

Indian Libertarian

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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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IN THIS ISSUE

July 15, 1960

	PAgs		PAgs
EDITORIAL	1	<i>A Record of Brazen Red Treachery</i>	
<i>The U.S.A. and Indian Freedom</i>		by Satya Roy	11
by M. A. Venkatrao	5	<i>Origin and Nature of Government</i>	
<i>Student Indiscipline</i> by M. N. Tholal	8	by Laurence Labadie	12
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	DELHI LETTER	14
		GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS	16
		NEWS AND VIEWS	17

EDITORIAL

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' THREAT OF STRIKE

THE Government and country are threatened by what almost amounts to a general strike. Central Government employees, railwaymen and many other categories of workers organised by strong trade unions are demanding a linkage of wages with the cost of living index and a minimum wage. These are new demands not contemplated by the Second Pay Commission which recommends a small pay rise of Rs. 5 per month for most employees drawing a pay of Rs. 500/- and lower. As also a number of rises in the starting salaries of assistants and others and in the maxima of grades. Their recommendations would involve an addition of Rs. 30 crores to the pay bill of the Union. If the demands of the employees is conceded, it is calculated that the pay bill will have to rise to Rs. 80 crores which cannot be afforded by Union finances.

The Government have been unduly sympathetic to labour on socialist principles and no doubt also on grounds of party popularity. They have set up a tradition of favouring labour in its conflicts with capital, when the employer is from the private sector. Their tribunals have awarded unfairly high wages and awards of bonus etc in most cases referred to them.

The Government are now threatened with "being hoisted with their own petard!"

A strike of this dimension on the part of Central Government employees can well paralyse its routine functions. The Congress party leaders have pronounced that the employees are being unpatriotic in this move of theirs, especially at a time like this when the invader is on Indian soil.

Also, the Second Five Year Plan is about to close and the new Third Year Plan of double its dimensions is about to be crystallised. And when the country is to gird up its loins to achieve the "Take-off" stage of development, workers especially in Government offices, should not indulge in a selfish hold-up, as it were, on a scale reminiscent of revolution.

But the demands are reasonable on the whole. The automatic linkage of wages with cost of living indices and the principle of minimum wages have been accepted by liberal Governments like the USA for years now. To reject consideration of these proposals on the ground that they were outside the scope of the II Pay Commission is jejune and unjustifiable.

But setting a date like an ultimatum by workers and threatening a general strike of the kind are also

unreasonable. Linkage of cost of living with wages takes some time to arrange and minimum wages cannot be fixed only for government employees. Both measures have to be made applicable to all employees including those in the private sector. This will take some time. Meanwhile the recommendations of the Pay Commission accepted by the Government can be reasonably accepted—as an interim settlement.

Since the date is July 11, the issue will become clear by the time this number of *Indian Libertarian* is out. It is reported that the Government are contemplating banning the strike as illegal.

But this is only a temporary solution. The whole principle of the right and permissibility of Government employees in the civil and revenue sections, apart from industrial establishments in the public sector, being allowed to strike as a democratic privilege needs to be reconsidered. The Governmental machine should operate ceaselessly all the time. If it is to be repaired, it must be done without allowing it to come to a stop. It must be repaired on the wing, as it were. And since the government employees have the privilege of a secure pension and regular grades of increment and chances of promotion to higher levels of emoluments, it is but reasonable to ask them to forego the luxury of strikes altogether. Instead of the crude method of strikes and hold-ups causing so much dislocation in public service, a variety of arbitration could be resorted in the last resort, if ordinary petitions fail. Judicial arbitration by judges from the High Court should be sufficient to safeguard the ends of justice. Government could accept such awards by impartial legal luminaries.

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A general strike smacks of class war and is inappropriate in differences between government and their employees. Their relations are not governed by the profit motive. Reasonable rates can only be determined by agreed standards of living for different categories of work. Class war and brute pressure involving interruption of essential services dislocating the lives of millions of people are thoroughly out of place in the relations between government and their employees.

The Government should also realise that their policy of socialist and communist Planning with forced marches beyond the resources of the economy has (as expected and feared by informed observers) resulted in a high degree of inflation. Prices have risen by 30 per cent in the last two years from the start of the Second Plan. Deficit financing of the order envisaged against sound advice namely Rs. 1200 crores has caused this high rate of inflation along with other causes such as high taxation and restriction of imports and deficiency in food grains. If the Third Plan is to double the investment to Rs. 10,000 crores and more, the pressure of inflation may go out of hand and cause many disturbing movements: food riots, communist inflammation of popular emotions, strikes etc.

THE CHINESE INFRINGE THE NEPALESE BORDER AGAIN

News comes that the Chinese contingent has infringed the Nepalese border near Mustang. They killed a police official and captured 16 others well within the Nepalese border! To Mr. Koirala's protest, Mr. Chou En-lai has answered that he is disturbed and sorry and will offer a compensation. He will arrange the return of the captured Nepalese. The Chinese had come within the neutralised area of 12 miles in flagrant violation of the recent Sino-Nepalese Agreement.

But of course agreements are not sacrosanct to the communists in general and the Chinese in particular. The Russian communists have in their career so far broken more than a thousand treaties, it is calculated by authoritative sources!

Now this puts India in an embarrassing situation. India has proclaimed that any attack on Nepal will be considered as an attack on herself. If the Chinese troops continue their infringements, India is obliged to move to the defence of the Nepalese border with her own troops! But Nepal has signed a nonaggression and neutralist treaty with China. She will have to repudiate the treaty and call upon India to defend her borders! But the chances are that Nepal will put up with a good deal more before she will persuade herself to take Indian assistance. The situation is complicated by the fear that Indian resources may not be sufficient to stand up to Red China. And even if they were, the whole world knows that Mr. Nehru will not depart from his "sacred" policy of Panchsheela pacifism even for the defence of India's territorial integrity! It is reported that Indian

defences are being improved with new roads and additions to cargo airplanes and other conveniences for the movement of troops and food and materials.

The Defence Minister and Prime Minister have visited the Ladakh area and have made a first hand study of the military and defence requirements and situation. It is to be hoped that while prolonging the period of waiting to cover preparations, they will not make it an excuse to abandon the idea of military resistance altogether!

An American newspaper reported that the Indian army has planned to resist and make a stand only in the Cis-Himalyan plains after the Chinese cross the passes!

Both common sense and military expert opinion indicate that this is a hazardous undertaking. Once the enemy enters the Gangetic brahmaputra Plains, he cannot be stopped except on the Vidhya ranges! The whole of Northern India would fall into enemy hands and Indian armies will have to be regrouped and strengthened and sent into battle again from the Vindhyan mountains! The South will have to keep the light of freedom burning as before. It is to be hoped that the idea of containing the Chinese beyond the Himalayan ranges will not be abandoned in despair.

GENERAL AYUB KHAN ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

Dr. Raghuvira who has distinguished himself among members of parliament for anxious interest in defence matters has reported the substance of an interview he had recently with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

Despite the recent recrudescence of military firing and intransigence on the part of Pakistani contingents on both Eastern and Western borders, President Ayub Khan seems to have retained his attitude of peaceful settlement with India.

He seems to have expressed keenness for a defence pact with India. He wants a disengagement of Indian and Pakistani armies on the Kashmir cease-fire line. He estimates that fully 80 per cent of the Indian army is deployed on the Kashmir Front. He thought that if this force is disengaged and India employs her full military force against the Chinese, manning the Passes, she would succeed in containing the Chinese beyond the Himalayan border.

In that event, Pakistani forces would also be freed to face the threat from Afghanistan backed by Russia.

It is a question both of trust and tactics. When a common danger threatens, it is but common sense for two traditional enemies to pool resources and meet the greater common danger.

The Panchatantra has the story of the Rat taking shelter in the bosom of her natural enemy the Cat to avoid being grabbed by the eagle circling over-

head menacingly. The Cat also is frightened and refrains for the time being from molesting the Rat. But the Rat escapes into the tree-hole before the Cat is aware and resists all the entreaties of the Cat asking it to come out in friendship!

Similarly, Western nations went to the assistance of Communist Russia when confronted with the immediate danger of Hitlerism, though their systems were in direct conflict.

To the question whether in case of common defence, Pakistani forces may not take advantage of Indian trust and enter into Indian territories and occupy them, General Cariappa (the retired Commander in Chief of India) once replied that the danger can be provided against. The Pakistanis can be made to understand that the entry of their forces beyond the area marked out of bounds for them, would make us instantaneously take action against Pakistan. The threat would be enough. Asked for his opinion of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, General Ayub Khan seems to have replied that India's Defence Minister seemed to think that "China is India's eternal friend, while Pakistan is her eternal enemy!" He is right. We should remember the Kautilyan advice that a State should regard the enemy as though one day it might become a friend and a friend as though one day he would become an enemy! Today, China whom we regarded as a Friend-(Chinese-Hindi Bhai Bhai) has turned out an enemy! Still the policy or principle of Panch-sheel is supposed to be irrefragable and sacred!

The Tibetans seem to be offering stiff resistance even yet. A large force of Khampas seem to be moving from Eastern Tibet to Western areas armed with guns and other light weapons. The Chinese "pacification" or complete suppression of the revolt does not seem to have come to an end. There is thus even now an excellent opportunity for India to take up the cause of the Tibetans as a nation, at least in propaganda and keep their claims alive, while our military preparations continue. But if President Ayub Khan is right, India's Defence Minister seems to envisage ultimate friendship with China in spite of the aggression into India's borders.

It is more than ever essential that Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon should quit the Defence Department. The will to resist can never reach effective tempo so long as he is in charge of defence against the Chinese communists.

PUNJABI SUBAH AGITATION

Master Tara Singh is under detention and arrangements are being made to question the legality of the measure. But his absence from the scene of the agitation does not mean any let up in the struggle of his followers.

There are some disturbing features of the struggle for Punjabi Subah. In fact, to call it a demand for a Punjabi State like other States would be wrong

and an under-estimate of the mischievous potentialities of the demand.

For what Master Tara Singh wants is really **Sikhistan!** The taunt directed against the Sikhs during the Partition riots should be remembered. It has gone home to the Sikhs in general and the Akali Sikhs in particular. "The Hindus got Hindustan, Muslims got Pakistan. But what have you, the Sikhs got?"

The question assumes that the Sikhs are not an integral part of Hindustan. It reinforces the British policy of separating the Sikhs from the Hindus giving them separate electorates and a weightage in the army and army contracts and irrigation facilities in the Punjab. The British had even passed a law preventing sale of irrigated lands to non-military persons—in effect to non-Sikhs.

The historic fact is that the Sikhs were the sword-arm of the Hindu community against the persecution and aggression of the Islamic rulers at Delhi through the centuries. Sikhism is only a different sect or *sampradaya* within the Hindu fold.

