

The

# Indian Libertarian

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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY

AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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## Editorial

### FIRING AGAIN ON THE ASSAM BORDER AND WEST BENGAL BORDERS

WE have lost count of the number of cease fire agreements entered into by the border officials of our two countries which have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance by Pakistani military and armed police. The faith of our Governments, Central and State, in protests and official *pour parlors* on each occasion of aggressive attack by Pakistani elements is pathetic. The ordinary citizen cries aloud for a more effective policy on this running sore on the borders.

We mention the following press despatch without comment.

"Pakistani troops continued their heavy firing begun yesterday morning on the Indian border township of Latu about seven miles from Karimganj and on the Indian village of Kurikhala, according to official reports reaching Karimganj today (February 14).

Reports said that some bullets hit houses in Latu-bazar.

Pakistani firing was also continuing on Haritakitilla in the Patharia hills.

Pakistani forces commenced their firing in the early hours of the 13th morning on Latu, Mahisasan, Barpunji, Sutarkandi and Madanpur in Cachar District of Assam. Later messages say that firing has stopped on the Sutarkandi sector although Latu and Kurikhala continued under heavy fire." (Karimganj, February 14.)

Off and on with increasing frequency (until for some months now it has become a *weekly* pastime of the

Pakistani military personnel), this state of unprovoked violation of the Indian borders in the East is continuing for more than a year now. Indeed, such persisting aggression has been the story of our borders since the day of independence on 15 August 1947!

The theory of the friends of the Muslim League, Indian and Foreign, that the concession of a homeland to Muslims within the historic borders of India would settle once for all, all the outstanding feuds between the two communities and that Muslims would settle down to peaceful construction of their new State which would assume normality like other historic nations and peoples, has been signally falsified by the sordid story of border violations by Pakistan and the incredibly tame and unashamed submission to them by the Indian leaders in office!

Questioned as to his reaction to such unprecedented border violations by Pakistan, a Britisher is reported to have replied recently—"Such border affairs are usual on *all boundaries!*" Surely this Britisher does not think that such "affairs" are continuing, say since the Treaty of Versailles on the borders of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland etc? This is only an indication of the pro-Pakistani, pro-Muslim attitude of Britishers in general. Indeed, this unhistorical attitude has now been assumed by the Americans who have succeeded to the British supremacy in West Asia.

An American news correspondent (of one of the leading papers of the USA) is reported to have said that the Pakistanis will *now want a corridor between the two halves of their queerly truncated country!* Evidently, British and American newsmen are already briefed with regard to their talking chores in the next

stage of the Indo-Pakistani drama, whose plot seems to be well-known to them!

In this matter of national independence, India is standing alone in the wide world which is a jungle of untamed Powers that do not recognise any code of morality other than that of defence, survival and aggression or aggrandisement, where possible.

The citizen who is not uneasy about the loneliness and friendlessness of India in the present world of gigantic Powers with colossal powers of destruction (like the nuclear offensives) has not graduated into maturity. It is high time that citizens put pressure on our "democratic" government to revise the present policy of meaningless neutralism miscalled dynamic neutrality or unarmed mediation as by an honest broker.

The border *irridenta* will create a *Noman's Land* soon on either side of the border or rather on our side of the border. This will add to the dangers of infiltration of Pakistani civilians into our territory to a depth of several miles, in some places in Rajasthan, it is said, to a depth of 40 miles!

The Prime Minister himself in a speech in the last session of Lok Sabha seems to have remarked with regard to the border firing of the Pakistani troops that it betokens a desire to *come into the country inch by inch!* The Prime Minister has blundered into the truth. He should be warned and made to realise that the enemy will surely increase their pace from inches to *miles and leagues*, if he does not act while yet there is time.

It may be that the Prime Minister is afraid that if Indian troops reply fire by fire, a general war so much dreaded now everywhere will break out. It may or it may not. But why does he not see that the risk is as valid to the Pakistanis as to us? Also, the Elder Brother of Pakistan—British and American—will see to it that their reckless Muslim friend will not start a general war until it should break out through the blunder of the Great Powers themselves. Today,

smaller States will be prevented from embroiling the whole world in their petty quarrels. At any rate, it is high time that India revised her policy of supine appeasement (and self-stultifying fear and inaction) in these small aggressions into *one of instant retaliation*. Force can be stopped only by a *counter force* equal and opposite. The laws of nature cannot change out of deference to the "spiritual" psychology and exalted claims of Gandhian disciples of non-violence. Non-violence in the case of States under attack is cowardliness and dereliction of duty, however appropriate it may be in the Buddhas and Mahaviras of religious legend.

#### AN AMERICAN ON AMERICAN MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

A visiting American was asked in Bangalore while he was addressing the bar association (as reported in the Press) how he could justify the arming of Pakistan by his country to the detriment of India? He replied by asking a question of his own. "Why did India," he asked "refuse to accept arms herself? She was offered arms and military aid like Pakistan. This shows the *bona fide* nature of American aid to Pakistan." He said that America respected the peaceful motives of India but he felt that Indian leaders were taking a needless risk by remaining comparatively unarmed in the midst of aggressive neighbours with immense military potential.

America has been obliged to arm herself and lead the free world in defence against international communism, because of the ideological goal of world conquest accepted openly by Soviet Russia as the goal of her policy. In a war for *survival* (on the scale on which it is likely to burst out), it is but prudence to mobilise as much strength as possible, irrespective of the *nature* of the Governments who consent to become allies—democracy or dictatorship. When the whole world becomes free, it will be time enough to organise a republic of democratic nations. Mobilising dictatorships on the side of the free world is the surest way of converting them to democracy on victory! Survival comes before democracy! Indian leaders should ponder over this view of the American visitor.

#### IRAN AND SOVIET RUSSIA

Russian diplomacy has failed at least for the time being in inveigling Iran into her web and getting her out of the Baghdad Pact Circle. The offer of a long term non-aggression pact together with the habit of large scale economic aid does not seem to have moved the Iranian authorities—the Shah and his advisers.

It is useful to recall that it was Russia who refused in the first instance to move out of Iran at the conclusion of the last war with Hitler. Russia occupied northern part of Iran while Britain and America occupied the other areas of Persia to the south. This was a continuation of the British policy of the war of 1914-18 and was meant as a temporary measure to prevent the enemy from entering the State and getting an entry into Western Asia and turning the flank of the Allies.

But the pressure of America and Britain and their example forced Russia to do likewise and get out of the country.

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But Russia showed her characteristic communist treachery and technique in setting up the Kurds, a local tribe with branches in Iraq, to claim an autonomous status! The Communists trained and armed the mountain tribes who rose against the Shah. Luckily with Western help in arms and money, the Shah was able to pacify the Kurds. Communists are experts in organising subterranean plots of this kind round a nucleus of local elements and develop an extra-territorial loyalty in them feeding them on fables of plenty in a worker's paradise!

The Telengana guerillas of the Indian Communist Party rose against the newly-independent national Government of India in pursuance of a directive from Mr. Zhdanov of the Cominform given at a World Student (so-called) Conference held at Calcutta in February 1948 at which Russian delegates were present. Instructions were also given there to Burmese, Malayan, Indonesian and Indo-Chinese communists to rebel and overthrow their newly enfranchised governments!

For the time being Iran has clung to the West and it remains to be seen whether she will persist in resisting the blandishments of Moscow.

The vision of Indians is apt to be clouded on this question of the Baghdad Pact by reason of the possibility of its being turned against India under the inspiration of Pakistan. But the remedy is *not a blind condemnation* of all pacts in general and of the Baghdad Pact in particular. The real remedy is to forge a pact of either by international communism (Russians or Chinese) or by Pakistan herself. Pakistan is persuading America to underwrite her security even against India and she may succeed. It needs new legislation by the American Congress and Congress will ratify if recommended by the Eisenhower administration.

India could have a treaty with America whereby America will go to her rescue if she is attacked by any power without just cause i.e. without the excuse of an attack on them by India.

To continue as we are doing is to invite attack, by Pakistan in the first instance. It should be remembered that even neutrality demands adequate defence, as we have more than once pointed out. Switzerland in the war with Hitler is a shining example—Sweden is another.

It is curious that while Indian foreign policy is recommended by the Prime Minister (who is also our External Affairs Minister) in tones of unctuous piety and sanctimonious term reeking with "spiritual" sentimentalism, foreigners are convinced that all moves of India's foreign policy—friendship with Russia and China, friendship with Afghanistan and rapturous liaison with the Arab dictator, President Nasser, dangerous neutrality with a shade of hostility to the Western cause, antagonism to Western imperialism while shutting her eyes to the far more dangerous imperialism of Soviet Russia etc.—are explicable by the single motive of antagonism to Pakistan! Pakistan has succeeded in saturating the world capitals and foreign embassies everywhere with this sordid view of India's *Real Politik!*

It is curious to set this grim view of India's motivation with the colour put upon it by Indian spokesmen namely that of a high-minded champion of world

peace and honest broker between hostile camps with *no self-interest* at all in view and no axes to grind!

It is to be devoutly wished that Indian leaders will acquire the gift and habit of seeing themselves as others see them. We should unlearn the unattractive habit of flattering ourselves and pitching our claims too high in the heavens.

#### C. R. PROPOSES CONFEDERATION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The elder statesman Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has suggested a confederation between India and Pakistan.

So he does not accept the Partition as final and finished, a question not to be resuscitated at all, let alone so soon?

This principle or policy of continuing to hold the goal of integral India before the national imagination is condemned by Pandit Nehru as tantamount to high treason when urged by Jan Sangh and RSS and other bodies! It is dubbed communalist and inadmissible in every way. But lol and behold, a pillar of Congress and Gandhism is now mentioning it in public print!

Of course it is a good thing if *Pakistanis* welcome it. But in view of the Pan-Islamic drive behind Pakistan, it is idle to hope for any reunion in peace and consent. Also, the Hindus are not socially strong enough to assimilate the Pakistani hordes whose hostility has been intensified by eleven years of *jeihad* propaganda. They will be a mill-stone round our neck if they come in. In the distant future, with new generations with no bitter memories of the present bloodshed and hatred, the idea may be considered on its merits. Today, it is unthinkable.

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#### ABOUT OURSELVES

*A person's concept of the cosmic order will ultimately dictate his view of human nature as well as his understanding of the ethical code which should guide his relationships to others. When men rightly apprehend their relationship with the nature of things and with each other, there is harmony and growth. But misunderstanding portends trouble, leading possibly to the collapse of a civilization if the wrong ideas are widely shared.*

*THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE* has conviction in the philosophy of limited government and free market economics. Political liberty and economic freedom in turn are important in man's quest for material prosperity and spiritual growth.

