and procedures, lack of continuity and unorganized development drives.

LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG

Morarji Desai at Bombay told a meeting of Congress workers that non-implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on Cooperative farming would mean preparing the ground for Communism in India. This is frank admission of what we have been saying all along that the sudden insistence on cooperative farming is just a political stunt to spike the Communist guns

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during the next general election. It is stealing the Communist's thunder. He also said that people who wanted to speak on the subject of co-operative services or co-operative farming, should first study the prevailing conditions in the villages before speaking on the subject.

Not only Desai but most others who are advocating land reforms and in whose hands, lie the destiny of our motherland, (coming largely from non-agriculturists stock are) themselves not conversant with the rural conditions and the fundamental principles of Agriculture. It is their lack of knowledge of the subject, coupled with their misguided enthusiasm and their reluctance to understand the opposite viewpoint which are responsible for all the ill conceived agrarian plans which are leading the country to chaos and disorder.

MONOPOLY OF GOODNESS

'Mr. Nehru has said that it was a strange thing that most of the critics of co-operative farming were men who worked in big cities like Calcutta or Bombay and were not going to gain or lose by co-operative farming. Their opposition, he suggested, could, therefore, be only due to the fear that here was the thin end of the wedge of Socialism, that if today it was the turn of the land-owner, to-morrow it might be that of their own 'vested interest'. Apparently Mr. Nehru cannot conceive of disinterested zeal for public welfare animating those who oppose his policies. Working selflessly for the good of the country is a monopoly of Congressmen alone.

OUR LAW MAKERS

What are the perquisites of office of our modern Manus and Hamurabis? "Current" has made an estimate:

In the pre-Independence days, a legislator—whether an M.L.A. or an M.L.C.—used to draw a monthly salary of barely Rs. 75.

The post-Independence era has brought him a handsome rise in his salary—it has jumped from Rs. 75 to Rs. 200 a month.

Before the country became free, he had to pay rent—ranging from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2-8 a day for the suite he occupied in the legislator's residence.

After the achievement of freedom the suite was made RENT FREE. And he was allowed to enjoy the furniture and the rest that went with the rent-free suite—including electricity and water-free.

If he had a place of his own to live in he could make another Rs. 75 a month by way of house allowance, or by letting out his official quarters.

Besides, freedom brought for a legislator a long list of free amenities—at the taxed-to-the-limit tax payer's expense, of course—one of them being free medicines and free treatment, in the event of illness in the special private ward of a Government hospital.

So far as his daily allowance the fee he gets for attending each day's sitting of the Legislature—goes, it remains pegged to the pre-Independence level of Rs. 10. But the annual sitting now average 100 in place of the previous 60. The sequel is a heavier D.A. packet for him.

How much does he draw as travelling allowance for attending a session of the Legislature?

Formerly it was one and a half second-class (the present first Class) railway fare for journeys both ways—from and back to home. Now it is a double first-class.

How much is a legislator's total earnings—by way of salary and allowances—minus the free amenities that he enjoys? At least Rs. 600 a month, some of the less scrupulous ones make much more in "fees" from "clients". "I shall tell the Minister and secure your promotion". "I shall see that you are not departmentally punished."

He is much better off than the majority of his masters—the voting public!

Not content with his lot, the chhota law-makers of the States have been demanding free first class railway passes as are given to the burra legislators in New Delhi.

WHAT WE ARE HEADING FOR?

The Socialism envisaged by the Government of India, if it is worked with energy and meets with no casualty by reason of corruption, mismanagement and bureaucratic wastefulness or for want of foreign aid, will lead to exactly the same nationwide state of compulsion and serfdom as we condemn communism for. There is no Socialist country in the world which has achieved its aim without wiping out the individual and atrophying the human mind, without converting the entire community into a body of slaves, without creating a privileged class to run the machine. India's experiment, even if successful, will only end in that result.

Any form of compulsion to produce the behaviour we seek to establish is not a way of life, but just prison discipline.

TIBETAN REVOLT BREWING FOR THREE YEARS; CHINESE ADMISSION

Tokyo: China claimed today that the Tibetan army began its preparations for revolt three years ago with a secret written oath "to work with one mind and one heart, share each other's destiny and never go back on our pledge."

The Chinese, in a dispatch by the New China News Agency carried by Peking Radio, also stated that the Tibetan army had been clandestinely built up from its initial strength of 1,400 officers and men in 1951, soon after the Communists took over Tibet, to more than 3,000 by last March, when rebellion flared up briefly there.

These were the first official figures on the size of the Tibetan forces which rose "en masse" against the Chinese rulers two months ago and continue to resist in remote areas.

"For eight years," said the NCNA report, "the upper strata 'reactionaries' of Tibet, far from reorganising the former Tibetan army into the People's Liberation Army as required by the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful 'liberation' of Tibet, used this army to back their traitorous scheme and their opposition to the People's Liberation Army."

Quotable Quotes

Anarchism is the denial of force against any peaceable individual.

"Where everything is done through the bureaucracy, nothing to which the bureaucracy is really adverse can be done at all."—John Stuart Mill.