The gods and mythology were the same but Sikh Gurus emphasised Monotheism and eschewed idol worship and caste. They continued to allow inter-marriage with the parent community. Even today, Sikhs and other Hindu sects inter-marry.

But political ambition of the Akali leaders has created the demand for a separate Sikh State. There is no valid case for it, for even in the present Punjab with a large Hindu majority, the Sikhs are having a preponderant share in economic opportunities, Government services, especially the police and military departments and even in the Congress party hierarchy. They do not have any disadvantage as a nominal minority.

The real fact is psychological. The Akali Sikhs want to have a State of their own in which they can dominate as a majority! Their assurances that they would allow the Hindus and Muslims to remain on equal terms in Sikhistan are not worth much in view of their separatist temper and intention.

There is the further fact that Master Tara Singh has often pointed to the special status of Kashmir with a Flag, and a Constitution of its own with the Indian Constitution not applying to it except in some matters with the permission of Kashmiri authorities. Indians cannot settle and acquire property and trade in Kashmir on equal terms even yet! Master Tara Singh wants only defence, foreign affairs and communications to be taken over by the Central Government. He is not above playing with Pakistanis to the detriment of India! Two students were caught entering the Delhi Gurudwara with a letter from a Lahore professor to Sardar Bachphl Singh the leader of the Subah agitation who has taken refuge from the police in the sacred premises. The students were **Pakistanis**. The police are investigating. Master

Tara Singh had visited Pakistan and delivered hot speeches in several cities there to appreciative audiences on the legitimacy of his Punjabi Subah claim! Pakistani audiences (and perhaps officials as well) gave him assurance of support when the time seems to become ripe! He is now stressing the differences from Hindus as the League leaders did before.

He wants to make out a case for a separate nationality for the Sikhs!

It must be admitted that though Mr. Kairon as Chief Minister is suppressing the agitation with strong measures trenching on the high-handed and illegal, there is no counter propaganda from the ideological point of view.

The reply of the Hindus from the cultural point of view is interpreted as equally communal and there is no national sentiment urged against the Sikh Akalis with any conviction. If the Congress were a national party fired with national patriotism, its leaders should initiate a raging and tearing campaign in the Punjab and the rest of the country rallying national sentiment and weakening the demand for a further partition of the Punjab.

But the Congress party has lost national fervour long ago. The leaders in Government, Pandit Nehru and Pandit Pant have professed against the Akali agitation in a feeble manner. But mere force and law will not make any impression on the agitation. The nationalism of the Akalis should be appealed to with cogent force. It should be shown that as equal citizens of India, no section of the people of India will suffer under the modern Constitution of the Democratic Republic that we have adopted in 1951.

PHIZO IS IN LONDON

The rebel Naga leader Phizo (on whose head a prize is set) has escaped to London with a forged South American passport. There is reason to think that Pakistani officials (or high-ups) helped him to hide and escape out of the country. There have been rumours for the past one or two years that he was hiding in East Pakistan. But Indian authorities seemed to have done nothing to demand his extradition from Pakistani authorities.

Phizo escaped to Phillipines where he got a forged Uruguayan or Paraguayan passport to London in the blackmarket assisted by the good offices of the Pakistani envoy there.

And in London, he had the assistance of Missionary friends who smoothed the acceptance of the forged document by the port officials. Now he is being assisted by his British friends to air his "national" demands in the London press. India has not yet asked the British to hand the rebel over under extradition as a wanted man. As usual, paralysis seem to attack Indian authorities when national danger threatens. They are incapable of vigorous

and decisive action. This will give much trouble to us before the problem is solved.

Indeed those who know the weaknesses of Nehru (as regards Foreign States and minority intransigence) do not expect any solution of these problems, whether of the Punjabi Subah, Phizo propaganda in London and before the UNO, the Naga State demand, the demand of the Eastern Hills tribes in Assam for a State of their own Dravidian agitation for a separate sovereign Dravid or Tamil State etc. And Nehru is securely established by Congress majorities irrespective of the disasters his administration is bringing to the country for lack of firm policies and determined patriotism.

AFRICAN ADVANCE

Congo, Somalia and Togoland are other African States to achieve independence this month.

Ghana inaugurated her Republica Constitution with Mr. Nkrumah as President.

AFRICA IS ON THE MARCH

But Communism is more in evidence on the scene than western democracies. In Guinea which became independent of the French by taking advantage of De Gaulle's offer, we have communist countries offering assistance in machinery and other goods. Czech buses and Hungarian goods are in evidence in the streets of Conakry, the capital. The President, Mr. Toure, is a communist. He has proclaimed a policy of neutralism but so far it is only the

Communist bloc that has moved in massive assistance in setting the new State on its feet.

The new African States have the great handicap of not having a trained civil service and modern industrial or agricultural techniques. They have to begin from scratch. Unless the UNO moves in through a vast constructive programme of economic and administrative assistance, they will become the cockpit of the war between the blocs, with the balance of advantage going to the communist bloc.

East Africans are also restive and may achieve independence early notwithstanding the resistance of the British settlers.

In South Africa, the unrest is not yet over. There seem to be new areas erupting into riots and demonstrations. The South African Boer will find that the African can no longer be treated as a beast of burden. The whole world is scandalised at the obsolete Apartheid of the South African Boers.

The stimulus of Communist attacks on western imperialism, race prejudice and injustices is having a strong liberating effect on subject countries and their imperialist masters. Even the Belgians in Congo have reconciled themselves and granted independence to the natives. The young Belgian King was himself present at the inauguration ceremonies and wished Godspeed to the new State.

The new problem before the leaders of Western powers is how to forestall communism in these vast new undeveloped areas and help them to start effectively on economic progress.

The USA and Indian Freedom

By M. A. Venkata Rao

HOW much of post-war Indo-American coolness is due to the personal predilections of Pandit Nehru and how much to the necessities of the situation comes out vividly by a glance at the publication put out by the American State Department this month. It contains the war-time correspondence of President Roosevelt with Churchill urging the latter to concede freedom to India as a part of the war effort. Roosevelt felt that a definite date should be mentioned for the grant of independence to India. He felt that this was essential to give substance to the Allied declaration of war aims. The Atlantic Charter declared that the governing war aim of the democratic nations at war with Hitlerism and Japan was freedom for all nations, small and big, to live out their lives in the comity of nations unhindered and unmolested by Big Powers. They declared that a successor to the old League of Nations would be established after victory to ensure collective security and defence against aggression

by the combined might of the free world mobilised automatically against the peace breaker.

But the British imperialist leader Mr. Churchill was adamant. Roosevelt asked the American ambassador in London to urge upon Churchill to include India among the nations to obtain freedom after allied victory. Mr. Cordell Hull the American Secretary of State during all the four terms of Roosevelt's presidency discloses this in his Memoirs. But Churchill refused to do so. On the contrary he stated explicitly that the nations whose liberation was intended by the Atlantic Charter were only the European nations overrun by Hitler. The Asiatic nations conquered by the Japanese were to be returned in Churchill's dispensation to their former imperialistic masters—Holland, France and Britain vis-a-vis Indonesia, Indochina and Burma!

But Roosevelt did not cease putting pressure on the British leader although he did not go beyond

a point in view of the need for war-time solidarity with the British in the grim all-out war effort against the Wehrmacht of Hitler and the imperial might of Japan.

Roosevelt gave his view that the war effort would be helped and democracy advanced if India was put on the road to independence through a temporary government like the Confederation that preceded the establishment of the United States Federal Government in 1789.

The American publication just issued includes also communications by Marshal Chiang Kai Shek, Dr. Syngman Rhee, General Mac Arthur, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

Marshall Chiang Kai Shek visited India during the war and urged Indian independence on the British and met Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. He wrote repeatedly to President Roosevelt to urge the cause of Indian independence on the British Prime Minister. He was anxious that the Allies should show by their deeds the sincerity of their professed principles of insuring freedom and justice to men of all races. President Roosevelt replied to Chiang Kai Shek that he deplored the dispute between British and Indian nationalist leaders led by Mahatma Gandhi but felt that he could not go beyond a point in urging the case for Indian freedom in view of the delicacy between allies in an all-out war.

Prime Minister Churchill sent Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate with Gandhi and Nehru for a war-time interim arrangement on the understanding that full freedom was to be conceded after victory. But the negotiations came to an abrupt end with Cripps withdrawing the substance of the original offer and whittling it down to minor powers of cooperation with the British in full authority.

Roosevelt sent Colonel Johnson as his personal envoy and representative to watch the negotiations with Indian leaders. Johnson urged substantial and sincere concessions to Indians. Roosevelt followed up the work of his representative in Delhi by writing personal letters to Gandhi and Nehru.

Mahatma Gandhi replied to Roosevelt. He wrote (July 1942) that the Allies' declaration that they were fighting to "make the world safe for democracy" and individual freedom sounded hollow while India and Africa were being exploited by Britain and while America had the Negro problem. But in order to avoid all complications in his proposals he confined himself to India. If India becomes free, he wrote, the rest must follow. Addressing the American President as "Dear friend", Mahatma Gandhi spoke of his intense dislike of British rule but said that he had many friends in Britain whom he loved as dearly as his own people. His proposal that the British should withdraw their rule was prompted by the friendliest motives, he said.

So even from the very beginning of the negotiations for Indian freedom, Indian leaders stood on the ground of universal principle and eschewed all hatred and race prejudice. They included the freedom of all dependant peoples in their demand for freedom, for the self-government of all peoples, primitive or civilised, small or large.

It is clear also that Roosevelt and Cordell Hull had great respect for Gandhi and Nehru and the Indian people. They took it for granted that Indians deserved freedom as much as China or Japan.

The way we are cold shouldering Chiang Kai Shek today, and preferring the Red Chinese as representatives of historic China is a piece of ingratitude, for which there is no justification. It smacks of treachery to friends and flattery to powerful usurpers. If Mao Tse tung is to be accorded the status of legitimate ruler, he should stand the test of free elections competing with Chiang Kai Shek or other candidates. Till then, we have no moral right to concede sovereignty to Mao on the basis of force.

In fact our foreign policy is peculiar in all history. It is directed neither to national self-interest nor to moral principles directed to high-minded internationalism.

Roosevelt also wrote to Nehru to sound him on nationalist reaction in case the British assured freedom after the war, conceding local autonomy or self-government in civil departments during the war when military effort would be in British hands.

There were disturbing rumours that Gandhi and Nehru would not undertake to fight Nazism in their hatred of British rule. Roosevelt wanted an assurance that Indian nationalist leaders were on the side of the Allies in the cause of democracy and freedom for all nations.