*"The Indian Libertarian"* prints articles dealing mainly with current efforts of those in power to restrain economic and political liberty, with the misunderstandings and fallacies which cause well-meaning people to invoke these restraints.

## Behind the News

### Opposition Or Coalition ?

The languid progress of the Lok Sabha debate on the 'Address' of the President was enlivened by a survey of the pros and cons of a coalition government for the country. The protagonists were Pandit Nehru and Acharya Kripalani. It may be recalled that Pandit Nehru himself set the ball rolling by his 'impassioned' appeal to all parties to support him and his measures on the alleged ground of their national character. As this is one of the basic issues which need clarification, Acharya Kripalani was very much to the point when he called upon the Prime Minister to elucidate the conditions on which alone such cooperation can be secured. It is not merely enough to take a list of objectives and dub them 'national' and so deserving of implicit acceptance on all hands. If it is admitted that the country as a whole is split up in ideology among a variety of contending groups, and if at the same time, it is conceded that national safety requires a national effort to pull through a crisis, it should follow that an attempt should be made to arrive at an agreed, minimal platform on which the maximum number of rival groups can readily work in concert in the national interest. These are such elementary considerations that we are not a little surprised at the affectation of perplexity which the Prime Minister displayed in replying to the demand of the Acharya. He averred that the time is not yet ripe for the formation of a national government, and that it would materialise automatically the moment the need for it was felt. This sort of political prophesying is on a par with the smooth assurances of the quack who plies a good enough trade under our way-side trees promising every client who approaches him a rosy and satisfactory future waiting round the corner. But as the subject is sufficiently important to merit further consideration in the interests of national security and morale, we shall not therefore apologise to our readers if we venture to draw their attention to a variety of relevant factors.

The major source of our present ills is not merely that the Congress party is indistinguishable from the government of the land, but the opposition to it in the country is splintered, disrupted, frustrated and impotent. The country does not know at any given moment what distinction, if any, is to be drawn between the policies of the government as government and the pronouncements of the top-congressmen from their positions of office and power. In the name of discipline the rank and file of Congressmen are reduced to silence, while the rest are inevitably overawed by ministerial pronouncements—particularly the permanent services which have so much power at its disposal and which can exert it in subtle, pervasive and undesirable ways.

It is admitted on all hands that in the name of planning, we have allowed the vital interests of the country to be sacrificed to the ideological crochets of the Congress leaders or the aggrandizement of influential groups within them. The entire facade of planning is either bogus or a delusion, since it does not touch the fringe of our central danger, namely our relations

with Pakistan. Nor can we feel complacent at the results or 'targets' achieved by our planning up to date. We are very much in the wood yet, although official and party pronouncements are couched in tones of optimism which does not convince the knowledgeable. It is more urgent to deal with the insecurity of the frontier in East Pakistan than to speculate about the size of the third five-year plan; and yet, the Lok Sabha, barring a few uneasy and courageous exceptions, is proceeding on the assumption that all his well with our relations with Pakistan. If a national government is visualised by any sections of our people, it is axiomatic to say that it would call for a drastic reorientation of our attitude to our nearest neighbour.

Next comes planning. Thanks to the tendentiousness of sustained propaganda through a decade, a notion has gone abroad that planning is some kind of mysterious *mantra* which we owe to the genius of Pandit Nehru, and that it has brought us untold gains. Both these are delusions from which the public is in no mood—as yet—to come out to face the stern realities. Even under planning, first things are not given the first place. We have been fed on slogans which have meant anything or nothing. Thus we have had *nationalisation, socialist pattern, cooperative farming, land ceilings, public and private sectors* dinned into our ears while the cost of living has been rising steadily and desolatingly. The growth of corruption, nepotism and inefficiency during the last ten years has been phenomenal. There was a legend at one time that the innocent Pandit Nehru was a prisoner of the cynical tycoons of the Congress party, and that they were using him as their stooge to further their own nefarious plans at the cost of the nation. But when one scandal after another in high places was unearthed, and the government was pressed to bring the offender to book, it was Pandit Nehru who invariably and monotonously shielded the malefactors and gave them the comfort of his countenance and the stability of his sheet-anchor.

The inequalities between the rich and poor are greater today than at any time in the past. The growth of the parasitic class both under the wings of the government and through its exploitation of patronage has been so extensive that we are on the high-road to the evolution of a servile state in which almost all citizens are employees of the state in one capacity or other. As this would be an effective means of choking off frank, free and fearless criticism, we bid fair to arrive at the totalitarian state with the inevitability of gradualness and much sooner than now feared.

The conclusion of the matter is that we stand to lose either way. The prospects of a sufficiently strong and moderate kind of opposition to the Congress in office taking shape and ousting it from power are more than ever remote. The unwillingness of the ruling party to share power with dissident or opposing groups, ascribed ostensibly to ideological considerations, really springs from a sense of overweening pride of power. In either case democracy and democratic processes have little chance of free play in this land. Opposition will be driven under-ground and seize upon chance pretexts to stage violent revolutions.

(Continued on page 19)

# COMMUNISM AND LAND REFORMS

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE Prime Minister made a remarkable statement (while addressing the Young Farmers' Rally at Bangalore on the 4th February) that needs close scrutiny by competent persons. Indeed his speech earlier on the 30th January at New Delhi on the occasion of the death ceremony of Mahatma Gandhi together with his Bangalore address to young farmers at Bangalore on the 4th February, demands close study and the reaction of knowledgeable people on their implications for policy (and indeed on the very destiny of the country as a whole) should be brought to the notice of the general body of citizens in all walks of life, particularly farmers, young and old, small and large.

These two speeches, particularly the one at Delhi contain many emotional expressions and attribution of motives to responsible critics such as—"I am amazed," "strange voices urging motives," "we will stop any man from doing anything from private profit motives that will harm thousands of people" etc. He resented the "campaign" that has emerged to opposed land reforms. He declared again that socialism was the *only way* to progress in the modern world and those who think that there are other, better ways more conducive to democracy and solid progress not liable to be superceded later, he could not tolerate. "They were reactionaries with vested interests"—or words with those implications and overtones.

In view of the crucial importance of the Policy which the Prime Minister is determined to carry through in spite of all opposition from knowledgeable persons and suggestions of constructive alternative programmes offered by them, it is necessary in the interest not of the agricultural classes alone but of the country as a whole to clarify the criticism of the opponents and show the *nerve centres* of the proposed reforms that introduce a qualitative change transforming them from a democratic constructive measure to one of totalitarianism destructive potential. Indeed, the reforms propose nothing less than a wholesale *vivisection* of the rural organism and economy. The wrong application of the surgeon's knife may well-nigh destroy social life and order for many a year to come and have repercussions in urban centres as well as difficult to hold within manageable limits.

Of course it must be said at the outset that even a "campaign" for spreading alternative views on the matter by even "vested interests" is entirely within the citizens' rights if our democratic republican Constitution means anything and if its section on fundamental rights is not to become a scrap of paper. It must be added that the words of intemperate admonition that the Prime Minister is increasingly in the habit of using to deter criticism is not in the best of democratic traditions.

We make to take our departure for comment from a statement made by the Prime Minister to the young farmers at Bangalore. He asked the people "not to make the mistake of thinking that ceilings on land, agricultural cooperatives or other things thought of, were something associated with a particular gospel. These land reforms and cooperatives were the modern

approach to the problem all over the world."

He did not "refer to the Communist countries because thinking was based on a different foundation... He would cite "the instance of Japan which had a prosperous agriculture." In the land reforms that the Japanese adopted, there was the provision of ceilings on land. They did this on the recommendation of the United States."

We shall first get rid of the Japanese example to which they are indebted to the American Army of occupation. If it intended to suggest by this example that even a capitalist country like the United States introduced ceilings and that *therefore ceilings are not* communist, the short answer is that it depends on the context and tendency of the system of ideas under the way of which land reforms as a whole are introduced. After the ceilings were introduced, the Americans did not make the measure a means of developing into co-operative and collective farming methods, destroying the new basis of private property in holdings. The regime of private property remained as the dominant agency for agricultural progress in Japan. Further what the Americans might do in a conquered country is no indication of what they would approve of in *their own democracy at home*.

The objection is not to ceilings on holdings in the *abstract*. Sardar Lal Singh has always objected to low ceilings such as 25 and 30 acres yielding pitifully inadequate returns in the neighbourhood of Rs. 300 per month. Also to confiscatory levels of compensation in long term loan bonds proposed so callously. To the reformers, landowners are not citizens whose rights need be considered at all.

Also, ceilings need not be uniform for all. They may be imposed on a *pro-rata, proportional* or *even progressive* basis like the income tax and super tax. Slabs with ten per cent rising to higher proportions above a thousand acres would be given cheerfully and will not upset the rural economy. Denmark imposed ceilings above a level permitting of scientific farming giving full market price compensation and in spot cash. The small holder was given loans by land mortgage societies assisted by the State on long term very low rates of interest such as 2 and 3%. This is *ceiling policy* in the context of democracy and peasant proprietorship. No country has used cooperative methods to better purpose than Denmark.

To assess the Prime Minister's claim that the present land reforms with their ceilings, farcical compensations, land to the tiller or tenant by forcible purchase by the State on his behalf and above all, joint farming "are not necessarily associated with Communism, we have to remind ourselves of the main planks of the Communist ideology. We shall then realise that there is no part of present proposals which are not an integral part of communism in its agrarian theory and strategy.

The major intuition of Marx lying at the basis of his entire outlook on economic reorganisation whether in industry or in agriculture was the primacy of industrialisation through ever-expanding technology. (He

said that the forces of production had outrun the relations of production) The vision of abundance vouchsafed by scientific industry intoxicated and dictated all the features of revolution to him. Scientific industry needs the abrogation of private property in the means of production according to Marx. If the communist as a whole owned the means of production, the scale of product on could be increased and the speed of production could keep pace with technological progress without the sluggishness of the private manufacturer who is moved by the profit motive and limited by the savings that he could mobilise. Public ownership and public saving could keep step with technological possibilities more easily.

Maximum scientific production was therefore the end for Karl Marx, before which any amount of destruction and suffering is offered as a sacrifice for progress.

The attitude of the Prime Minister is not far different from this master motive of Marx. He shows no awareness of the acuteness of the suffering caused so far by inflation and high prices owing to plan finance and expenditure. He has shown an alarming readiness to *double* the level of expenditure in the third plan!