Government enforces laws of privilege and monopoly, and thus creates vagrants. Then government, by force, sends vagrant to jail at the nod of a magistrate. Then government, by force, collects taxes to support magistrates and vagrants.

"Home is the girl's prison and the woman's workhouse."—Bernard Shaw.

"The ultimate result of shielding men from the effects of folly is to fill the world with fools."—Herbert Spencer.

"It takes a thoroughly selfish age, like our own, to defy self-sacrifice."—Oscar Wilde.

If common folks should not be made to pay for uncommon schools, why should uncommon folks be made to pay for common schools?

If there were more extremists in evolutionary periods, there would be no revolutionary periods.

"In vain you tell me that artificial government is good, but that I fall out only with the abuse. The thing—the thing itself is the abuse."—Edmund Burke.

"It will never make any difference to a hero what the laws are."—Emerson.

"There is one thing in the world more wicked than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey."—W. Kingdon Clifford.

"Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few."—Bernard Shaw.

"Office-holding of all sorts, from the president down to the constable, will, in a few years more, be ranked in the public mind as positively disreputable."—Stephen Pearl Andrews.

"Thought makes everything fit for use. The vocabulary of an omniscient man would embrace words and images excluded from polite conversation."—Emerson.

The outcome of every form of government on record has been that the bad got more than their proportionate share of power. The like is not true of any respectable business. Therefore government is not a respectable business.

"The direct and indirect expense of government swallows up at least half the income of the multitude

that live by their daily toil, though the services that they receive from it are worth hardly one-sixth of this amount."—De Molinari.

Whatever really useful thing government does for men, they would do for themselves if there was no government.

With the monstrous laws that are accumulating on the statute-books, one may safely say that the man who is not a confirmed criminal is scarcely fit to live among decent people.

"The law does not require a man to cease to be a man, and act without regard to consequences, after he becomes a juror."—Lysander Spooner.

The institution known as "government" cannot continue to exist unless many a man is willing to be government's agent in committing what he himself regards as an abominable crime.

"Any law which debars a man of the right of employing such a messenger as he prefers 'abridges' his 'freedom of speech'."—Lysander Spooner.

"Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it."—Bernard Shaw.

"Nothing is forbidden by the law of nature except what is beyond every one's power."—Spinoza.

The only protection which honest people need is protection against that vast Society for the Creation of Theft which is euphemistically designated as the State.

A man has a right to threaten what he has a right to execute. The boundary-line of justifiable boycotting is fixed by the nature of the threat used.

Government keeps doing what it would jail me for doing.

The population of the world is gradually dividing into two classes,—Anarchists and criminals.

It can never be unpatriotic to take your country's side against your government. It must always be unpatriotic to take your government's side against your country.

Government regularly enforces its commands by the threat of violence; and government often commands things which it is ridiculous and outrageous to enforce by such a threat.

What would you do to a man who was in the habit of doing what government does?

What I must not do, the government must not.

"The more mandates and laws are enacted, the more there will be thieves and robbers."—Lao-Tze.

"All governments, the worst on earth and the most tyrannical on earth, are free governments to that por-

tion of the people who voluntarily support them.”—Lysander Spooner.

We think a man needs to be governed—and we let him govern others.

Book Review

PROSPERITY THROUGH COMPETITION by Dr. Ludwig Erhard. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 257. Price Rs. 12.50.

Prof. Ludwig Erhard, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Economic Affairs in the West German Republic is on the way to becoming a legendary figure in German and World economics.

In association with Chancellor Dr. Adenauer, it was given to him to rebuild the truncated Germany on sound economic foundations and lead the nation on the road to prosperity after clearing the jungle of war havoc. Naturally he has earned the eternal gratitude of the German nation and especially of the common worker.

All this has happened in the space of eleven years. Was this economic miracle as it is commonly called, an accident or a trial-and-error policy or the result of implementing a sound economic thesis? The book attempts to show from the first page to the last that without being dogmatic, Dr. Erhard demonstrated the soundness of his slogan, “prosperity through competition”.

For using this new lever to lift the defeated fatherland out of the mire of despondency, black market and inflation, Dr. Erhard was made a big target for condemnatory outbursts by expert and by social lists who formed the opposition in the Federal Parliament. Sometimes, even his partymen doubted his methods. But he overcame the doubt of friends and foes alike. Today, there is no difference between the economic policies of the ruling party and the opposition worth the name.

PERMANENT BOOM

Dr. Erhard astonished the world with the continued boom conditions in his country long after the Korean war was over. He exploded the theory of economic cycles that recession must follow boom.

Basically, Dr. Erhard lays down, “Do not try to scramble over a small cake”. Put your weight to create a big cake and then everybody can have a bite.

Dr. Erhard gave incentive to the worker and employer alike to put in more work, to increase output and to maintain the price line. He frowns on strikes. Equally, does he resist cartels by capitalists. At one time the economics minister was dubbed as the representative for private interests. The last election vote proved that the workers were behind him and not the Social Democrat Party.