Jawaharlal Nehru replied to Roosevelt in 1942: "We who have struggled so long for freedom against an old aggression, would prefer to perish rather than submit to a new invader". In fact in the early days of the Cripps Mission, Nehru had declared enthusiastically that he would as war Minister gladly mobilise the nation's resources against the Nazi imperialists and Japanese invaders. But the second part of Cripps' modified proposals after a trip to England blasted all such hopes. Cripps now withdrew any substantial offer of autonomy and any assurance of independence after victory! He offered minor powers such as supervising army canteens, red cross etc.!

Moreover, Churchill declared in Parliament that the Atlantic Charter was meant only to European nations that had been conquered by Hitler and not to component regions and dependent peoples of the British empire. He announced in his Guild Hall Speech that he had not become Britain's Prime Minister just to liquidate the empire!

But events forced the proud descendant of Marl-

borough, (the conqueror of the French armies of the Grand Monarch Louis XIV) to acquiesce in the liquidation of his empire however reluctantly when Attlee decided to transfer Power to Indian hands later.

But Roosevelt was satisfied with the replies of Gandhi and Nehru that they were on the side of freedom and democracy and would mobilise India's resources in men and money for that cause if freedom were granted to her.

The President replied that he was deeply gratified by Nehru's answer.

Indian suspicions were confirmed when Churchill replied to pressmen that the Atlantic Charter was not meant for the dependencies of European empires. Mahatma Gandhi crystallised Indian opinion with his famous statement that the Atlantic Charter was drowned in the Atlantic Ocean as soon as it was promulgated!

Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State was not satisfied with Churchill's intransigence. He got Roosevelt to declare explicitly in a speech delivered in the USA that the freedom of all nations and races under existing empires was an integral part of the war aims of the Allies!

The American showed the *bona fides* by fixing a date ten years later for giving independence to their dependency namely the Philippines.

Roosevelt and Cordell Hull adverted to this issue again and again and never allowed it to be forgotten.

Mr. Hull even controverted the counter propaganda of the Indian Consul General in Washington, Mr. Girija Shankar Bajpai who assured the American public and leaders that Gandhi's influence was not great enough to thwart the British war effort in India! Mr. Hull has placed it on record that he answered Bajpai to the effect that Gandhi and his followers could hamstring Indian war effort if they roused public opinion against it. Out of consideration for the fact that the Allies were fighting against Hitlerism and Japanese imperialism (which were more powerful tyrannies than theirs) Gandhi instituted only a token war resistance of individual *satyagrahis* like Vinoba Bhave.

Roosevelt went the length of telling Churchill that American public opinion would not approve of fighting to preserve the old empires of Britain and France. He wrote to Churchill on the failure of the Cripps mission. He was not convinced that the failure was due to Indian intransigence but to the British refusal to concede a real measure of freedom during the war with an assurance of full freedom after victory.

"I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with the point of view set forth in your message to me that public opinion in the United States believes that the negotiations have failed on the broad general issues The feeling is almost universally held that

the deadlock has been caused by the unwillingness of the British Government to concede to the Indians the right to self-government, notwithstanding the willingness of the Indians to entrust technical, military and naval defence to the competent British authorities.

"American public opinion cannot understand why, if the British Government was willing to permit the component parts of India to secede from the British empire after the war, it is not willing to permit them to enjoy what is tantamount to self government during the war!"

Roosevelt asked Churchill to postpone Cripps' departure from India to consider these issues more fully.

Churchill replied that Cripps had already left India failing to reach agreement with Indian leaders. The full debt that India owes to America for her independence can be realised if we remember that recognition of the justice and necessity of Indian independence by the leading World State among the Allies had a profound psychological effect on India and the world.

The status of freedom became a psychological reality for India and the Asian nations. If China with all her weakness could be independent and treated as such, there was no reason why India with an equally great spiritual and historical achievement status should not be conceded a similar status in the comity of nations. Hitlerism had covered the idea of empire with obloquy and had made it disreputable and obsolete. The idea of the White man's Burden was covered with ridicule and ignominy.

Roosevelt followed up his sentiment and generous impulses with sending his personal representatives Johnson and Phillips one after the other to New Delhi. They were present in Delhi at the different stages of the Cripps negotiations and urged the British authorities to concede Indian independence in a genuine measure, subject to any war-time conditions that may be necessary in the interests of the war effort.

Col. Johnson and Mr. Phillips figured as American ambassadors in the eyes of India and the world and their presence proclaimed to the whole world the new reality of a free and independent India! Indian independence became a *de facto* reality, though the *de jure* status was to come in August 1947 with the accession of the Labor Party to power in England. Attlee's Cabinet Mission of 1946-47 fulfilled the hopes that Cripps had raised only to be dashed to the ground.

The record as published by the American authorities now reveal also the generous part played by Marshall Chiang Kai shek in urging Roosevelt to prevail upon the British Prime Minister to recognise the compelling need to grant independence to India. We should remember this role of the Kuomintang
(Continued on page 8)

Student Indiscipline

By M. N. Tholal

A JOURNALIST by profession, I found myself at the fag end of my career an educationist too. The Principal of a Post-Graduate Department of Journalism of a University happened to see a series of articles written by me for a weekly under the heading "Tips to Journalists" and invited me to deliver a few lectures to his students. As I was doing so, a lecturer left for the USA and I was requested to step into his shoes, which I did, as it was only a part-time job, three lectures a week each of 50 minutes' duration.

During my connection with this Department I had the opportunity of observing the ways of students and their reactions. I found to my surprise that the Department was more or less of a farce, run for the benefit of two brothers, the younger of whom was the Principal and the elder a lecturer, though he had, as assistant editor of a Punjab daily, acquired some notoriety. The Principal's acquaintance with practical journalism was almost nil. He had obtained a diploma of journalism in some foreign university—anybody can do that in about a year's stay abroad—and was therefore considered qualified to be the Principal of a Post-Graduate Department of Journalism of a University. In his thus being considered qualified, his elder brother had a hand. As a journalist he had some influence with the members of the Syndicate and the Senate. So a Department was created for the benefit of the younger brother, who started his career as Principal of a Post-Graduate Department of Journalism, while the University could boast of a Department which few other universities had!

(Continued from page 7)

leader today when we are so callously committed to Red China ignoring the gratitude we owe him. Gratitude and the other human values can be ignored even in politics only at our peril.

Today India has cause to be deeply grateful to America for her generous financial and technical Aid in the industrialisation and modernisation of our economy. The recent agreement whereby America will deliver 17 million tons of food grains to India in the course of four years is a phenomenon unprecedented in generosity and international helpfulness. It is a significant fact that our Nehru has not yet uttered a word in public in praise of this grand gift of democratic America to India. This coldness to real friends and warmth to Machiavellian communist nations is a sad and fateful fact in Indian life today. The Indian public should bestir themselves and correct this emotional distortion at least in the interests of a genuine neutrality, if not in the interest of the preservation of national independence in the world struggle.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

THE ELDER BROTHER

The younger brother in course of time became a lecturer on Rs. 200 a month for delivering three evening lectures. At the time of his appointment a member of the subcommittee dealing with the affairs of the Department, a leading journalist, objected on principle to two brothers working in a small department, one under the other, but the Vice-Chancellor, chairman of that committee, overruled him, and the veteran journalist resigned after remarking that the Vice-Chancellor wanted to reduce the Department to a farce.

It was reduced to a farce. As the elder brother of the Principal, and as one who had got the job for him, the elder brother naturally thought that one of his privileges was that, whenever he felt he had better be busy otherwise, he need not bother about taking his class—and that was frequently enough. Sometimes he would come so late that the students would have dispersed by then. (He always had the last of the three periods at night assigned to him). His frequent absence from his chair in the class was convenient to both the lecturers and the students, for the latter were all employees, dead tired after a full day's work in offices. So, far from grumbling, their joy knew no bounds when the "elder brother"—that is what the students called him—did not arrive. No one seems to have missed him—and he did not miss his salary—when he could not take his class for nearly three months, when he was busy in his campaign for election to the State legislature. Indeed, quite a good percentage of the students began absenting themselves from the class, so busy they were in the campaign on behalf of the elder brother. It was not, however, purely labour of love, for those who undertook the campaigning had been assured that their absence from the class would be reckoned as presence and, what is more, the two brothers, who were also permanent internal examiners for the Department, would see to it that they got through. Getting through after mugging up so many books was not so easy as getting through after a little running about on behalf of the "elder brother." No wonder quite a number of them preferred the easier path.

(How the phrase "elder brother" came to be used for him might as well be explained here. Sometimes at any rate he looked younger than his younger brother. One of the students one day asked him, "Sir, are you the younger brother of the Principal?" And the elder brother replied rather angrily: "No. I am the elder brother.")

The intelligent reader would be inclined to ask: "Who gave that assurance to the students and what

was it worth? What made the students take it at its face value." These questions lead us into the heart of the farce.

LECTURER ON SPORTS

Wherever he may be, what an Indian most wants is to be a dictator. The more incompetent the man, the greater is his desire to be all-powerful. That is only natural, for he knows he is incompetent and safety and self-preservation alike demand that he fortify his position and go on doing so until he becomes invincible, despite his incompetence. So our Principal was not satisfied that he had a loyal brother on the staff with some influence in the university. He also must have someone on the staff who would carry out his wishes without being expressly asked to do so. Of course the clerk was there, but his standing was not high enough for members of a postgraduate department. So the Principal hit upon the device of recruiting a man without any qualifications whatsoever, some one who would be absolutely dependent on him for his job. And he found the man his heart desired in one of those hangers-on who want to pass as journalists by virtue of hanging around newspaper offices. So a man, who had not even worked as a sports reporter, to say nothing of sports editor, on a daily for a few weeks, became a lecturer on sports.

The reader may not be aware that sports sub-editing is much more difficult than ordinary sub-editing. Perhaps the Principal was not aware of this fact either. Be that as it may, the fact remains that a man without any qualifications was appointed Lecturer in the Post-graduate Department of Journalism. The path for such appointments had been cleared by the resignation of the veteran journalist from the committee concerned and, as for the Vice-Chancellor, what he notoriously needed was Khushamad (flattery)—that fountain source of corruption—and that he had in ample measure from the Principal. Indeed, so pleased was he with that nin-compoop that he used to call him "Dean of the Faculty" and in return the Principal would behave an exemplar of humility and obedience and subservience.

So what with the clerk and what with the great lecturer on journalism, it became known to the students before the session was well-advanced that no one who earned the displeasure of the Principal could hope to get the diploma of journalism. And as the diploma was what the fatigued employees were after—since it added to their qualifications for promotion—they were quite willing to dance to the tune of the Principal as dictated by the clerk and the lecturers mentioned above. But the Principal made a mistake. (Accidents happen in the best regulated families!) In a moment of absent-mindedness he had recruited some one who had rubbed shoulders for years with British journalists, with the topmost among them, and even made his presence felt among them. It was not till I joined the *Pioneer*—then staffed by covenanted hands

from Britain—that I really came to have a grasp over editing and sub editing, although by that time I had acted with distinction as Editor of the *Hindustan Times*.