The abolition of private property therefore is the cardinal maxim of Karl Marx. In industry, a process of nationalisation and in agriculture the adoption of collective farming, are thought of in communist revolution, bloodless or bloody, as the necessary pathways to progress and to a progressive system of society able to keep up with science in production.

In industry, we have the industrial policy resolution of 1956 which foreshadows the complete subordination of the private sector which is allowed scope today only within the interests of the Government Plan and only as playing the part allotted to it therein!

In agriculture we are having land reforms proposals today which will move towards the abolition of private property in land through the intermediate, transitional stage of co-operative service societies giving place to joint cooperative farms with national ownership retained. The next stage is obviously full collectivisation in which all traces of private ownership will vanish.

The transition to co-operative joint farming is not disguised in official statements and is clearly mentioned in the Congress Resolution passed at the Nagpur Session in January.

"As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming service cooperative, cooperatives should be organised throughout the country" (Nagpur Resolution).

The Prime Minister has given the rationale for this passage from service to joint cooperative in this Bangalore speech on the 5th February.

"The idea behind cooperative farming was that small farmers in a village, who knew each other well, could cooperate in a common task, thereby having larger resources at their disposal and thereby being able to introduce better and more improved techniques. A small agriculturist by himself could not do much and therefore they were drawn inevitably to cooperation. Cooperation could be of many kinds and what the Nagpur decision said was that *in the first instance*, let there be service cooperatives. While retaining ownership of their lands they could cooperate in res-

pect of getting good seeds, fertilisers and small machines. Cooperation was not merely economic but was a way of life. The ultimate objective was that each farmer should be self-reliant and stand on his own feet."

This is admirably said. But this is not the last word of Nagpur.

This programme is enough to last centuries and with suitable assistance by the State, it could solve the problem without indenting on communism.

We have statement on this subject to this effect by Arthur Lewis extracted by a student of his and published in *The Hindu* of 15 February.

"...The secret of rapid advancement in agriculture in the under-developed countries is to be found much more in agricultural extension, in fertilisers, in new seeds, in pesticides and in water supplies than in altering the size of the farm, in introducing machinery or in getting rid of middlemen in the marketing process. The present institutional framework is in most underdeveloped countries (but not all) quite adequate for an enormous advance in productivity by the introduction of improved technology..."

Why then should *not* the Prime Minister adopt this *method first* so promising in all respects and with the examples of Denmark and Japan before him? Japan has doubled and trebled her per acre productivity on small farms. The secret is plenty of water, plenty of fertilisers and good seeds. *Only after providing these facilities* to the present holders, small and big, is it reasonable to proceed to structural changes in law and custom and holdings. But the Prime Minister has adopted communist notions earlier in life and now he wishes to adopt them whether they are necessary and beneficial or not! Low ceilings, little or no compensation and joint cooperative farming are all natural and logical steps in communist land reforms motivated as they are to abolish private property in land (and in industry too.) Contrary to the Prime Minister's assertion, they are integral aspects of communism and its blue print for a society in which all citizens will be employees of the State whose party and official elite will dispose of all public property through planning and controlled consumption (with democratic freedoms of all kinds and degree becoming tragic casualties for all time!) They are associated with the Communist Gospel. This is proved to the hilt in communist countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Further ideas of a secondary order too in our land reforms are taken from communist techniques.

The procedure of dividing the rural community into landlord, rich landlord, middle peasant—poor peasant and landless worker with a view to setting up the poorer section against the richer, class by class, until only the landless remains who will be herded into collective farms as labourers in the end is also copied in India. The May and June 1956 issues of *The Economic Review* which is the organ of the AICC published from *Jantar Mantar*, New Delhi, there appeared a citation of the passages from the Communist classics of China giving its classification of these classes in rural areas for the information of Congress readers!

Mr. Dhebar is right to express his surprise that Congress members should protest against cooperative farming and ceilings and land to the tiller inasmuch as

they should have known of them through earlier Congress documents such as the Congress's Agrarian Committee's report (J. C. Kumarappa's Chairmanship), and the two Planning Commission Reports. Congressmen have ignored the ideas adopted by the party authorities and the rest of the public has followed suit. *But still we cannot allow the country to be ruined for the remissness of Congressmen!* The agriculturists and independent thinkers are awake now from the standpoint of freedom and civilisation and the right to landownership as a vocation, good for the holder and good for society. Landownership and individual proprietorship is associated with the spiritual values of home and family, patriotism and the rearing of a sturdy stock able to endure for milleniums without the debilitating effects of an excessively congested urban civilization.

There are movements in the West for restoring contact with mother earth to *every family* and reducing the incidence of urbanism. And we choose the *present moment* for urbanising rural relationships and convert farm work into that of factory organisation!

*Land to the Tiller.* The Prime Minister's land reforms have adopted this slogan of "land to the tiller" which carries in itself the whole philosophy of Marx's subversive movement.

It is held to justify the forcible transfer of the landholder's lands to the tenant with little or no compensation. The tiller is supposed to have the right to purchase the land he tills on behalf of his owner. Indeed he is held to have the superior right to the land in virtue of his labour on it. Marx held that all property was a species of robbery and might be liquidated without scruple, for in the new socialist or communist order, there is no place for individual property!

So we find that the various States of the Union have engaged themselves in the last ten years in passing tenancy legislation wittling down the property rights of the land owner so that today it seems *axiomatic* to all newspaper readers that the slogan of forcible redistribution of land among tillers without normal compensation to the landowner is right and just!

It is forgotten that the owner too has acquired his land through open purchase in the market at market rates. The money has come from the savings of previous years and is but labour summed up and stored. If the labourer is entitled to land, the owner too is entitled to it by virtue of the *labour-store-value* in terms of cash that he has given for it!

So we find Governments reducing rents, fixing tenures and lowering the value of land everywhere and now they want to bring this process of subversion to a head and introduce socialism without individual property. This may be the part of wisdom but it *cannot* be pretended that it is *not associated* with the gospel of communism.

Why should landowners be deprived in favour of tenants is not thought of at all! The only answer is that the tenants are larger in numbers and will produce more votes! The argument for cooperative farming is that small farms are unremunerative and resist scientific methods. But current large farms in good condition *are not permitted to exist!* Production therefore is *not the criterion* but the communist ideological motive of eliminating owners of property

so as to facilitate a property-less or *public property* regime!

In his Delhi speech on Gandhi martyrdom Day, the Prime Minister says that a stage has come for dropping *ambiguity*. In the first stage, he recommended the Chinese reform as being *nationalist agrarian reforms* without any Marxist communism in it! He proved a false prophet. At Avadi, he introduced the ambiguous phrase of "socialistic pattern of society," not to shock the people by the raw word socialism. He spoke only of cooperatives before. Now he wants to drop the ambiguity somewhat and accustom the people to cooperative *joint farming with land holdings* mentioned in the books as a transition to full collectives! But he does not want others to play with "ambiguities!"

Communist Land Reforms put socialist transformation through liquidation of property in *land first* in order to priority and allot the *second place* to increase of production. They take the risk of widespread social upheaval and stoppage of production in order to seize power.

Communist strategy evolves all its tactics with the supreme aim of capturing governmental power.

Stalin risked a full scale war with the millions of peasants in the Russian countryside in order to secure socialist property through kolkozoes and sovkozoes (collectives and State farms). According to Churchill who questioned him on this subject, Stalin had to kill 10 million peasants!

Mao Tse-tung confessed to a mere modest 800,000! But competent students put the figure rivalling Stalin's millions!

If the people in all their occupations are deprived of property which is the source and guarantor of individual freedom and power, the Communist party then can proceed to transform social life and exercise supreme power over nature and man and organise the economy *like a single factory* as Marx foresaw and recommended with a view to secure an ever-increasing tempo of production through ever-increasing progress in science and technology.

Cooperation and collectivisation, ceilings and land to the tiller and landless are *only tactics* in the grand strategy of depriving people of their property rights and rendering them helpless like putty in the hands of the communist power seekers.

The fact that production comes second in communist eyes is proved by the grim fact that Russia and China were exporting food grains while famine stalked the land to pay for imports of machinery! For industrialisation comes first in their Plans.

Verbal disclaimers that the present land reforms in our country have *nothing to do with the communist gospel and that they stand on a different foundation will not do* therefore to remove the well-founded impression in the minds of the instructed that they are in fact subversive ideas imported from the lands of Marxism and are totally contrary to the spirit of universal human culture.

Nor are they necessary to effect a reasonable redistribution of land without liquidation of property and without introducing chaos and class war in the countryside. Nor are they called for, for increasing agricultural production. Neither social justice nor economic necessity demand these alien "reforms" falsely so-called.

# TOTALITARIAN FARMING

By M. N. Tholal

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THE editor of a Congress daily—Mr. Nehru was Chairman of its Board of Directors—used to say of his boss: “He just can’t sit down and think.” Some time after Mr. Nehru became Prime Minister he declared: “I have no time to think.” Fancy the Prime Minister of a country boasting he has no time to think, as if thinking was *infra dig* for him or, at any rate, no part of his job. If that were not so, one might be inclined to ask: “Who or what is preventing him? Is not his programme of his own choosing?” The time that a man devotes to his pursuits or hobbies or recreation is an index of his character. No one can say that Mr. Nehru is being forced to run around the country performing opening ceremonies and making speeches on all subjects on earth. If then he has no time to think, the conclusion is irresistible that he does not want time to think.

He does not want time to think because thinking is a painful process for those who have been making one blunder after another. What is he to think of? His own blunders which landed the country in the greatest disaster of her history? Maulana Azad’s latest book—and he was one of Mr. Nehru’s greatest friends and supporters—reminds us of Mr. Nehru’s blundering propensities. Is then Mr. Nehru such a big fool? Not at all. They were blunders from Azad’s point of view from the point of view of patriots. But for his own selfish point of view—and he has no other point of view—can they be called blunders? Again, not at all.

## A TRUE DISCIPLE

In one respect, the main respect, Nehru is a true disciple of Gandhi. Every time, there has been a conflict between self and country, self has won hands down. That was true of Gandhi and that is true of Nehru. Every time, mind you. This is a challenge I am prepared to throw to any Congressmen. I closely followed their careers as a journalist and I am prepared, in every instance, to prove my contention to the satisfaction of any honest mind.

In U.P. in 1937 when the opportunity offered to finish the Muslim League—as Azad has now frankly said and as I have been saying for the last twenty years—Nehru was thinking of his own petty self, of his own supremacy in the province, and of his pet flatterer, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, who could not have been in the U.P. cabinet had two Muslim Leaguers been included there. That is a point—the main point which proved the main obstacle—which Azad fails to mention in his valuable book. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was the stumbling block to the honouring of the gentlemen’s agreement between the Congress and the League before the elections—to the effect that in the event of the Congress and the League securing a majority in the provincial legislature, the two would form a coalition cabinet. The very success of the Congress in securing an absolute majority proved the greatest disaster for the country. Why? Because the men on top had no regard for their commitments.