Dr. Erhard discounts the miracle ascribed to him. He denies there is any miracle at all. It is the human miracle, he would say. The German worker

was enabled to work hard, he worked harder. He had faith in his money. He saved and he invested. Prosperity was inevitable.

To the list of fundamental rights of man, Dr. Erhard adds yet another. Currency stability. He warns that the state must not be allowed to sin against currency; it must not create capital when it does not exist and then pretend to give loans for welfare works.

INTERNATIONALIST

Never a diehard nationalist, Dr. Erhard has been advocating liberalisation of trade from the day he assumed office. He was instrumental in achieving the European Payments Union. He was one of the architects of the Common Market. He does not want to stop there. He wants all courtesy to join in the integration of trade, with all barriers down.

He is for free world trade, for multilateral trade, trade, more trade between underdeveloped and developed countries. According to him, this way the less-fortunate countries can be helped to overcome the horrors of poverty. As he says in the preface, one of the keys of his policy is the desire to overcome national demarcation lines and to contribute to the unity of men of goodwill throughout the globe.”

Dr. Erhard condemns narrow national views since according to him in the mid-twentieth century, social needs and stresses affect all countries. “The prosperity of the German nation can be maintained if the progress of the industrial nations is made to serve the nations of the whole world.”

In the free convertibility of the West German mark—the fourth currency in the world, to attain such privilege—is the living symbol of the greatness of Dr. Erhard.

The Asia Publishing House has rendered a signal service to Indian economists and lay readers as well by bringing out an English edition of the classic work. —“Bharat Jyoti”

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

Sri Vallabha Swamy, Secretary, All India Sarva Seva Sangha addressed a study circle meeting at the Libertarian Social Institute Bangalore on 28-5-1959. The subject was “World crisis and its solution.” Shri Krishna Rao Pawar, Corporator, and former Deputy Mayor of Bangalore presided.

Sri Vallabh Swamy analysing the crisis said that there were both internal and international crises exist-

(Continued from page 8)

acquire property and own property is one of the essential freedoms of man. History, I believe, shows clearly where the individual had no right to own and manage property he likewise had no other freedom—freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of assembly, and of living as an individual. Today, history repeats itself. In those lands where man is not free to own property and to choose his vocation he does not enjoy those other freedoms.”

G. N. L.

ing. Only way to avert these crisis was changing of human heart. To this, Swamiji said, the sacrifice and the creation of a psychological atmosphere of service, was essential.

Further he said that the modern science had brought the people of the world nearer physically but the human hearts remained at a distance. India though scientifically could not advance, has achieved a tremendous advancement in philosophy. And this philosophy alone can bring the human hearts nearer. Vallabha Swami concluding his talk said that the spirit of service and sacrifice, and Dharma alone could solve the world crises.

Mr. Krishna Rao Pawar said that the people needed more correct guidance and the conscience of duty was the solution for crises and he appreciated the activities of the Institute in this direction.

Secretary, A Venkataram proposed a vote of thanks.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Madam,

One fails entirely to understand the extremely paradoxical attitude that Mr. Nehru has taken up towards the situation in Laos in contrast with his lukewarm attitude towards Chinese aggression in Tibet.

Over Tibet, Mr. Nehru mutely acquiesced to the Chinese semantics that Tibet is an internal affair of China. He ignored largely the open statements of the Dalai Lama and the facetious denunciation of the Chinese, implicit in the mass migration of Tibetans. He said—which we painfully noted—that the facts were not clear to him.

And now we find an unbelievable contrast in the attitude of Mr. Nehru towards what he terms the "explosive situation" in Laos.

Laos is a remote country in Indo-China where the Communists, taking advantage of the leniency of the Royal Prince, tried to entrench themselves in power. Mr. Phoui, who came to power recently, has tried to effectively put down the communist menace. Mr. Phoui is to be congratulated in so far as he has succeeded in ridding the country of the communists who had already established connections with China and North Viet-Nam.

The situation in Laos is a very simple one and by no means "explosive." It is a purely internal affair.

Soviet Russia, in keeping with communist tactics, has tried to evoke the now-dead Armistic Pact of which India and China are members with Canada. It can easily be seen that with the revival of this Pact, which is technically null and void, the communists will be facilitated in gaining a victory in Laos.

Mr. Nehru, strangely enough, has sided with Soviet Russia. It is hard to understand his attitude which seems to be based on a double standard.

Over Tibet, he made a hundred excuses for the communists whereas, over Laos, he is filled with righteous indignation.

Tibet ought to have concerned him much more than remote Laos. It was a moral issue wherein freedom and all higher values were directly involved. Laos is a simple purely political affair.

Furthermore, Tibet is much more important to us because of its geographical situation. With Tibet gone communist, Chinese Imperialism becomes a much more active threat to us than it has ever been.

It is obvious from this (as from Hungary and a score of other instances) where Mr. Nehru's sympathies lie. It is not a Communist agent, he is undoubtedly a communist sympathizer.

Chembur.

K. D. Valicha

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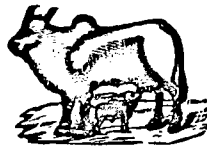
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