Not being quite confident about their own knowledge of English, I found my colleagues, instead of correcting and editing the articles written by students on subjects given them, were in the habit of drawing circles over expressions which did not appear to them to be quite appropriate. These circles, they must have been aware, could not add to the knowledge of their students. When they found I was editing and correcting the students' articles, they even went to the extent of suggesting to me not to do so. "Why bother so much?"

Of real teaching there was precious little. Ways were found, instead, of impressing them with their vast knowledge. But some of them were double M.A.'s and could not be taken in easily. They soon found out the worth of their teachers and that led to my being considered by my colleagues a thorn in their side.

THE STAR PERFORMER

The Principal was content with reading out from a book. The so-called journalist would devote most of his time to humouring them. The "elder brother" was the star performer until I appeared on the scene and he could certainly speak and—after his evening peg or two—speak impressively enough. He had occasion to visit Communist China. After the visit most of his lectures were devoted to praise of China, so much so that almost the whole class became Communist and the "elder brother" more and more popular. I could see the trend. So one day, after I had discussed some points on a subject I had given them for writing, I said to the students, whom I had till then been telling, "Facts are sacred, comment is free": "I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will faithfully reproduce the opinions I have given expression to just now". "Certainly not," retorted a few among them, while others said, "No, no, Sir." "In that case," I responded, "You will make poor Communists. A good Communist has no business to think or have opinions of his own. He certainly cannot voice them without paying the price for it with his head." There was a roar of laughter, and when, a few days later, I wanted to know how many in the class were Communists, only two or three raised their hands as against the whole class which used to do so formerly. The incident was reported to the "elder brother," who took it as a personal affront.

The elder brother, who had made his younger brother Principal of the institution, naturally wanted his price. Frequent abstention was not enough. He wanted subservience from colleagues. When't he the elder brother of the Principal? So why should he mark the terminal test answer books of students? Surely, the lesser fry could do that. So

he sent his bundle on to me with the request to mark the answer books for him as he was busy with his election campaign. This request I complied with. A few months later, after the elections were over, the Chaprasi came to me with another similar bundle without any accompanying request and left it at my place. The next day the "elder brother" told me he was very busy and I retorted, "So am I", and sent the bundle back to the office unmarked. That was as good as a declaration of war on the brothers. It seems no one had ever insulted the elder brother as I had done.

What I had unconsciously done was to unsettle a settled fact. The unquestioned supremacy of the elder brother had been challenged. An insult to him was an insult to the Principal. Incident followed incident. Whenever the students were sure they had been asked to accept an incorrect expression as correct, they would ask me and then throw my opinion in the face of the elder brother as the final word on the subject. Although I suspected the students were trying to find fault with some colleague, I could not deprive them of the benefit of my advice, with a request to refer to the dictionary. But all that only made matters worse.

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION

The annual University examination was the biggest shock I ever had. To my surprise I found that the most intelligent student in my subject, Practical Journalism—proof reading, sub-editing etc.—whom I used to give over 60 per cent marks, had failed in that very subject. I found that students who seldom attended the class—roll call was often answered by proxy—were successful. So were the rottenest students in the class. All those who were busy for months with the election campaign of the elder brother were successful! The student referred to above appeared again the following year and got plucked again and again some of the poorest students were declared successful.

It was rumoured that the examiners did not mark the answer books themselves and they were marked by one of the two brothers and even the money for the same obtained from them. What I knew was that the examiners were personal friends generally of one of or both the brothers. It was obvious that something underhand was going on. So I brought the matter to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor, giving the names of some students whose answer books I requested him to look into. As I did not get a reply from him, I went to see him personally. He seemed far from pleased with me, but he said I would have to go with the Principal to the headquarters of the University and go through the answer books in the presence of the Registrar. I told him I was quite satisfied with his decision. But more than a year passed and I heard nothing from the Vice-Chancellor despite repeated reminders. The scandal had, however, become known among the staff of the University and one of them remarked to me: "My dear Sir, do you expect the Vice-Chancellor to damn his own Uni-

versity and tell the world that the diplomas and degrees of his University are bogus?"

I was absolutely certain that even a fool could say after a cursory examination of the answer books that the marking was absolutely dishonest in some cases. I knew that some of the students who had been declared successful could not answer the papers satisfactorily even if they had come to know the contents thereof long before they entered the examination hall. The Vice-Chancellor's volte face could only lead me to believe that he had written to the Registrar (or spoken to him) on the subject and the Registrar had informed him that there was a good deal of substance in my complaint, and the Vice-Chancellor had, in the interests of the University as well as those of his favourites, decided to hush up the matter.

CAMPAIGN AMONG STUDENTS

But the matter did not end there. After a few months of suspense the gentlemen against whom I had made the complaint became bolder—perhaps as they came to know that nothing was going to happen to them—and almost openly began organising a conspiracy to make it impossible for me to continue there. The real leaders of the conspiracy remained in the background and the ex-students, particularly Communists and those who had helped the elder brother in the election campaign, came to the forefront and used to visit the place of lectures almost everyday and whisper all kinds of nonsense against me to students, who went to the length of thumping the tables when I was lecturing to them.

I continued for more than a year as a lecturer after I had made the complaint to the Vice-Chancellor. If there was no substance in my charges, I should have been dismissed at once, for I was holding only a temporary job. Instead, I was allowed to continue throughout the session following my complaint and thereafter the Vice-Chancellor decided upon fresh recruitment through advertisement. Without any intention to accept the job even if offered, I deliberately applied for the job I was holding. There were interviews with the Sub-committee headed by the Vice-Chancellor and as I, the first to be interviewed, was leaving, I saw a man come and occupy a seat among the members of the sub-committee. This man used to come at the beginning of the session to the lecture room to try to persuade the required percentage of students to take up Gurumukhi, so that he might also get a job as lecturer. (He had got it once or twice.) Perhaps it was not considered desirable that I should know that this friend of the Principal was a member of the sub-committee and that is perhaps why he was hiding behind a tree as I was being interviewed. And as soon as I left he came into view and joined the sub-committee perhaps to inform the members of the sub-committee from his own personal experience what an undesirable person I

(Continued on page 11)

The Indian Libertarian

Economic Supplement

Population, Unemployment and Plans

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

NEXT to food problem, the most important problem that we face at present is the unemployment problem and this is mainly due to the unrealistic taxation policy that we have adopted in order to implement the Five Year Plans. Though nine years have elapsed since we introduced planning, yet our leaders have miserably failed to tackle this menacing problem and unless it is solved all our talk about economic growth is nothing but mockery. This unemployment problem is mainly due to rapid increase in population. Our first and second five year plans were not much of a success either in the direction of creating vast employment potentials or in arresting the rapid growth of population. Though the Second Five Year Plan was employment-oriented, yet the problem of unemployment has been further accentuated and under the present conditions, the Third Five Year Plan would start with a backlog of about eight millions unemployed and if we add to this figure the new entrants to the labour force during the five years of the Third Five Year Plan, then the Third five year plan has to create about eighteen to twenty million jobs. This is a stupendous task of removing the curse of unemployment from Indian economy during the period of Third Plan. We must think about this aspect of planning if we really want to eradicate unemployment. It is the duty of the Indian planners to ensure that "all citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood" in terms of Directive Principles enshrined in our Constitution.

In an underdeveloped country like ours, the density of population is high and there is too much pressure on land with the result that the marginal productivity of labour on land is almost zero. This results in a low average per capita production, which causes low average per capita income and consequently demand which restricts the development of secondary and tertiary industries which are needed in our country to increase employment. This unfavourable relationship between population and resources in our country tends to perpetuate a condition which is marked by the low income, low output, low savings and low investment due to capital deficiency, and the combined effects of all these retard the rapid economic development of the country. Rapid population growth not only inhibits the growth of secondary and tertiary industries but it

also comes in the way of raising the standard of living of the teeming millions. Unless our half-baked leaders on whom Marxian has a considerable influence change their present fiscal and taxation policy and attempt to increase agricultural and industrial production, a rapidly growing population is certainly to remain a serious obstacle in the path of economic development of our country. Even after nine years of planning we are not able to reach the "take off stage" and this conclusively proves that socialist pattern of society and controlled economy do not serve our country. What is necessary is the adoption of Free Economy in which the decisions that affect the economy are taken by individual citizens and not by the Government. In such an economy every citizen has a freedom of choice in all matters that affect his own economic welfare. The worker, for example may choose a position which he likes best from all those available while the employer may choose for a particular job any worker that he prefers from all those who ask to be employed. This economy believes in the free market and not in "beggar my neighbour policy" which is adopted by our country in order to solve the foreign exchange problems. In a Free economy each citizen may make his decision as to what he will buy and when he will buy. When these decisions made by the people are taken together, they will determine the rate of production. To protect his own interests the manufacturer will produce the best quality of goods at the lowest possible price. Competitive efforts by others compel him to improve his own methods. To achieve this, there must be a gradual reduction of tariffs and the relaxation of quotas. Free economy believes in free market. The consumer who buys the goods needs protection from inefficiency at home and he must be allowed to buy goods from abroad if they are better and cheaper.