What Nehru means when he says he has no time to think is that he has no time to go through the pros and cons of an argument in order to be able to decide what is really good for the country. He does not need that time, the good of the country being far from his mind. It generally does not require much time to decide which of the two courses open is likely to be more beneficial to a man personally, i.e., for his personal advancement. That is what he learnt from his guru Gandhi, who had no difficulty in plumping for the Charkha, the Loin Cloth, the Fast and the Evening Prayer which together made him Mahatma and lent him the air of mysticism so necessary for a Mahatma. What earthly connection had these four pillars of Mahatmahood with Swaraj? Yet they were there always in the forefront.

Yet we have had it from the Mahatma himself that the title of Mahatma had often pained him. Soon after the Poona fast when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referring to Mr. Gandhi as Mahatma Gandhi, a friend of his twitted the knight saying, “Now you will be among the recognised leaders of the land and your name will be mentioned in the despatches”—the reference was to Gandhi’s weekly. The prophecy came true. Had Jinnah consented to refer to Gandhi as Mahatma, the main stumbling block to Hindu-Muslim unity would have been removed and the history of the land taken a different course. But Jinnah defied his Mahatmaship and the Mahatma in an attempt to break Jinnah created the Quaid-e-Azam and Pakistan. Imagine a man trying with all his cunning might to be Jesus and Buddha rolled into one and a Mr. Jinnah refusing to call him even Mahatma!

## POWER MOTIVE

Nehru had not been associated for three decades with the Mahatma for nothing. From him he imbibed the power motive. His upbringing as an English child and his British education prevented him from adopting all the “monkey tricks” of the Mahatma—the quoted words are Mrs. Sarojini Naidu’s—but he loves humility in fellow human beings all the same, this man who once slapped some one for touching Gandhi’s feet. If you want to know why he selected Dhebar for the Congress presidentship, you have only to look at the man’s photograph. Humility is written all over his face. Did not Jesus say: “Blessed are the meek, for they shall be comforted?” And did not Dhebar justify his selection by nominating Indira Gandhi to the Working Committee of the Congress and by always swearing loyalty to “Mr. Nehru and the Congress.” Reminds me of the saying, a favourite of Mr. Nehru: First things first.

In the great debate now proceeding, what is significant is that all the Congress supporters of co-operative farming let the cat out of the bag by giving China’s example. In an article entitled “The Rationale of Co-operative Farming” Minister K. D. Malviya says that in India the co-operative movement failed because “dynamically encouraging conditions were



not present." The Congress Government apparently intends to introduce these "dynamically encouraging conditions" by "adequate state help and a large band of missionary workers for undertaking the experiment in a big way." It is not difficult to see through the game. "Adequate state help" will finance the "large band of missionary workers" who will naturally be Congress workers or Congress supporters who may be relied upon, as the natural leaders of the people they help, to throw their full weight on the side of Congress candidates during the elections. Thus State funds will be employed to maintain the present Congress Government in perpetuity and, incidentally, glorify Nehru. This result of co-operative farming is certain. What is problematical is whether the large band of state-financed "missionary" workers will have the missionary zeal that it is supposed they will have. Where is it going to come from?

Lust for power often deprives people of their wits. It is no use pointing out to them that Japan and Denmark have produced more food on small farms than USA and USSR on big farms. It is no use pointing out that in several countries this experiment has been tried without success, and that if it failed in totalitarian countries, like Poland and Yugoslavia, it is not likely to succeed in a free country like India. Congressmen may be able to induce the ignorant farmer to part with his vote in their favour, as they have been doing, but they are not likely to induce him to part with his land for co-operative farming. As Mr. Masani said in Parliament, if anybody thinks that he can persuade the Indian farmer to give up his land for co-operative farming he is living in a fool's paradise.

#### DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES

For his forthright warning that an experiment in collective farming on the Communist pattern—which is what the insidious Nagpur Resolution amounts to—would lead to "civil war and bloodshed" in India Mr. Masani was heckled by Congress benches, but what have the thinking Congressmen themselves to say on the subject? The Convener of the Congress Socialist Forum, Mr. Shyam Nandan Mishra, Union Deputy Minister for Planning, speaking at a meeting of the Forum in New Delhi the other day, after boasting that "we have now a radical programme which leaves all other parties trailing behind" observed:

"I have a feeling that although a national consensus might emerge on the objectives and structure of the next plan, it might not be in evidence in equal measure in respect of ways to be employed for its realisation. That would create a difficult and complex situation and we have to be on guard against its dangerous political possibilities."

At a Press Conference early in February, Mr. Nehru stated that he believes in co-operative farming with "passionate conviction." He has also been talking of his "passionate" devotion to democracy. The two convictions do not necessarily contradict each other. In a democratic society the co-operative principle must be qualified by the need to preserve certain fundamental rights of the individual. But Mr. Nehru

has himself admitted that, at some stage or other, a certain degree of compulsion may have to be exercised in order to bring about the change from family farming to joint farming and he has tried to justify possible compulsion by the argument that governments, after all, are everywhere compelling people all the time to do or not to do certain things, as, for example, when they tax the people. This makes it clear, as the Nagpur Resolution envisages, that the service co-operatives are to prepare the ground for the inauguration of joint farming at the end of three years and will be expected to force peasants to go in for joint farming rather than be the means for family farming to continue by profiting from the co-operative organisation of facilities in regard to credit, marketing and provision of implements and seeds, etc.

There is a degree of reticence about these service co-operatives which is indeed alarming. Are the proposed service co-operatives to be different from multi-purpose societies? If so, in what respect? It is being said that a genuine co-operative movement should not depend upon the bureaucracy. That means that Government supervision is to be removed while Government finance is to be made "adequate" to the needs of the situation. Thus what is being demanded in effect is a new law which would give non-official individuals—mostly Congressmen—the liberty to play ducks and drakes with State funds, without Government or bureaucratic interference! The Prime Minister's reference to the obstacle in the person of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Punjab, is as significant as it is irresponsible and deplorable. Crores and crores of public funds are proposed to be spent without accountability being strictly enforced on those spending them. But then Mr. Nehru has never been known to be keen on public funds being well-spent!

#### A CONDEMNED SCHEME

"One village, one society" is to be the guiding principle for the organisation of the new service co-operatives. But the Rural Credit Survey rejected the "one village, one society" principle in the case of co-operative credit, saying:

"It is our considered view that the formula "one society to one village and one village to one society" has failed in India as the basis for the organisation of rural credit. It has failed because its underlying assumptions have not proved correct. Those assumptions were that mutual knowledge would help to determine, and honorary service help to operate, credit; that the first would be most effectively present and the second most effectively developed within the confines of one village. In actual fact, as we have already seen, the compactness of size has not been accompanied by any of these other features."

The Government of India accepted this conclusion and were in favour of developing co-operative credit through primary societies covering areas larger than a village and commanding economic turn-over large enough to afford competent trained staff. But at a word from Prime Minister Nehru there is to be a "Left-about-turn" which in turn is a signal for wide-awake opportunists to explore the possibilities of reward.

# RED STAR OVER IRAQ

## *Story Behind the Coup*

By T. L. Kantam

**T**HE decisive way to play politics in Iraq is to make a *coup d'état* wrote John Gunther but the *coup* that was staged by the army in Baghdad last July was not "playing politics" but a revolution of great significance which brought in its wake a grave Middle East crisis. The full story of the revolt and the crisis has only recently come to light and has once again proved the truth of the famous saying of the great French colonial administrator Marshal Lyautey that the Arab world is a drum, which beaten at one end reverberates at the other.

For a proper appreciation of the events leading up to the *coup* of July 14 and its aftermath, it is necessary to refer to the history of this ancient and fabled land of Haroun al Raschid.

Modern Iraq, which stands on the sites of ancient Babylon and Niniveh, is the creation of the British and King Feisal I. During World War I, Britain wooed and won considerable Arab support from Sheriff Hussein of Mecca, a direct descendant of Prophet Mahomed. In 1916 Sheriff Hussein, with the aid of the British staged a successful revolt against Turkey and assumed the title of King of the Hedjaz. One of his sons, Abdullah, became the Emir of Transjordan and after World War II was given the title of King of the Independent Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. He was assassinated in 1951 and his grandson Hussein is the present King of Jordan.

Another son of Sheriff Hussein, Feisal I had the unique distinction of being king of two different countries. On March 2, 1920, he was crowned King of Syria but his reign was all too brief, for on July 25, France entered Damascus on the strength of a decision of the Allied Powers at the San Remo Conference to place Syria and Lebanon under a French mandate. As a reward for his assistance in the war, Britain offered Feisal the throne of Mesopotamia (later Iraq) but assumed a mandate over the country.

The clever and capable Feisal bargained shrewdly with the British and got independence for Iraq in 1932. The 1930 treaty of alliance with Britain, however, kept Iraq under British tutelage. Feisal died in 1933 and was succeeded by his son Ghazi, whose reign was uneventful. On the death of Ghazi in a motor accident in 1939, his four-year old son Feisal II was named king and Feisal's uncle Emir Abdullah was appointed Regent and heir to the throne.

### TRAGEDY

On May 2, 1953, his eighteenth birthday, Feisal II was crowned King of Iraq. This charming, pious, young king, his uncle Ilah and Prime Minister Nancies Said were brutally murdered on July 14 and the Kingdom of Iraq ceased to exist.

### POLITICS AND GEOGRAPHY

The geography of the Middle East has favoured fragmentation and separatism. The rival attractions of the Nile and Euphrates valleys have come in the way of Levantine unity and stability. The Arab's "idea of nationality" wrote Lawrence of Arabia in his

"Seven Pillars of Wisdom" "was the independence of clans and villages and their ideal of national union was episodic combined resistance to an intruder." Arab unity? "A madman's notion" was Lawrence's reply.

The "Arab revolt" of 1917-18 was primarily the accomplishment of a small group of British officers (foremost among them was Col. Lawrence) liberally supplied with gold. The negotiations which led to the formation of the Arab League, consisting of the seven Arab states—Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen—were initiated and brought to a successful fruition by Anthony Eden. The Arab League, dedicated to strengthening the common bonds among Arab states proved ineffective, principally because of the traditional rivalry between the Hashemite family ruling Iraq and Jordan and the Saudi family. Moreover, most of the Arab states had become free from foreign domination so recently that their new-won independence was more precious to them than unity.

### PAN-ARABISM

Nevertheless, the Arab League served as a focus for the Pan-Arabism that had been welling up in Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad ever since the collapse of Ottoman rule, partly as a reaction against Anglo-French domination and Zionism and partly in consequence of the spread of education. First the students, then the urban middle classes rediscovered the heritage of Islam and concluded that the pre-requisite for a revival of past glories was political reunification. The militant nationalists saw in unification a means of acquiring the necessary strength to crush Israel, to humiliate Britain and France and to win a place for themselves in the councils of the great.

### BAGHDAD PACT

When therefore on January 12, 1955, Turkey and Iraq announced their willingness to conclude a defence agreement, it was like a bombshell within the Arab League. It meant that Iraq, a League member was casting its lot with the West. In spite of all opposition from the other League members, the official document was signed in an elaborate court ceremony at Baghdad on February 24, 1955 and came to be known as the Baghdad Pact. Britain lost no time in joining with Turkey and Iraq. Thus Iraq became linked with NATO and the defence of Europe. Pakistan was admitted to the Pact in September and a month later Iran became the fifth member.

Much of the dissensions in the Middle East can be traced to the Baghdad Pact. It was a serious error to have included Iraq in the Baghdad Pact, since it lies well behind the so-called "Northern tier" of states united to resist Soviet pressure. Moreover, membership in the Pact isolated Iraq from her Arab neighbours and exposed her to nationalist mistrust.

Almost from the commencement there was agitation in Iraq for her withdrawal from the Pact and for the removal of Premier Nuri es Said, who was responsible for Iraq's entry into it. In November 1956 the situa-

tion had grown so serious that Feisal placed Iraq under martial law and suspended parliament for a month. Five Iraqi leaders were found guilty of "endangering national security" by a court-martial and sentenced to three years' hard labour. The charge against them was that they had sponsored a petition urging dismissal of Nuri es Saïd and an end to Iraq's ties with the Baghdad Pact. On June 8, 1957 Nuri es Saïd resigned ostensibly for health reasons but resumed the Premiership on March 3, 1958. His return to power fanned the flames of discontent.

#### LINK WITH LEBANON

Here history takes a curious turn, linking the *coup* in Iraq with events in Lebanon. The founders of the Republic of Lebanon realized that the only solution to the problem of the religious sects in the country was to share power and prestige. It was therefore agreed that a Christian Maronite should be the President, a Sunni Muslim the Prime Minister and a Shia Muslim the President of the multi-religious Chamber of Deputies. On the assumption that the Christians formed slightly more than half the population, the 66 seats in the unicameral Chamber of Deputies were distributed in the following manner: Maronite Christians 20; Greek Orthodox 7; Armenian Orthodox 3; Greek Catholic 4; Armenian Catholic 1; Sunni Muslims 14; Shia Muslims 12; Druses 4 and one representative of the minorities. Lebanese Muslims had long been complaining that these quotas do not reflect the present distribution of population, since many Christian Lebanese have migrated to the Americas and there has been greater increase in the Muslim population owing to their higher birth rate. Convinced that a new census would show Muslims in a majority and would therefore entitle them to a larger share in government according to the agreement between the two religious groups, the Lebanese Muslims repeatedly demanded that a census should be taken without delay. (The last census was in 1932).

President Camille Chamoun, a Christian, saw in this demand a threat to the favoured position of the Christian community. Instead of trying to reach an understanding with the Muslims, he became more and more intransigent. Personal ambition also played a part. Chamoun manoeuvred to have the Lebanese constitution amended so that he could have a second six-year term as President. This made his opponents furious.

At this juncture, Nassib Metni, editor of the anti-Chamoun newspaper *Telegraphe* was assassinated. That was on May 8. Three days later the country was aflame with riots, looting and burning.

Chamoun then appealed to the United States and Britain for help but these did not want to go into Lebanon without the backing of world opinion. Chamoun agreed to appeal to the United Nations Security Council for a UN Police Force to guard Lebanon's frontiers against "massive Syrian infiltration" — fully expecting and indeed hoping that Russia would veto the plan, so that he could get Anglo-American help.

Russia did veto the plan. But the United Nations Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, working closely with the Japanese delegate Dr. Koto Matsudaira, devised a substitute — a scheme for a United Nations observation force. Chamoun did not want an obser-

ver team; he wanted British and American forces and he soon showed that the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) was unwelcome.

Chamoun now turned to Iraq for help. Here we have to go by the reports of the new government of Iraq. Two battalions of Iraqi troops were issued live ammunition — an unusual step in Iraq — and ordered to go to Lebanon to put down the Muslim rebellion. This was too much for the Iraq army which had been planning a *coup* for nearly two years. When the two battalions passed through Baghdad on July 14, they simply stopped and seized power. It is this unexpected development that took everyone unawares.

General Karim Kassem became the Prime Minister of the new government and his right-hand man Col. Abdul Salam Mahomed Aref, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. Almost the first act of the Deputy Prime Minister was to rush to Damascus to share the same platform as Nasser. Returning he promised quick Arab unity through union with the United Arab Republic. Touring the country, holding out hopes of sweeping changes, he seemed to be challenging Kassem's leadership. Within two months, Aref was stripped of his high office and on December 27 he was tried for "plotting against Iraq's security" and for attempting to kill General Kassem. Aref refuted the charges against him but the court found him guilty on the first charge and sentenced him to death with a recommendation for mercy. The trial and the judgment roused public sentiment against Prime Minister Kassem and six of the Cabinet Ministers submitted their resignations. On February 8, Kassem appointed eight new ministers, four from the Free Officers Group which helped him to stage the revolution, the other four being civilians.

#### IRAQ AND BAGHDAD PACT

Kassem seems unable to take a definite stand on many important issues. He sealed the offices of the Baghdad Pact and has not been sending representatives to the Baghdad Pact meetings but he has not officially withdrawn Iraq from membership of the Pact.

He has brought the activities of the Iraq Development Board, which had much good work to its credit, to a standstill, though he has not made any move to nationalise the British-run Iraq Petroleum Company. At the same time, he has sought and been assured of substantial Soviet aid for Iraq's development plans.

#### COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The Communists have a two-fold interest in the Middle East. One, they inherited from the old Imperial Russian government, for the Russian Empire was and the Soviet Empire is, the Northern boundary of the Middle East. The other is part of their world revolutionary mission. Added to this, there is the enhanced importance of this area on account of its oil wealth.

Since 1955, they have been applying new tactics of peaceful co-existence in this region. These include the sale of military equipment, giving of military training, technical and economic aid, trade and cultural exchanges and praise of the Arab regimes, particularly the revolutionary ones. So far they have been unable to get a firm foothold in any of the Middle Eastern countries. Will the new regime in Iraq fall a prey to Communist tactics? and will the Red Star blaze fiercely over this ancient land?

March 1, 1959



The Prime Minister's capitulation over the Mathai episode has been singularly ungraceful. An enquiry is to be held by the Cabinet Secretary who is to report to the Finance Minister who will remit the entire file for a second opinion after his, presumably to the Auditor General. Any one of them is enough to elicit the facts without any difficulty. This circumlocution cannot have any other effect than that of making every one of the inquisitor seem inadequate or suspect at the commencement of the next stage. The second defect of the *modus operandi* announced consists in shutting out of the enquiry the earlier antecedents of Mr. Mathai. We are not concerned with them, said the Prime Minister with more seeming generosity than justice. Our Income-Tax authorities are much more curious in regard to most of us who are honest, and ask questions which might seem most ungentlemanly but which are within the law. How any person comes by a fortune at any time is legitimate subject for the research departments of the officials of our Inland Revenue. Pandit Nehru may be lackadaisical about antecedents of those whom he picks up for patronage; but if that is the way he has gone about filling key-positions with men, there is little cause to wonder at the wide prevalence of gossip about official corruption.

Nor can it be deemed cricket to prejudge the whole issue by insinuating compendiously of 'witch-hunting' by opposition groups. It is true that modern enlightened opinion has exploded superstitious faith in witches. But instead we have had too many and too scarifying instances of wizards in the financial world of today; unfortunately they are not hunted — they hunt high and lie low, but give themselves away at last and almost as a rule. Wells, writing in the early years of this century visualised the tycoon in *Tono Bungay*, and he has been running true to that type ever since!

By the way, the main reason urged by Mr. Mathai in asking for the acceptance of his resignation was an alleged desire to vindicate his honour by having recourse to courts of law. Our sleuths of the press are serving us indifferently by not telling us more about this. Or can it be that the gentleman is still meditating the matter?

The settlement of the Cyprus issue to the satisfaction of all the interested parties sounds on the face of it a sort of miracle. Actually it is still too early to say who has gained. Not Makarios certainly, for he has had to set his words very thoroughly. He wanted Enosis, but has had to give it up. The British wanted their bases, and are getting them alright. The Turks wanted partition—a sort of Pakistan; they are not getting it. But the best part of the

joke is that all claim not to have made any compromise! American good offices are said to have helped to bring about this gratifying settlement; if so, it can be justly claimed as a victory for all and defeat for none. From other forecasts and hints, it looks as if Cyprus is to have a sort of Cripps' Formula to be tried out. Regional autonomy, separate electorates, a joint cabinet on top with the power of the veto vested on both sides, so that only agreed measures could be put through at the island-territorial level. Seeing that foreign affairs, defence and communications are reserved by the British, the freedom which Turk and Greek will enjoy can only be of the Pickwickian kind. But four years of murder, loot and arson have had a boomerang effect, and the Cypriot-Greek is now content with something much less than what he might have got if he had gone the way of peaceful discussion and compromise.

To those evangelists of facile philosophies the dogged stand of British throughout the years of crisis has been an inconvenient fact which was ridiculed, under-estimated and misrepresented. The Labour party and its shining lights advocated a policy of scuttle, and must now be feeling silly. Force does solve some things sometimes—but not the kind of force that with stealthy steps made assassination into a fine art. And the supreme irony of the struggle is that its leadership remained securely in the hands of a man of peace, a devout follower of Christ, I mean the Archbishop who tacitly connived at since he did not openly denounce such violence.

While England is slowly rallying on the political side, it is sad to note her collapse in the cricket field. Australia which dominated the game during the dazzling reign of Don Bradman has wrested the initiative again after a brief relapse. But the most untoward development in cricket is that it is now a much more lethal game than it ever was. What Larwood began as 'body-line' under the captaincy of Jardin has now become a major threat to life and limb with the leather as a missile aspiring to supersonic speeds in the atomic age! Trueman was kept as the English bogey, but he proved less effective than Tyson, while on the Australian side Rorke was a rare find. With the speed merchants thus cancelling themselves out, the game came back to the batsmen, and it was here that Australia proved its superiority. It had more new blood and also young blood at that; they batted at a faster rate and clouted the wrong 'uns more courageously and consistently. Almost every player rose to the occasion on the Australian side, so that the glorious uncertainty of the game was ever-present in the series that has just ended so one-sidedly.