The rapid population growth has given rise to another serious problem, namely, under-employment or disguised unemployment. At present we not only have a big stock of unutilised man-power but a large reserve of under utilised man-power also. Under-employment is the basic problem of our country because it exists chronically "in the backward, overpopulated countries of the East and indeed, everywhere, except among the most deve-

loped industrial nations". This underemployment of the underdeveloped countries is different from the involuntary unemployment of the advanced industrial countries as envisaged by Keynes in his General Theory of Employment. The problem in an underdeveloped country like ours is one of underemployment rather than of unemployment; it is agricultural rather than industrial and lastly it is chronic rather than cyclical. This underemployment is not concentrated among a limited number of workers, but it is being spread over the bulk of the population. At present very little thought has been given by our planners to the use of man-power resources. Planning in an underdeveloped country should take into account this vast amount of human resources. It is suicidal to ignore this productive energy and allow it to waste. Effective steps towards creation of conditions of full employment and for eradicating the menace of unemployment are absolutely essential. To mobilise our man-power resources we require a bolder and more ambitious plan but at the same time it should be a realistic one and not based on doctrinaire method. In an underdeveloped country like ours, planning does not mean fixing certain targets and realising them; it implies mainly the full utilisation of our resources human and physical. In such an utilisation money should remain as an instrument of help and should not be elevated to the position of a dictator. To implement our plans our leaders have adopted deficit financing which Keynes advocated to fight against involuntary unemployment during the world depression in nineteen thirties. Involuntary unemployment according to Keynes was due to deficiency of effective demand and could be cured by increasing investment or consumption or by both. He recommended deficit financing to stimulate the economy and to make the idle resources active. There are certain contrasts between our conditions and the conditions out of which Keynes developed his theory of employment. Due to deficit financing our prices of consumer goods have risen considerably and the internal value of our rupee has fallen by 29%. To place so much reliance on this process is detrimental from the point of economic development of our country. Efforts should be made to increase the savings and these can take place only when there is a well-defined pricing policy. A proper pricing policy would have helped us in determining the optimum dose of inflation, which is necessary in the early stages of the economic development of the country. Much of the present rise in prices is due to the shortage of consumer goods as great emphasis was put on the development of heavy industries at the cost of small scale industries with the result that unemployment has tended to rise during the Second Five Year Plan period. What is necessary at present is the development of small scale industries with labour intensive methods. It would be necessary to increase allocation to the small industrial sector from Rs. 61 crores in Second Plan to about Rs. 200—Rs. 300 crores in Third Plan. Development of agriculture

and small industries would yield better results. Preference should be given to those projects which have low gestation period. Development of small scale industries would bring about the decentralised pattern of industrialization. Unless this happens we may not achieve the wider objective of fuller and more productive employment, an increase in national income and a balanced development of all sectors of the economy.

Family planning which is a part of the official policy has not achieved a great success during the First and Second Five Year Plans and there is an urgent need that it should be placed on a wider and more practical lines. At present our population is increasing at a rate which is larger than assumed by the authorities. At present it is increasing at a rate of 2 per cent per annum and unless it is controlled by means of family planning all our efforts to raise the standard of living of the present population, to give adequate means of livelihood will be eaten up by these new entrants. We must ensure that three should be the average number of children in a family, and to achieve the necessary results an appropriate legislation to help in the programme of sterilization should be introduced. Whether the husband should be sterilised or his wife, will depend on individual circumstances in each case. Planning and uncontrolled growth of population cannot go together. At present birth of a baby brings one of the heaviest liabilities. In its memorandum to the Government of India, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has stated "While some beginning has been made for popularising family planning in India it can be said that hardly the fringe of the problem has been tackled. Much effort—financial, social and psychological—will have to be expended before the growth of India's population is checked to a reasonably low rate. Otherwise, plans for economic development or betterment will always be bogged down in the inveterate and blind addition to the numbers expected to benefit from increased production and improved distribution of goods and services". "A large number of mobile family clinics should be set up with necessary equipment for auto-visual instruction, clinical and surgical aids, sale of contraceptives and several other birth control accessories. The village panchayats once they are convinced can do miracles in this field. The third plan should have a larger allocation for this activity and reorientate the programme by making it an integral part of the comprehensive programme of community development thus taking it deep into the rural sector, since, if effective measures are not adopted to counteract the phenomenon of growing population the gains of our planning will always be offset. To solve the unemployment problem, to increase per capita income and to raise the standard of the present population our most urgent problem is that of population control, for, otherwise our efforts at speeding up the growth of our economy would be largely defeated. If the standard of

(Continued on page III)

Approaches to Agricultural Development

By Gopala Iyer Jayasandran

AGRICULTURAL development is largely dependent on overall economic development and a special problem of uplifting the economy as a whole and increasing its productivity through improvements in technology and maintaining the gradual reduction in the cost of agricultural operations. What is underdeveloped in the underdeveloped areas is their real income potentialities: development means exploiting these potentialities. The role of agriculture in this process of exploitation is crucial in underdeveloped regions.

Underdevelopment means poor economic performance as evidenced by the comparatively low average consumption and material well-being of the people plus the potentiality of improvement through the application of technological devices and efficient farm management. Underdevelopment in Asiatic countries can be undermined by capitalising on the experiences of European countries. But it is unlikely that the changes will be wholly different in character or that the dislocations, adjustments and adaptations which the developed countries have experienced can be altogether avoided. Moreover, the process of development as it has already occurred in western regions presumably has dubious reference to the problem of the material advancement of underdeveloped Asiatic countries.

But low productivity in agriculture undeniably explains the low income level of the great underdeveloped regions. Either when output is measured per capita or per unit of land, low productivity in agriculture underlies the low income of the underdeveloped world. Concomitantly agricultural development is closely dependent on the operational effectiveness of the important factor modulating the path of economic progress. Some of them, such as conditions of soil, climate, terrain and natural waterways, are relatively immutable; some such as population, densities, availabilities of capital, social moors and religious taboos appear as relatively fixed from a short run view, but vary strikingly over the decades; others such as production techniques, systems of land tenure, irrigation and drainage projects can bring revolutionary changes in a single decade; while still others such as monetary and credit poli-

(Continued from page II)

living is to increase rapidly the divisor must grow very much less rapidly than the numerator". We should intensify our efforts to control population by adopting suitable methods of family planning so that Indian economy could go forward on the charted path. At present Indian planning has to steer clear of the Scylla of unemployment and Charybdis of population growth. The Third Plan must pay attention to these twin problems of unemployment and population growth.

cies, taxes, marketing channels, relative demands and prices can produce startling results in the span of the year. Whether subject to fast or slow transformation, however, any of these and many other factors can become the strategic ones, that is, the factors which seem most crucial in a given context of time and place, and which seem most urgently to demand remedy.

Where labour is the cheap factor, labour saving machinery is uneconomical. The cheapest method of production depends upon the relative factor prices. The labour must not only be cheap but also must be reasonably efficient. If the results of mechanisations of agricultural operation are more encouraging than inefficient employment of human agricultural labour, the development of agriculture and thereby economic progress will be grievously impeded. Hence any particular improvement must be appraised not only for its immediate effects on costs and output, but also in the general economic matrix of complementary industries.

Co-operative farming has been suggested as a remedy against subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, and the consequential dislocation caused by these ill-features in the process of cultivation. Co-operative farming had not succeeded in India for the simple reason that the farmers who had been brought together by the Government did not really wish to cultivate in common. We could not apparently bring that much of pressure on the co-operative farmers which the Chinese Government could do. What economic and other gains the Indian Government expect from State-organised co-operative farming is not clear, but higher agricultural yields could not certainly be one of them. Students of Soviet Agriculture like John Maynard had opined that collective farming in USSR had perceptibly increased agricultural yields per acre, although by enabling the introduction of tractors and other machinery, it had served to divert surplus rural labour to industry. In India, industry being still in the stage of preliminary growth, and thus not in a position to absorb the voluminous surplus of rural labour which is mostly, unskilled, our main hope of raising agricultural production consists in improving yields by better farming through better irrigation, improved seeds and proper manuring.

That higher yield can be achieved by intensive individual farming has been amply demonstrated by the farmers in Japan who have shown little enthusiasm for co-operative farming. It is not by forcibly driving farmers into unwilling 'co-operatives' or by arbitrarily interfering with long established relations in agriculture that we can expect to achieve the 40 per cent increase in agricultural output desired under the Second Plan. How unrelated the Planning Commission is to the realities of rural life

(Continued on page IV)

Trade A Unifier

By E. C. Riegel

MEN divide in political concepts, in religion, in social customs and racially—but unite naturally on trade. There is nothing snobbish in trade. Trade is an undeclared but inextinguishable democracy. Peoples of the highest culture trade with those of the lowest; and distance is no barrier. There are no clashing ideologies in trade. It has but one common motive—self-advancement or profit.

Governments do not contribute to this unifying influence that is common with all peoples in all parts of the world. On the contrary they interfere with it. Their greatest separatist implement is their separate national money units. To this is added their tariffs, their subsidies and their embargoes. Lately they have come to use trade as an implement of economic warfare. Governments are trade disturbers and creators of international friction.

If trade is a unifier and promoter of wealth and interdependence, while governments are separators, disturbers and provokers, should we not strive for political isolation and economic union?

There is no more need for ambassadors or other government representatives in other nations, than there is for churches to send plenipotentiaries to each other. They are but spies, provocateurs and intriguers. Trade does not need them. Trade found its way around the world before the diplomatic idea was invented. What services they may render to tradesmen and travellers can be better rendered by private agencies—such as have no power to ensure peoples in quarrels and intrigues.

Intervention of any kind by one government in the affairs of another nation is undemocratic, presumptuous and indefensible. All wars are negotiated by diplomats. If governments had no contact with each other, the provocative background could not be laid and private, industrial and financial interests, and war mongers, would have no tool for international exploitation.

Reciprocal trade agreements for reduction of tariffs and negotiation of most favoured nation agreements have no merits. Tariffs is a method of taxing the citizenry, and nothing else. While it is designed to benefit special interests and is one of the poorest forms of taxation, it nevertheless is nobody's business but the nation that applies it. It cannot injure any other nation. No nation needs to have tariffs because another nation has them. A free trade nation is not adversely affected by the tariff walls of other nations.

The delusion that one people dare not cast off political control over commerce until others have done so, is a trick that preserves political power over all. This conspiracy of all politicians against all peoples make such people confront a world wide

bund that frustrates their aims of freedom. Unless a people is intelligent enough to deal singly with its own politicians, and their hidden industrial supporters, free trade can never come. No single people controls the politicians of all nations, but the politicians, internationally united back of the reciprocity or conference idea, thwart each people.

There is no such things as "cheap foreign labor." An American laborer, in ratio to what he produces, is paid no more than any other laborer. The same is true of differing wage standards within the nation. There are merely different standards of production—and low standard production localities can compete with high standard production localities only in things where there is some natural local advantage. However, if any nation wishes to set up tariff barriers against the bugbears of "cheap foreign labor" and "foreign dumping" it is its own affair and justifies no reprisal.

Tariffs, subsidies, embargoes and patents contribute nothing to the economy. Arguments presented in support of them are synthetic logic designed to serve the special interests that use the economic power of governments for their private advantage. Government can contribute absolutely nothing to the economy of the nation by intervening in trade, domestic or foreign. It is only an irritant, a perverter and a debaser.

(Continued from page III)

may be judged from the light-heartedness with which it pleads for a rapid expansion of co-operative farming, undeterred by the scanty results achieved so far and the insuperable difficulties presented by the very much simpler problem of mitigating subdivision and encouraging consolidation of holdings.

In conclusion, the saving of labour in agriculture may encounter limits in the social cost and disruption entailed by technological unemployment. The only way to break the vicious circle of surplus labour, low incomes and concealed unemployment in agriculture is to make the unemployment explicit, that is, to introduce progressive methods of production which will raise wages even at the cost of throwing people out of work. As the I.L.O. study of unemployment in less developed regions emphasises, extreme labour intensive methods of cultivation are the results of centuries of adaptation to growing pressure on the land. The wage rise in the agricultural industry is dependent upon the availability of alternative industrial employments and provisions for the transitionally unemployed. Only positive measures constitute development; rectification of defects and acts of omissions are only the indications to progress.