The announcement that Marshal Voroshilov has had to cancel his official trip to our country on account of illness is a timely reminder that top-ranking men in Russia are still subject to the hazards of the falling sickness. Voroshilov was one of the founding fathers of the Russian Revolution, and has grown grey in its service. Apparently it has helped him to save his life.

(Continued on Page 18)

# **Fiscal Policy & Economic Development**

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

## **PROPER FISCAL POLICY**

**I**N recent times an increasing attention has been paid to the problem of economic development of underdeveloped countries. The most important aspect of such development is the pursuit of a proper fiscal policy. Unfortunately this aspect has not received the attention that it deserves. No doubt it is a complex problem, but for the economic development of the country it should be looked at without prejudices. Our fiscal policy is based on ideological and sentimental cobwebs and unless these are removed, it is difficult to achieve the objective of economic development by means of planning.

## **OUR PLANNING**

Our National Government, with Mr. Nehru at its head, has adopted state planning to achieve a rapid economic development of our country and according to him there is no other alternative than planning to achieve that objective. If we examine our plans and their working which are in vogue for the last eight years, we find that planning instead of being a path to prosperity has actually become the path to poverty to lower and middle classes. The First Five Year Plan is over. The Second is in progress and the Third is already under discussion. It is assumed in official circles that the First Plan is over and that it was a great success. But what is over is the Plan period and not the Plan target. So far we have not achieved the objectives, namely, raising the standard of living of the people and increasing the level of employment. When Ministers make speeches they eulogise the First Five Year Plan, but when the people ask them a simple question why the five year plans do not become successful they argue that there is a rise in population. But this argument is baseless for, were the Planners not aware of the fact of increasing population? Was it not the duty of the Planning Commission to take note of this fact when Plans were formulated? They should have prepared the plans keeping in view of the increase in population. Secondly, it is not the population growth that hinders the economic development but the wrong fiscal policy adopted by our Government. In this connection Prof. Lewis says "It is not true that population growth, actual or potential, is the principal reason why their levels of living are not rising. For example, the population in India is growing currently by 1½ per annum. This rate is lower than the current rate of population growth in the U.S.A.; where nevertheless output per head doubles every forty years; and it is not greater than the rate at which European population grew during the 19th century when their levels of living were rising substantially. If Japan has been able to double output per head every twentyfive years since 1880 despite

population growth, the rest of Asia or Africa could do the same. Japan is not particularly rich in natural resource on the contrary, she is not well-endowed than India with coal and mineral ores. . . . . *but the principal obstacle to raising output per head in these countries is not the rate of population growth but the fact that their rates of CAPITAL FORMATION AT ABOUT FIVE PER CENT IS MUCH LOW*". This is mainly due the muddleheaded policy of our Government.

## **PLANNED EXPENDITURE**

The main object of our planning is to achieve a rapid economic development and with that end in view the Government is going to spend Rs. 48000 crores in period of 5 years i.e. 960 crores per annum or 80 crores per month or 2½ crores per day. The present population is 37½ crores and 2½ crores per day means expenditure of one rupee per day for fifteen person i.e. one anna per head per day. Out of this one anna expenditure there will come into existence development of agriculture, industry, transport, social services etc. and on this basis Mr. Nehru wants to build a NEW INDIA on the socialistic pattern of Society. He says "The time has come when our people could no longer live from hand to mouth. We want higher standard of living for our people; we want to reduce disparity. We want to give a more or less equal opportunity to everybody in India". This he wants to achieve by spending one anna per head and bring prosperity to our country to our country only by planning. Unfortunately economic development has not taken place *pari passu* with this huge expenditure and this is mainly due to the fiscal policy.

## **OBJECTS OF A TAX POLICY**

The objectives of a tax policy are not the same everywhere. In the industrial countries the objectives of a tax policy are intended to stabilise the economy and raise the revenues for the efficient administration, but these objectives cannot be applied in toto to the underdeveloped countries. But our efficient administrators adopted the methods which even the advanced countries are not bold enough enough to adopt. In a backward country the main objective of a tax policy is to encourage capital formation and direct the course of its development. In other words we can say that the objective of a tax policy in an underdeveloped country is "revenue producing, investment generating and diversionary policy". The tax principles which are most appropriate to the conditions of underdeveloped countries must be based on productivity i.e. the capacity to raise production required for economic development. But revenue should be related to the effect it will have on private invest-

ment and initiative and lastly on the fair distribution of taxes among different individuals, on the principle of ability to pay. If the incomes of the higher groups are taxed very heavily as it is done at present in our country on the grounds of establishing classless society, then the capital formation would be retarded and there would be more need to impose indirect taxes. One must say with regret that our Government has not realised this simple fact and has imposed various direct and indirect taxes with the result that marginal propensity to save and invest has decreased and as a consequence of this we have to rely on the borrowing from the foreigners to implement our unrealistic plans. If our aim is to achieve rapid economic development of our country, then there is a need to reduce direct taxes. Taxation on industry has already reached the level of diminishing returns, the yield having reduced with increase in rates. The tax structure is now lopsided with excessive burden on trade and industry. Political considerations have been chiefly responsible for this state of affairs but the economy has conveniently demonstrated its inability to progress rapidly without a fiscal rationalisation. The key to economic development lies in the provision of incentive to private investment, so that the saving can be maximised and can be used to achieve balance and active development programmes. Without an increase in real investment, capital formation cannot take place. In this connection Prof. M. H. Gopal in his Presidential Address at Lucknow said "If therefore the capital formation is the major objective of the tax policy, if such savings and investment are likely to be done in the private sector and if the saving and potential is in the upper income groups and institutions, it follows from the angle of development that the tax policy should tone down the effects on decision to make risky investments. Ease tax burden of equity financing, reduce tax factors inhibiting foreign private investment and strengthen further the automatic stabilisers in the tax system. That is, tax reliefs must be in the direction of higher income groups and institutions. Further, there should be little more emphasis on the qualitative significance of taxation in relation to saving." He also urges that the Kaldorian innovations should be modified by accepting capital gains and gifts taxes fully, the wealth tax partially, restricting it to individuals by adopting a comprehensive return device and by rejecting the expenditure tax and equity concepts as main tax principles. He also maintains that the "unisance taxes" should be abolished i.e. those which have little significance from the point of revenues. Unless our present fiscal policy is completely rationalised there is no denying the fact that economic development will not only be retarded, but it will lead the country to the point of bankruptcy. So it is the fiscal policy which is the main hurdle in the path of our economic development and population growth is a secondary cause.

#### HOLES IN OUR PLANNING

At present there are some holes in our plans and as long as these holes exist, huge expenditure will not lead to economic development. We are spending 300 crores per annum on Army; 200 crores on 35 lakhs of Government servants and Rs. 100 crores for importing food from abroad. In other words we are spending

Rs. 600 crores per annum on these holes which have been created deliberately by our administrators. Just as a big vessel with 4 or 5 holes in it cannot be filled with water, similarly huge expenditure cannot lead to economic development unless holes are plugged.

#### THIRD PLAN

The resolution passed unanimously at Nagpur clearly shows that our Government has not learnt any lesson from the past mistakes. The Third Five Year Plan will be conceived on a larger scale and according to Prof. Anjaria, Financial Adviser to the Government of India, the total outlay of the Third Five Year Plan will be 9900 crore though the Planning Commission wishes that the size of the Plan would be around Rs. 10000 crores, of which 7000 crores will be invested in the public sector and 3000 crores in the private sector. This means that as compared with the 50:50 ratio of the First Plan and 61:39 ratio of the Second Plan, the ratio of the public financing to private investment will be 70:30. This also means that the role of the private sector will be curtailed more than what it has been so far. The private sector will be told that it is incapable of undertaking the responsibility of heavy industries. It (the Government or the public sector) will ask the people to work hard and the only promise it will give is that the future generation will be happier and contented. The people should be ready to hear the slogan from the leaders "Eat and drink less; tighten your belts; consume less cloth; use less steel and cement; produce less children but more food and everything else; save more and lend more and more to the Government; but do not expect large profits or large salaries or wages; cut imports; boost exports; pay your taxes at progressive rates and do not criticise the public sector, otherwise you will be dealt with broomstick." This is the democratic planning of our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru.

#### PLANNING AND PEOPLE'S COOPERATION

No plan can succeed if it is foisted on the people. Planning is only a means and welfare is the end of every planning. Plan is for the people, but the people is not for the plan. So far our Government has failed to get the fullest co-operation of the people in the execution of the plans; this is mainly due to the fact that plans are not formulated for the well-being of the people. Planners give the people stones when they ask for bread. What is the use of planning when thirsty do not get water when they require it?

#### MARKET ECONOMY IS THE ONLY REMEDY

If we want to build true democracy in our country, we shall have to develop our country on the lines of Free Market Economy. It is by adopting Free Market Economy the Western Germany was able to achieve a miracle within a short period. Planning means chaos and poverty. It is in the Free Market Economy that the individuals will be free to develop the economy to the fullest extent. "In the market economy consumers are supreme. Their buying and their abstention from buying ultimately determines what the entrepreneurs produce and in what quantity and qua-

(Continued on Page IV)

# Pancha Stotra

By M. A. Sreenivasan

*(Following is the Presidential speech delivered at Bangalore, under the auspices of Forum of Free Enterprise)*

**B**RAVERY has always ranked among the highest of virtues. Yet I suppose that, in any country, the crop of brave men and women that rise above the ground and grow to strengthen and invigorate the rest of the population at any given time depends largely on the climate,—the political and moral climate; and I wonder whether the climate and environment of the last few years in our land have been propitious for the emergence of really courageous citizens.

It makes one sad to see that although we now have, at the very summit of our Government, some of the bravest men in the country, fearless outspokenness by ordinary citizens have evoked, not the appreciation of those brave men, but their anger.

It may come as a surprise to some of you that there are not a few well-known businessmen and industrialists in our country today that seem to operate at altitudes so high that they are unable to see the difference between private enterprise and State-ownership—a difference that strikes us, humbler people, standing on terra firma, as a towering, mountainous fact rising out of the answer to the simple, fundamental question whether the right to own property can remain with the citizen or should be extinguished and vest with the Government.