A Record of Brazen Red Treachery

By Satya Roy

IN an intensive investigation of 1,000 agreements signified by the Soviets over the years since 1917, it has been established that Moscow has broken practically every pact, to the disadvantage of her treaty partners. A large proportion of these pacts concerned the right to self-determination, the Kremlin always solemnly recognising this just as long as the military situation rendered it advisable. But all pacts were broken as soon as the Kremlin was in a sufficiently strong position to do so.

For the Moscow bosses the right to self-determination of all peoples is no more than a ridiculous farce, which Moscow has never taken seriously and never intends doing so in the future.

Soon after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Lenin felt obliged, simply in order to override a sea of circumstances, to recognize these sovereign rights, but he was careful to leave a dialectical back door open.

HE STATED AT THE TIME: "The question of the rights of nations to break free must not be confused with the question of whether a nation must break free at any given time. The question must, in every case, be decided according to the given situation, by the party representing the working masses."

The Bolsheviks have, in their 40 year period of overlordship adhered loyally to the tactics propounded by Lenin. During 40 years of power, they have, by use of treachery, lies, brute force, and terror, developed the biggest and most brutal colonial power of all times.

FIRST VICTIM

One of the first victims of Moscow imperialism was the Ukraine, shortly after the First World War. In December 17, 1917, the Soviet Government declared, in a note to the Ukrainian Centralrada: "We, the Soviet People's Commissaries, recognise the Ukrainian People's Republic and its right to detach itself from Russia...."

(Continued from page 10)

otherwise was, and spare the Principal and the Vice-Chancellor of the necessity of doing so in a round-about way.

I have not dealt at length with the misdeeds of the students and the clerk and the Chaprasi. Suffice it to say that every conceivable stratagem was tried, that the man who posed as a sports specialist as well as the elder brother was selected by the sub-committee again and the man who was Vice-Chancellor has presided over a committee to investigate student indiscipline!

At the same time, however, the Communists in Charkov formed a "Central Executive Committee for the Ukraine" from a diminutive minority of subjects willing to toe the line. Eight days after their solemn declaration, Russian troops poured into the Ukraine.

White Russia and Transcaucasia were oppressed by similar methods. On May 17, 1920, the Peace Treaty with Georgia was solemnly drawn up and signed; this was followed by other pacts with countries which had urged recognition of their sovereign rights, and managed to break out of the international prison which old Russia constituted.

And all Treaties began with the words: "On the basis of the all-Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic proclamation concerning sovereign rights....Russia grants unconditional recognition to the independence of the Georgian nation." In Article Two of all these treaties the Soviets promised that they would refrain from intervening in their partner's internal affairs.

Usually, however, the ink was hardly dry on the paper before the Red Army marched into the state just declared free, and forced it into subjection to Moscow.

CUNNING

In Poland and Finland, however, Lenin's estimation of Soviet chances somewhat misfired. As early as 1916 he had declared that: "The separation of Finland and Poland after the victory of socialism can only be for a short period." Only by way of the Hitler Pact were the Soviets able to bring Poland to its knees, while Finland, though hemmed in as far as its freedom of decision is concerned, is still resisting Bolshevik expansionism.

The cunning strategy employed by the Soviets with regard to all treaties is shown vividly by the example of Poland. When Stalin drew up the pact with Hitler, aimed at dividing Poland, the Non-Aggression Treaty between the Soviet Union and Poland was still valid.

About two million Polish citizens were victims of this treaty violation, and the country became practically a Soviet Republic after 1945.

It is a matter of general knowledge that the Soviet system in East Germany is propped only by Soviet bayonets, and a tiny minority of Communists of the Ulbricht breed.

This forces the Kremlin to deny the German people the right of self-determination in just the same way as it mocks the plaintive cry for such sovereign rights from all other peoples.

(Continued on page 12)

Origin and Nature of Government

By Laurence Labadie

AT various times during the evolution of man, groups found themselves in a circumstance of real scarcity. When a group of people had food for only half their number, if they divided equally all would die, and history would hear no more of them.

It is man's nature to want to live, as an individual. Therefore scarcity begat a scramble, in which the stronger succeeded. Strength and predatoriness were life-preserving characteristics in a milieu of scarcity.

In a scramble, it would naturally be discovered that handicapping another—even by killing him—would facilitate getting the goods in his possession. People learned another way of acquiring goods than working for them. Under the circumstances, robbery and accompanying murder appear to have been necessary if life were to continue. Individuals within tribes no doubt learned that cooperation in robbery was a safer procedure than lone robbery.

In time it must have occurred to someone that one tribe could rob another tribe. In such forays

(Continued from page 11)

MOSCOW IS ONLY WILLING TO RECOGNISE SUCH RIGHTS AS LONG AS IT GAINS THEREWITH AN INDIRECT INCREASE IN POWER.

INALIENABLE RIGHT

A telling example of the fact that the communist system would be resting on a somewhat shaky throne, were it not for Soviet bayonets, is that of Persia. Moscow has on several occasions attempted to divide this country with terrorist minority governments. As early as 1921, however, the young "Ghilanian Soviet Republic" collapsed just as, in 1946, the "Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan" and the "Kurd People's Republic."

The history of the Soviet Union provides undeniable proof that it is not prepared to grant recognition to the right of self-determination of individual nations. It knows but one aim: extension of Soviet power throughout the world and the dictatorship of Moscow over all states.

It was Lenin who formulated the dictates of this ambition: "There are cases," he stated, "...where the right of self-determination offends another, a higher right: the right, namely, of the newly victorious working class to consolidate its power. In such cases—this must be openly admitted—the right to self-determination cannot and must not become a hindrance to the realisation of the right of the working classes to absolute dictatorship."

—Current

the winners would kill the losers. Natural handicaps perhaps made women weaker than men, so men became the warriors and the women did the work. Women thus being useful, in subsequent raids they were captured instead of killed.

Somewhere along the line, a fellow who had been clubbed for his goods survived, and proceeded to gather more goods. When this was observed, probably the greatest humanitarian idea that man has discovered throughout the ages was born—that it was not necessary to kill a man in order to get his goods. This boon was slavery, which at least promised a lease on life. Thus, in conquest between tribes, the conquerors became the rulers and the conquered the slaves.

This, in my view, was the origin of the State, which may be defined as an organization of rulers who rob the populace over which it can hold sway, and which uses that populace as soldiers to enlarge the territory and number of people it can exploit. The political history of the world has been the record of internal struggles to grasp State power, and between governments to enlarge their domains.

(That ogvernments provide services which citizens want or can be persuaded to want, does not alter the basic concept of the nature and origin of the State.)

The ruler-ruled relation became in the course of time so ingrained as to become a universal superstition. It is the common belief that no society could exist without a government. Indeed, what government will allow anything else to be taught in the schools? Further, are citizens not taught that rulers should be loved and revered, particularly the kind of government that happens to be over them? In some societies people are allowed to choose their own bosses, which is supposed to be very advanced. This is the political condition of the world today.

When a "nation" is relatively wise politically, it requires considerable force, in the shape of police and army, to keep the populace in their place. Where people are steeped in political ignorance, very little force is necessary, especially when the illusion is kept up that when choosing their rulers they are actually ruling themselves.

I know of hardly one reformer or any other person proposing any feature for the betterment of mankind, in a hundred thousand, who does not propose or expect to implement his proposition through the coercive power of government. The method of political thought from Plato down to the technocrats was to prefabricate an ideal society, and then to get governmental power to coercively

fit people to their systems. The classic example of this type of thinking and action is the attempt to impose systematic communism on a populace. Communism itself is such an infantile conception of the solution of the social problem that it is no accident of circumstances that it is accompanied by continual liquidations.

At the present time, the strongest support for government appears to be habit, a common garden variety of ignorance, credulity, and superstition, sustained by a vast amount of mis-education perpetuated by governmental schools in every quarter of the globe. To this must be added emergencies in which sections of a populace find themselves, (such as the present-day farmer) in a predicament, the immediate release from which no other power than government appears to exist. Thus, from the very evils caused by government, do governments find a pretext to come in as succor, and thereby enhance their powers.

Irrespective of their relative banefulness (for some governments are worse than others) the present day power struggle between governments threaten the annihilation of mankind in a carnage that can hardly be conceived as possible in the absence of all governments whatsoever.

—Balanced Living

THE VITAL SQUARE

WORLD population is 2,800 millions, and inhabitable land area 40 million square miles. Therefore, with uniform population distribution, 70 persons would be living on each square mile, or one person to every 200 X 200 yds. square. Now imagine total world resources and techniques for supporting human life also to be uniformly distributed over the inhabitable land area. It now follows that 200 X 200 yds. square must supply the total needs of one individual. Can it do this? Let us see, basing ourselves on the requirements of a middle-class Englishman, and expressing each requirement in terms of land area. Our hypothetical person will need:—

A small timber plantation for building one quarter of a small house and its furniture (assuming an average family of four) fuel, repairs, etc., say 20 X 20 yds., plus space for the $\frac{1}{4}$ house itself, say 20 X 20 yds.; a small orchard for apples, oranges, cherries, pears, etc., say also 20 X 20 yds.; a small farm for pigs, a sheep, cow, rabbits, hens, a turkey, etc.; a small stream for water and fish; a space for growing a dozen different vegetables and cereals; space for growing textile plants; a small coal, lead, tin, copper, etc., etc., mine.

Long before we complete our list of raw materials, our 200 yds. x 200 yds. square is filled. But raw materials are only the fringe of requirements! Food, clothing, building materials, all require a multitude of factories to process them. One person's proportional share of any factory is very small, but so many factories are required that the aggregate requirement deals a mortal blow to our remaining space. But still requirements pour in.

Factories need machines—and machines need other factories to make them. And we still need our proportional share of the world's roads, railways, shops, stores, places of recreation; sufficient vegetation must be left to supply the air we breathe and for retaining moisture in the soil. It becomes starkly evident that not two squares, nor three squares, not even four squares, will suffice. And it is quite futile to invoke "improved distribution" as a solution, because distribution has been completely eliminated by our assumptions.

The conclusion is obvious. Total world population can never even remotely attain English middle-class standards of life. And now let us see how mankind is reacting to this situation.

1. Every 24 hours that pass, total world population increases by some 80,000. Our quota of 70 persons per square mile is shrinking, which means that our 200 x 200 yds. square is shrinking.

2. Every 24 hours, also inventions and innovations are produced to complicate human living. In other words, the sum total of requirements for the square is increasing.