Many among you would doubtless have appreciated, as I did, Mr. Shroff's reply to the Prime Minister's thrust at the private sector in the course of which the Prime Minister is reported to have said that it can be swept away with broomsticks. We used, till lately, to hear of the policy of Brinkmanship pursued by another country. It now seems that for many years to come we shall have the excitement of seeing a policy of Broomsmanship in action in our own country. I say, for many years to come, as I believe it will take a long time and a lot of brooms to sweep away the blast furnaces, factories, mills, offices, shops and farms that belong to what is called the private sector.

The subject of Mr. Shroff's address this evening is "Realistic Planning for Prosperity". It is now three years since the Congress Session at Avadi committed the country to what it called the Socialist Pattern of Society, and I prefer to call the Juggernaut of Avadi. During the three years this ideological, giddy and unreal Juggernaut, too holy to be fitted with brakes or steering, has thundered from Avadi to Nagpur, it has demanded much privation and sacrifice, and caused many a casualty.

At the Nagpur session, expressions such as New life, New world, New picture of a New future, were so repeatedly used with emphasis and emotion that one wondered if all this reaffirmation had anything to do with the disenchantment and staleness that has of late become noticeable among the serried ranks.

These expressions and the Prime Minister's quite astonishing tilt at the alleged obstructions by the private sector are ominous, and may forebode more drastic things to come.

It would seem at any rate, that the road onwards from Nagpur runs more steeply downhill and the casualties may be more grievous. Such fears have, as you know, been expressed, even openly, by some of the staunchest and the most respected men inside the Congress hierarchy.

The road further ahead is not an unknown one. Its landmarks and bridges, its turns and tunnels and signposts as well as its ultimate destination have been made familiar to us by those that have travelled the same road in other countries.

The way it goes is this. To begin with you invoke, with fanatic and impatient fervour the sacred pattern and plan. In the name of the plan—you arm yourself with wide and vast powers—powers that medieval monarchs would have envied. Impose tax upon tax, direct and indirect, right, left and centre, out-Kaldoring Kaldor, until he country can claim to be the highest in the world, if only in taxation. Spend money faster and faster, and as things get difficult, clamp down controls, restrictions, taboos, till the people have to petition Government for most things they need or have to do. When attrition sets in, and capital formation stops, and factories have to close down for lack of vital spares or essential raw materials, or because the products cannot be sold as a result of ill-considered edicts, complain loudly and hurl accusations that free enterprise does not cooperate, cannot deliver the goods and have the Government take over the industry or business.

Again, in the name of agrarian reform—and keeping one eye on the next election, cry "land to the tiller", "land to the landless", chant catching slogans like "land belongs to the people" until those that invested their inheritance and savings in the industry called agriculture, are thoroughly scared. Then, when the springs of investment that flowed into the farms and fields dry up, spend more money on devices to finance agriculture through State banks and co-operative societies. To those that may submit that this procedure seems odd or puzzling, say, what is odd about it? Have you not seen the tails of coach horses cut close to the stump and uniformed lackeys hired to whisk the flies off their hind parts? The horses might not have been happy but did not the arrangement look better, and create new employment?

From Co-operation you go to Co-operatives, from Co-operatives to Collectives. Collectives as you know, lead sooner or later to Communes.

And when, as a result of all the damage and disruption of the agrarian structure, food production

falls below targets and expectation, turn to the towns and cities and lay the blame for the shortage on the millers and the grain merchants. Cry "down with intermediaries and middlemen" and have the Government take over their shops and their livelihood.

And so on, and onwards, comrades, till all the people of this vast and glorious land are happy employees of the Welfare State.

But one thing should be said in fairness. If, as some of our most eminent and patriotic thinkers warn us, the Governments' policies and methods are becoming more and more totalitarian, the operation is being done under chloroform. The masses are first aesthetised or hypnotised to make the intervention perfectly painless.

What I have said might have sounded sombre and lugubrious, however true, I feel that I should end on a pleasanter note if possible, and leave you in a more hopeful mood. I have therefore thought of a charm or talisman, a Sarvoshada Mantra. You will realise that to be efficacious the Mantra should embody the mystic digit five, or Panch, which currently seems our country's ruling number.

We have Panch Shila which has made our Prime Minister and our country renowned throughout the world. It is true that Panch Shila is only for export—and that peaceful co-existence has been found impossible within the country whether it is between Maharashtrians and Gujarathis in Bombay, or Kannadigas and others in Belgaum, or the so-called Aryans and Dravidians in Madras or indeed, between free enterprise and our own brand of democracy. But exports are vitally important to us now, and considering that the order of the day is "export or perish", it is only right that the whole of our precious Panch Shila should be exported.

And then, for internal use, we have rediscovered and pinned our faith on the Panchayat. The Panchayat is now proclaimed as the pillar on which all our agrarian reforms, and our future food production and the prosperity of the nation will securely rest. Invoking, therefore, the magic number Panch, I now give you the Panch Stotra. Repeated several times whenever you feel depressed or apprehensive, it shall dispel gloom, infuse courage and revive drooping spirits. It is the quintessence of the wisdom and precepts of our rulers according to their greatest orations and weightiest pronouncements. The Panch Stotra tells you five simple things you should do.

1. Gird up your loins.
2. Tighten your belts.
3. Praise Government always—especially the Central Government.

See our Bhaish the Chinese. They would never dream of criticising the Government—It is now a dangerous vice there.

4. Forget trivial matters such as the rising cost of living, food shortage, unemployment, the waste of taxpayers' money, the growing taboos and the daily encroachment on your life and your occupation by the Government. Look not at these petty things in this dynamic age; look upwards at the sky and contemplate the new satellites and the Mehta, and the resplendent prospect, at last, of reaching the moon. And,

5. Vote for Congress.

lity. It determines directly the prices of the consumers goods and indirectly the prices of the producer goods. i.e. labour and material factors of production. It determines the emergence of profits and losses and the formation of the rate of interest. It determines every individual's income. The focal point of the market economy is the market i.e. the process of formation of commodity prices, wage rates and interest rates and their derivatives, profits and losses. It makes all men in their capacity as producers responsible to consumers. This dependence is direct with entrepreneurs, capitalists, farmers, and professional men, and indirect with people working for salaries and wages. The market adjusts the efforts of all those engaged in supplying the needs of the consumers to the wishes of those for whom they produce, the consumers. It subjects production to consumption." The market is a democracy and it is an illusion to believe that a system of planned socialism could be operated to democratic methods of government. Democracy is linked up with capitalism. It cannot exist where there is planning. If we wish to develop our economy and enjoy prosperity, then competition and not the state monopoly should be adopted. In this connection Dr. L. Erhard of West Germany in his book PROSPERITY THROUGH COMPETITION says "The most successful means for the achievement and retention of prosperity is competition. Only by competition can an economy expand to serve all people, especially in their own capacity as consumers and dissolve all advantages that do not result directly from higher production performances. Free competition leads to progress and profits for the whole of social order" He rightly lays stress on the importance of giving first consideration to the freedom of every citizen to live his life according to his financial circumstances, personal desires and values. He says "the yardstick for what is good or bad in economic policy are not dogmas or points of view of pressure groups, but exclusively the human being the consumer, the people; economic policy can only be regarded as useful and welcomed by the individual."

It is regrettable to note that the protagonists of the free enterprise are silent over this serious and important matter. If the things are allowed to drift, then the private enterprise will have to write an epitaph on its own grave.

It would be too late to wake up from the slumber. The resolutions passed at Nagpur and repeated statements made by the top leaders clearly show that the public sector has to grow not only in extent but also in importance. These statements have vitiated the atmosphere for the private sector. It is true that public sector should establish heavy industries but even here the public sector should explore the possibility of working in partnership with the private sector. as this would be conducive to better and quicker results. If the Government really wants to achieve the economic development of the country, then the only sensible course open to it is to adopt Free Economy and not Planning. Planning will not solve our present problems. Private enterprise can do the job in a better and more efficient manner than what planning can achieve. Eight years of planning clearly proves that planning has brought more miseries to the people.



# A PLEA FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE WELFARE STATE

By G. Jayachandran

**T**HE so-called welfare state is a new phrase for an old theory of government under which planners or Government Officials, as the case may be, assume complete responsibility for the material welfare of the people. The actions of the government in the material sphere naturally affect the other aspects (vital as they are in many cases) of human life. Welfarism has to balance the basic ideas that will never be at ease with one another—property Vs. equality. Each of those incompatible ideas stem out of the implementation of welfarism without regard to the sacrifice of both these ideas, namely, liberty and property. The evolution of human life is consistent with the idea of guaranteeing first, a right to life; secondly to liberty; thirdly to property.

The Welfarists destroy property by guaranteeing rights to life and liberty. But in the process of securing welfare to the mass, they withhold liberty against the promised guarantee of plenty to the community. The issue is profound because at stake is man's conception and feeling of dignity. It is clearly not the duty of government to take a measure of freedom from one person to enhance the freedom of another. The myth of welfarism largely consists in the liberal guarantee of the welfarists to make possible for everyone to be completely free at the same time.

The essence of the welfare state which the equalitarians have developed is quite a paradox. The federal units single out special groups for unequal treatment under law—agriculturist, factory workers, consumers—in order to keep the various segments, of the country's population in rough balance. As the federal units push forward these groups, the centre pulls back others.

Welfare is an end by itself and not a means to an end. Welfarists in India, are not only concerned with the attainment of this end, but also advocate drastic policies which, in their opinion, lead to Welfare State. Their suggestions will wither and deaden the average citizen's sense of participation and partnership in government affairs. They forget that this citizen participation is largely responsible in strengthening democracy.

The practical alternative to the Welfare State is not something called laissez-faire or rugged individualism, or any of the other hackneyed phrases for capitalism. I am inclined to call the alternative the free economy if we did not distrust the obsessive connotations which the word 'Free' has come to have.

In so far as security must be one objective of the good society, the practical alternative to the Welfare State should be of securing a situation wherein welfare devices such as productivity, excellence, creativeness, adventure, dignity, and the chance to take a chance, are effectively guarded and promoted. Such a society relies not on government but on organisation promoted by the people themselves. Thus when people are not restrained to experiment with their own forms of association for mutual aid true welfarism emerges.

I am not here figuring a society without a government. Far be from it. The government has a defined role in securing general welfare such as public works, soil conservation which cannot always be promoted on a large and efficient scale by voluntary private organisations. I would like to emphasise that welfare on a self-reliant basis is not a vague utopian hope but a very practical thing, the realisation of which largely depends on the experimentative spirit of the people, and government on a limited basis.