This, reduced to its simplest terms, is the fundamental contradiction, the downright insanity, which is causing human civilisation to knock itself to pieces. This is the root cause of poverty. This is why, little by little, the amenities and spaciousness of life are disappearing. This is why people are being condemned to live in flats like stalls. This is why costs of living are everywhere rising. There are far too many of us living on the face of the earth.

And for this situation we have to thank religious neurosis, and in particular, the Roman Church!

—The Free Thinker

BORSODI CHALLENGES ASIA

- 1 To replace nationalism with decentralization;
- 2 To adapt modern technology to family and village life, and forego urbanism and industrialism;
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1957

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From Prof. P. Kahol, Punjab University:

"Challenge of Asia" is one of rarest discoveries of my life. It is a masterpiece of coherent thinking, unbiased analysis and essentially humanistic outlook. I have not yet come across another book so complete in all respects. I am passing it on to such of my students and colleagues as have a capacity to appreciate analytical thinking and to accept an ideal in life intelligently."

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BOMBAY 4.

Bravo, Nepal!

(From Our Correspondent)

BRAVO, Nepal! This tiny mountain kingdom has put up a better and a braver show against the Chinese than India did, which should put this country of four hundred millions to shame. Nepal has shown that a spirited retort and a show of readiness to fight, if need be, is the best way of avoiding war, while India has shown that submission to aggression is the surest way of inviting further aggression and helping the aggressor consolidate his gains. The Chinese Premier's reply accepted all Nepali demands and apologised for the incident resulting in the death of a Nepali soldier and the arrest of a dozen others. As the Nepal Prime Minister said in the House of Representatives, Nepal could not expect more under the circumstances so far as satisfaction was concerned. He, however, maintained firmly that the Chinese violated Nepalese territory and the place of the incident was well within Nepal. If that was not so, as the Chinese Premier maintains, where was the need, it is being asked here, for the unqualified apology tendered by the Chinese Premier? The Chinese version makes the unqualified apology unnecessary and, what is more, proves that the Chinese are bullies, ready to retrace their steps the moment they see that their aggression will be resisted.

Another lesson for India that the Nepalese Government's spirited protest brings in its wake is the swift action it took against Communists to show that it means business. In India, on the other hand, the Communists are the only enthusiastic supporters of Prime Minister Nehru's attitude towards China. That alone should make it suspect in patriotic eyes. Protests which are not followed by action of any kind are no protests at all, and can be said to have been made only to satisfy public opinion.

Mr. Nehru has been making much of the threats held out by the Russian Premier to all those who allow the Americans to have bases in their territories, as if these threats justify our policy of non-alignment. But what do these recurring threats amount to? The countries threatened have not lost an inch of their territory, while, India, which has never been threatened by Soviet Russia and which in fact has been indirectly promoting Russian policies, has already lost 12,000 square miles of her territory as a result of aggression by one of Russia's closest allies. And all that the Indian Government has done so far to justify Russia in Indian eyes is to propagate the untruth that there are differences between Soviet Russia and China. Nothing indeed can be more

ridiculous. Says Prof. Zdzislaw Stahl of the Polish Free University in Exile:

"The Chinese began to be considered a peril only since they acquired organisation, the idea of expansion and, by and large, material means from the Soviet Union, since they came under the sway of Communism. The outcome of this is that the factor of dynamic imperialism introduced into Chinese development, is organically and initially dependent on Soviet Communism. Consequently, the imperialism of the Chinese Communists would, by its nature, be impotent, or at least internally paralyzed, in relation to the Soviet Union which has fostered it. China would only turn against the Soviet Union if it were liberated from the Communist regime."

AKALI AGITATION

The fact that the Akali leaders are now drawing upon the age group 7 to 14 for their volunteers cannot be regarded as a sign of strength of the movement. And the fact that they are not arrested or are released soon after arrest may be a good retort to the Akali move but it is likely to encourage the youngsters to join the ranks of the Akali volunteers. The Akalis continue to use the gurudwaras as their hiding place from where they launch their marches, and the police has not so far entered the gurudwaras to arrest proclaimed offenders, although the police of the same state, when it was under the same Chief Minister, lost no time in entering an Arya Samaj Mandir when the Hindi Samiti agitation was on. Respect shown to opponents is often mistaken for fear, particularly when it happens to be discriminatory. But, rightly or wrongly, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon is the man who can handle the Akali agitation, according to the Congress High Command, and he is being given a long rope. So long is the rope that almost all—it would perhaps not be incorrect to say all—top jobs in Punjab are now in the hands of Sikhs, although they form only about 35 per cent of the population of the State. For any one to say that they constitute the abler portion of the population would indeed be the biggest joke of the season.

The Punjab Government would be well-advised to look after the propaganda side of the battle between them and the Akalis. They should not allow even foreigners in the country to remain under the impression that civil liberties are being interfered with. The use of the big stick is sometimes justifiable, but the justification has to be broadcast in a democracy to carry world opinion with the user

of the stick. The headlines the Akalis are getting in the dailies are enough propaganda for them and it is not a little surprising that the Punjab Government has not so far come out with even a small brochure to convince the public of the treasonous and treacherous nature of the Akali campaign, which alone can justify the strong steps the State Government has taken to curb the Akali agitation. Sardar Kairon seems to rely too much on his loyalty to Nehru, which of course has its predominant place in the scheme of things which find him Chief Minister of the State, but loyalty to Mr. Nehru and his strong support of whatever Sardar Kairon does cannot convince the public of the righteousness of the measures adopted by the Punjab Government to deal with the Akali menace.

Dewan Alakh Dhari has in a timely article in the Press pointed out that while Punjabi language (in Gurumukhi script) is regularly taught in every public school in the Hindi region, the Punjabi region is conspicuously in default in the adoption of reciprocal measures for instruction of Hindi side by side with Punjabi in the public schools. He also alleges that applications in the Punjabi language inscribed in Hindi are unceremoniously thrown away, despite the categorical assurance of the Prime Minister and the express provisions of the relevant Statute in the Constitution. He then points out that the Chief Minister is a Sikh, the Revenue Minister is a Sikh, the Speaker of the Assembly is a Sikh, the Chairman of the Legislative Council is a Sikh, the head of the Public Service Council is a Sikh, the head of the Commissioner is a Sikh and the Inspector-General of Police is a Sikh. (What more can the Sikhs want in a Punjabi Suba?) According to his calculations 35 per cent of the population hold 70 per cent of the senior appointments. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon is certainly taking his price for his (alleged) nationalism and his loyalty to Mr. Nehru.

Some one has also unearthed the fact that in a signed article published in the official organ of the Akali Dal—the Daily Prabhat—Master Tara Singh wrote in February, 1956:

"It is absolutely wrong to say that the Sikhs want to force anybody to learn the Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script. Gurumukhi script is not at all compulsory for writing Punjabi language. It should be upto any individual to learn Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script or any other script. People should have freedom in this regard."

One thing at least is certain. The identification of the Punjabi language with a script which is admittedly the theological script of the Sikh community is not doing any service to the Punjabi language. It is doing Punjabi immense harm and by that token alone the Akali agitation is far from linguistic. Gurumukhi was evolved by the second Guru and 20 of its 35 characters have been borrowed from Hindi. That also shows how artificial the whole thing is.

CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

By the time this appears in print, the country may be in the grip of the low-paid Central employees' strike. Even while the negotiations were being carried on, an increase was announced in the pay-scales of officers—joint secretaries etc. It is not known whether the announcement was calculated to strengthen the determination of those threatening strike to go ahead. It must certainly have had that effect. These fortunate officers have the approach denied to low-paid clerks and, having the approach, make the most of it by flattering the ministers and even touching their feet at every available opportunity. The most influential minister here is becoming known as the "touch-my feet" minister. Of course he considers himself a pucca democrat nonetheless, and does not know where to stop once his glib tongue starts wagging.

The argument that increase in the salaries of the officers will not cost half as much as an increase to the low-paid staff sounds hollow on the lips of those who should be swearing by the Karachi Resolution which fixed the maximum salary of a Government servant at Rs. 500/-. What the Government obviously lacks is a sense of proportion and fairplay and memory of its socialistic professions which are forgotten when they are most needed in the upper storey. There is no greater incentive to communism than the high salaries Government officers are drawing in New Delhi. Their main job is not work in the Secretariat but pulling the strings and the discovery of the appropriate methods of doing so in each case.

Another factor that bedevils negotiations is the Prime Minister's habit of meddling in the business of his ministers and treating them like Personal Assistants. Every one knows that nothing is settled until the Prime Minister has been approached and pressure exerted on him. What every one does not know is that on every major issue no Minister gives out his mind unless he has the backing of the Prime Minister. This results in positions hardening and the issue becoming one of prestige by the time the Prime Minister takes a hand in the matter. After all, the rules and regulations governing the conduct of ministers and prime ministers in democratic countries are the result of experience gained in the course of centuries. But Mr. Nehru is so fond of displaying his supremacy and giving his *darshan* that every one who acquires some nuisance value can see him and demand satisfaction against the decision of the minister-in-charge. I knew a Central Minister who used to ring up the busy Nehru and get his approval to his own unjust decisions after adducing a few arguments in his favour, knowing that the decisions could not be altered after he had proclaimed that they had the approval of the Prime Minister. The department being that of refugees, they started demonstrations and threatened rioting, before the Prime Minister knew what was happening. So great was the bungling that the

minister concerned had to go, although his loyalty to the Nehru family was proverbial.

LANGUAGE RIOTS IN ASSAM

The language riots in Assam are a sad reminder of our lack of patriotism visible from top to bottom in India. It is not necessary to go into the merits of the controversy—in fact there does not seem to be any worth the name. The fact of the matter is—and nothing is more annoying to the public than a reference to it—that all our major evils spring from Gandhism. It was Gandhi who started the campaign for linguistic provinces and for Hindi. He was for everything that could draw applause from the people. We have since independence been witnessing the results of demotion of English and of promotion of linguistic passions. Gandhi's greatest weapon was claptrap. Out of this were born the loin cloth, nonviolence, Hindi, linguistic provinces, the theory that all religions are equally good—out of which is born the theory that all blocs are equally good! (How could a gopeller of nonviolence say that all religions are equally good, passes my comprehension.)

So here we are with every one trying to become a leader in double quick time like Gandhi and using the art of claptrap which he bequeathed us. Not for nothing have we been crying ourselves hoarse with shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" all these decades. That is what the riots and the rioters say, if only we had the ears to hear them: "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai." There would appear to be time still to hark back to English and regain some of our lost patriotism as well as our sense of proportion, neither of which would appear to be inculcated by any of the great languages of the country.

LIBERTY OR GOVERNMENT

There are two ways, and only two, of effecting the distribution of wealth. One is to let it distribute itself in a free market in accordance with the natural operation of economic law. The other is to distribute it arbitrarily in accordance with statute law. The former is a regime of liberty and progress, the latter is the exploitation of labor by officialdom....

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Liberty requires free access to the world of matter, abolishing land monopoly. Liberty requires free access to the world of mind, abolishing idea monopoly. Liberty demands free access to an untaxed and unprivileged market, abolishing tariff monopoly and money monopoly—secure these and all the rest shall be added unto you. For liberty is the remedy of every social evil.—Benjamin R. Tucker

COMMUNISM VERSUS WORLD UNIFICATION

It may sound strange, but this is true; communism, so-called socialist ownership, is the main obstacle to world unification. The collective and total dominance of the New Class creates an isolated political and economic system which impedes the unification of the world..... A united world which even the Soviet leaders desire can only be imagined by them as more or less identical with their own and as being theirs. The peaceful existence of systems of which they speak does not mean to them interweaving of various systems, but the static continuation of one system along-side another, until the point when the other system—the capitalist system—is either defeated or corroded from within.

—Milovan Djilas (The New Class)

Gleanings from the Press

A NEW SLOGAN

Mr. Nehru has fabricated a brand new slogan (a successor to ARAM HARAM HAI) and presented it to his subjects. It is AJ PARISRAM, KAL LABH. It is a nice-sounding one, snappy and catchy, but like all slogans, of little real worth. LABH which will be ours to-morrow is a will of the wisp. No one objects to PARISRAM to-day but the pity of it is that much of what is earned through parisram is lost through taxation and inflation. KAL LABH is the rastrabhasa equivalent of the English expression JAM TO-MORROW where the to-morrow always remains "to-day." Hope springs eternal in the human breast and some optimists may think that even if the labh does not come in our life time, it may do so fifty years hence. But even that is too much to expect as the future has been effectively mortgaged by huge loans, both at home and abroad and these many thousands of crores will have to be repaid—both capital and interest—by the coming generations.

LABH may not come to us to-morrow, but it has been coming to some ever since the country attained independence. To contractors, politicians and corrupt officials, it has been LABH yesterday, LABH to-day and of course LABH to-morrow. They, not the common men, are the beneficiaries of independence and planning.

—Behar Herald.

News And Views

U.S. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO INDIA AS OF JUNE 18, 1960

	Dollars (millions)	Rupces (crores)
Aid under Indo-American Technical Cooperation Pro- gramme ..	475.4	226.3
Public Law 480, Title I ..	2,243.5	1,067.9
Development Loan Fund ..	281.1	133.8
Export-Import Bank credits	165.4	78.7
Heat Loan of 1951 ..	189.7	90.3
Agricultural Commodities Dis- tributed Through Voluntary Agencies ..	102.1	48.6
Famine Relief Grants to Indian Government (PL 480— Title II—\$4.9 million+ICA —\$5.5 million) ..	10.4	4.9
Total ..	3,467.6	1,650.5

It will be seen from the above that a measure portion of American Aid to India tends to strengthen the Public Sector orientated towards achieving Socialism in our country, and correspondingly impoverishes the Private Sector. If free enterprise is the sine quo non of a free society, America should assist mainly private enterprise in India.

REVOLT AGAINST COMMUNES IN TIBET AND MANGOLIA

Hong Kong:—Chinese Communists are fighting armed dissidents in Inner Mongolia as well as in Tibet. According to reports reaching here, there have been clashes recently between the Red militia and Mongols, whose Buddhist religion and traditional pastoral way of life have been upset by Mao's commune system.

RED VERSUS YELLOW HEGEMONY

Warsaw: To present their side in the great Moscow-Peking ideological dispute, the Red Chinese will soon open "friendship clubs" in capitals of all Soviet satellite nations. The clubs will include libraries and reading rooms and will feature lectures interpreting Lenin in Peking's way.

East Berlin: On orders from Moscow, all Party officials suspected of being pro-Chinese are being purged by East German Communists. The Soviet Communist Party is actually distributing a circular asking satellite parties to crack down on pro-Peking elements. It calls China's Mao-Tse tung a "dangerous Communist adventurer".

WHY THEY STRIKE WORK

MR. MUNSHI'S VIEW

New Delhi: Mr. K. M. Munshi, Swatantra Party leader, today expressed the hope that the strike of Central Government employees would not materialise.

In a statement issued here today, Mr. Munshi said: "It is unfortunately true that the Government, by its policies and handling, has brought about this situation.

"It has recklessly continued to follow policies which, in their turn, have promoted inflation. Necessary as development is, it has indulged in lavish expenditure in doubtful directions and has failed to take stock of the situation and hold the price line, forgetting that it is not money wages that matter but what they will buy.

"It has glibly sponsored the doctrine of the 'need-based' wage, justifying evergrowing demands. In the private sector, it has thrown its weight on the side of higher wages, often in disregard of the industry's capacity to pay.

"In all negotiations it has followed a wobbling policy, which begins with inflexibility and ends in surrender. The Government of India is innocent of showing firmness in dealing with any major issue, whether internal or external. However, the proposed general strike threatens the very basis of stable order at a time when the frontiers are in danger and increase in military strength, supported by unity in the country, is the demand of the hour. The strike is likely to develop a pattern which has been followed in more than one country in Asia. The pattern is calculated to weaken the Governments and create conditions in which international Communism alone can gather the harvest.

"A general strike in the communication sector is tantamount to holding the community to ransom and the leaders of the strike, who are nationalists, would be well advised not to force the issue."

HINDI: A PROTEST

The Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India has given its consideration to the notification which was placed before Parliament by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, on April 27, 1960 containing the directions of the President on the question of the official language of India. The Association places on record its disappointment at these directions not being distinct and clear in their implications, and showing a pronounced bias in favour of Hindi, which would establish the Hindi speaking people in a specially privileged position, and mean a grave injustice to the peoples speaking languages other than Hindi.

The Association expected that the President would categorically accept the principle which was announced in open Parliament by the Prime Minister (on September 4 1959), that no attempt will be made to replace English by Hindi without the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India. The Association takes strong exception to the Presidential directions suggesting that after a short period Hindi is to be set up beside English as an alternative medium of examination for the all India Services, and to the fact that the other national languages have not been considered for this purpose

at all. This will certainly give to Hindi-speaking people an advantage over others and this introduction of a double standard in all-India Services might even jeopardise the unity of India.

This Association respectfully requests the President to make his directions clear with regard to the maintenance of English as an associate official language for an indefinite period, according to the promise given in public by the Prime Minister. It also urges upon the Government of India not to give to the development of Hindi financial assistance disproportionately larger than the corresponding amounts spent on the other national languages of India.

Dr. Naresh Sen Gupta, Narendra Dev, Triguna Sen, Sudhindraaath Datta, Radharani Devi, Prof. P. K. Guha, Buddhadeva Bose, Pramathanath Bisi, Prof. Sirmal Ch. Bhattacharyya, MLC., Kazi Abdul Wadud, Principal Khagendra Nath Sen, Abu Sayeed Ayyub, Dr. Atindranath Bose, M. P. Vivekananda Mukherjee, Maitrayee Devi, Protiva Bose, Sagarmoy Ghose, Amlan Dutta, K. K. Sinha, Hiran Kumar Sanyal.

SOVIET IMPERIALISM TO KEEP OFF CUBA

Newport (Rhode Island): President Eisenhower said today that the United States would not tolerate the establishment in Cuba of a regime dominated by international Communism.

"There is irony in Mr. Khrushchev's portrayal of the Soviet Union as the protector of the independence of an American nation when viewed against the history of the enslavement of countless other peoples by Soviet imperialism."

The President made his views known in a statement on Mr. Khrushchev's threat to use rockets if the United States dared to intervene in Cuba.

"I affirm in the most emphatic terms that the United States will not be deterred from its responsibilities by the threats Mr. Khrushchev is making. Nor will the United States, in conformity with its treaty obligations, permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international Communism in the western hemisphere."

"GOVERNMENT MADE BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE"

Madras, July 3.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Swatantra Party leader, said that the country depended upon the "industry, initiative and enterprise of every individual and it was not right that every successful achievement should be credited to the Government.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was inaugurating an exhibition organized exclusively for industrialists and manufacturers in the private sector.

"Our present great Government is the result of an extraordinary private enterprise on the part of one man, Mahatma Gandhi, and a number of friends who joined him later. The problem now is whether that achievement is going to lose its value or preserve its main characteristic that, "in spite of

the Government, private men can achieve something great."

(But the present rulers are not opposed to the idea of making the Government itself the private enterprise of a few individuals, despite their strong leanings towards public enterprise—Ed.)

FIRST "OCCUPY" AND THEN "NEGOTIATE" CHINA'S NEW TECHNIQUE OF EXPANSIONISM

The present Peking Communist rulers seem to be firm believers in the legal maxim "Possession is nine points in law". They first occupied Ladakh and other border areas and then proposed peaceful talks based on 'facts' and 'historical data' which the Indian Government readily accepted. Now comes the news that in his reply to the note of protest forwarded to China by Nepalese Government, the Chinese Premier has maintained that the incident of June 27 in which the Chinese troops entered Nepalese territory at Mustang and killed one officer and captured ten officers stationed there, took place within Chinese territory. He has, however, kindly restored the captured men to the custody of the Government of Nepal and withdrawn the Chinese army beyond ten kilometres from, what he considers to be Nepal's border line and thus has paved the way for another fact-finding 'commission regarding this disputed' area. In the meanwhile the work of liberating one area after another along the Indo-Nepalese Himalayan border will be vigorously carried on by the Chinese troops. Hail Neutrality!

CHINESE SPYING IN BAY OF BENGAL

Calcutta: The Bay of Bengal has become a favourite haunt for the submarine reconnaissance, believed to be of Chinese origin, during the last 4 to 6 weeks, according to reports reaching here.

ORISSA RAJYAPAL'S STRICTURES ON PUBLIC MEN

Rajyapal Sukhthanker of Orissa said in Sambalpur on June 24 that it was a sad thought that India's public men seemed to think only of how they could benefit themselves and their friends and relations. This was demoralizing the country's public life. There was a deadly atmosphere of cynicism and frustration which was gaining ground.

SWATANTRA WANTS JOINT PACT AGAINST REDS

SRINAGAR. —The Swatantra Party wants India and Pakistan to come together in joint defence against Communist aggression, said Mr. Rajagopalachari in a letter to Mr. Mohammed Umar Butt, former chairman, Kashmir PSP.

Disclosing this here yesterday, Mr. Butt said Mr. Masani, General Secretary, Swatantra Party, would visit Srinagar on July 14 to discuss the possibility of extending the Party's activities to Jammu and Kashmir.

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library.

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