The free economy produces true welfare of the masses, as it adheres firmly to the following two principles:

1. "Whenever the welfare of a community requires a common action, the unity of that common action must be assured by higher organs of the community."

2. "Whenever a task can be satisfactorily achieved by the initiative of the individual and that of small social units, the fulfilment of that task must be left to the initiative of the individual or that of the small social units." Because the vitality of free society does not come from the fist of a ruling group at the top.

The Welfarists in India want the government to launch Welfare programmes and carry them out in utter disregard to the wishes of the people. A Welfare State grows out of mutual co-operation and spontaneity and not through measures thrust forcibly upon the masses and carried out by mere compulsion or sheer violence. Then democracy disappears and in its place totalitarianism and dictatorship reign supreme.

The individual dignity and social prestige are then at stake. We cannot establish a good society simply by a series of uncorrelated measures pushed through by pressure. A good society abhors those welfare measures which involve a denial of personality and an abrogation of responsibility. The welfarism secured in a free economy is bound to last longer since the two ideas of authority and administration of authority are divorced by the allowance of spontaneity in the public life of the country, and reconciled successfully by the preservation of individual dignity and liberty.

The anarchy of totalitarianism is bound to come to an end from its own instability and grave lack of logical unity. But once fostered, retreat from totalitarianism is cent per cent impracticable. There is no hope of restoring democracy, of reviving liberty; the destination of totalitarian government being ultimate destruction of liberty and individual dignity. Men intoxicated with power will never voluntarily surrender the power to spend the money of other people in the name of welfare and general well being. Life always has been, and always will be, something of the nature of a race. But there is not much fun in taking part in or in watching a race where in advance the Umpires impose handicaps which will effectively ensure that all the competitors will arrive simultaneously at the winning post. And it is not I, but Alexander Gray, who says so. Now, are you willing to participate in such a race or prefer one in which your ability to run is recognised and rewarded?

# THE CASE FOR ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

By S. Swaminathan

**T**HE question of the Official Language of India is one of the most hotly debated topics of the day. Starting as a mere trickle, it has swollen into a vast turbulent stream, thanks to the tributaries it received in the shape of arguments and counter-arguments from sources too numerous to mention. The relative merits of the two contestants in the field are voiced forth by their respective votaries with apostolic fervour and missionary zeal. The storms of dust raised by the polemics have at times tended to obscure the real issues involved. The discussions have served, not merely to spotlight the varied aspects of this knotty problem but have also manifested exothermic tendencies. Frayed tempers too have not been uncommon. It is the purpose of this article to set forth the claims of the English Language to this exalted position.

The English Language is unrivalled for its richness, versatility and adaptability. Hence it is admirably suited to meet the needs of a progressive nation like India. With its native penchant for readily absorbing foreign expressions, the language has been enriched, during the hundred years and more of its domicile in India, by the addition of numerous words coined by the prolific mint of Indian usage. Lord Macaulay's pet expression, 'as long as the English Language is spoken in any part of the Globe', was a prophetic, well-deserved tribute to the enduring qualities of the great language. The language is now as ubiquitous as air and water and not less indispensable either.

The Language has also the sanction of tradition behind it, having all along been the vehicle of administration, both general and legal, in this country. As a writer has remarked, India is a bullock-cart economy with a Rolls-Royce administration. The abolition of English would result in a vacuum, which Hindi can hardly fill. There will be endless administrative inconvenience, not to say confusion, because of the total ignorance of Hindi in South India, as evidenced by the All-Hindi postal forms. Article 350 of the Constitution guarantees the right of every person to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer, or authority of the Union or of a State in any of the Languages used in the State. The Anglo-American system of jurisprudence which India has chosen to adopt and the technicalities of legal draftsmanship and judicial interpretation also demand the continuance of the English language.

The role played by Education in moulding the character of the future citizens of a country is an important one. Technology and research are the backbone of industrial progress; they are indeed the foundation on which the edifice of industrial advancement is built. The retention of English will greatly facilitate all these, because of its highly developed and perfected scientific vocabulary and because it is the language in which the majority of the treatises on science and technology are written. The difficulty in devising a sufficiently comprehensive Hindi vocabu-

lary to meet the needs of higher education, particularly scientific and technological, is stupendous and is better imagined than described.

The English language is also essential for India's external trade and commerce. India is on the threshold of a peaceful economic revolution, undertaken to achieve economic independence to supplement and complete the political freedom. The successive five-year plans, the community Projects and the National Extension Service are altering radically the face of the entire country, now throbbing with intense activity after the lethargy and slumber of centuries, the necessary outcome of an unimaginative, apathetic, alien rule. In the context of the present concerted drive towards economic and commercial prosperity, the retention of English with its universal commercial importance is imperative.

The importance of English in the sphere of international relations is paramount. It is one of the official languages of that august international forum, the United Nations Organisation, as can be inferred from article 111 of the Charter.

The plea for the abolition of English on sentimental grounds, branding it the language of the conqueror, betrays a pettiness of outlook which may be pardoned on the political plane, but whose incursion into the linguistic field augurs ill for the future of the country. Those who advocate the abolition of English on the ground of its being a foreign language lay themselves open to the charge of labouring under an exaggerated sense of patriotism, bordering on chauvinism which on closer scrutiny is hardly distinguishable from linguistic parochialism, and prejudice. An exhibition of parochialism is deplorable at any time and particularly so in the context of the present movement towards the political desideratum of a world state in supersession of the present schematism of national states, based on the illusory principles of the sovereign equality and independence of nations, with all the unholy incidents of national rivalry, pride and prejudice, a fertile ground indeed for the germination of the seeds of war. The argument that English ought to go because it is a foreign language is one which is driven to its logical conclusion would mean the necessary abolition of our institutions which are modelled on foreign lines. Indeed there is hardly any aspect of Indian life where in the impact of the accident is not traceable at all. In the present technological age, what with the vastly increased density of economic inter-penetration, political interdependence and cultural contacts, the complex realities are against the continuance of any nation, be it ever so pristine or powerful, in a self-complacent attitude of ivory-tower isolationism. Our constitution is an amalgam of the best elements in the English, American, Canadian, Australian, Irish and the Japanese Constitutions to mention but a few for indeed there are few Constitutions in the world whose imprint, in howsoever small a degree, is not discernible

in our Constitution-blended, not into a mixture heterogeneous as the witches' cauldron in Macbeth, but into an organic whole consistent with the peculiar requirements of the contemporary Indian situation. Our parliamentary system of executive is an exact replica of the British model. Article 105(3) of our Constitution lays down that the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament and of members and committees of each House shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law and until so defined shall be those of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom and of its members and committees at the commencement of the Constitution. Article 194(3) enacts a similar provision for the State legislatures. Many of the Indian statutes have been framed on the analogy of the corresponding English ones. Are all these to go because of their foreign background and content? So to contend would be sheer folly. The English language is one of the most precious legacies bequeathed to the Indian nation; it is the parting gift of the quondam British ruler to his erstwhile Indian subject and must be cherished and preserved as such.

English has also a vital role to play in fostering the unity of India. Variety is the spice of life and the variety of the Indian scene is unending. India is a vast sub-continent of three hundred and fifty million people, speaking about two hundred languages and dialects. It is a land of colourful, bewildering, fascinating variety, be it religious, cultural, linguistic, climatic, or sartorial. English can be a tremendous force for unity amidst this diversity. In fact, English is responsible for the unity India has attained in the economic, social and political spheres. There is also another aspect to the problem of unity and the importance of English thereto. The introduction of Hindi in the teeth of opposition, well-founded or otherwise, of certain parts of the country, will be a political blunder of the first magnitude. Hindi is spoken by only about forty two percent of the population. The Hindi spoken in East Uttar Pradesh is different from the dialect spoken in West Uttar Pradesh. In such circumstances, the introduction of Hindi will fan the flames of linguistic fanaticism and sharpen the political controversies of the day. Fears of injustice, altogether unwarranted, would lurk in the minds of many, despite the most austere assurances to the contrary. Justice must not merely be done but must seem to be done. The essence of democracy consists in the quantum and efficacy of protection given to the interests of minorities and the weight attached to their views. The centrifugal forces to which any infant federation will be subject are well known and it is not an act of nature statesmanship to add to them the language issue also. Prudence requires that nothing ought to be done which in any way would expose the country to those disruptive tendencies which history has amply shown no infant democracy has ever been able wholly to avoid. The stresses and strains engendered by the introduction of Hindi may prove to be detrimental to the unity of the country; they may weaken the very foundations of the federal structure. Hindi may thus well prove to be the Waterloo of Indian solidarity. The price demand of the country by Hindi appears to be too great in comparison with the benefits derivable therefrom. The English language on the other hand

is eminently suited to foster the unity of the country, transcending, as it does, the linguistic divergencies and prejudices. The dictum, external vigilance is the price of freedom, ought never to be forgotten.

The proficiency attained by Indians in the language has compelled the admiration of even the Englishmen. Swami Vivekananda electrified the Chicago Parliament of Religions by his spirited, epoch-making address, noted alike for its oratorical quality and its philosophical content. The Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri was hailed as the 'Silver-tongued orator.' Smt. Sarojini Naidu became immortal as the Nightingale of India. Pandit Nehru and Gandhiji justly earned the reputation of being fine writers of English prose, as exemplified in their autobiographical and other works.

The retention of English will also be in keeping with the spirit of the age. The world has now shrunk very much on account of rapid improvements in the sphere of communications. The advent of astronautics is pregnant with prospects and possibilities of hopeful, if not of an altogether reseate hue; these are counter-balanced by the lethal potentialities of the hydrogen bomb and the inter-continental ballistic missile, which will be the instruments of total nuclear wars of the push-button type, waged without any regard for the wholesome restrictions of international law and involving destruction of life and property on a scale altogether unprecedented in the annals of mankind. These hopes and fears are shared alike by all the nations of the world. Peace and prosperity have become one and indivisible. The nations of the world will therefore stand or fall together. Nothing will be a more emphatic recognition of the compelling unity of the modern world than an adoption of the English language.

The hoary traditions of the Indians are yet another argument in favour of the continuance of the English language. The traditions are those of tolerance and hospitality. India is an ancient land, the cradle of one of the world's greatest civilisations and the birth place of some of the world's greatest religions. She boasts as her sons such men as the Buddha, Ashoka, Akbar, Gandhiji and Nehru. The abolition of the English language after what it has done for the political and economic emancipation of the country, by making available to the Indian mind the vast resources of knowledge enshrined in that language, may be justified on the shifting grounds of political expediency, but will go down in history as an act tainted with the blackest ingratitude, an act inconsistent with and unworthy of, the traditions and the personalities just now cited. The adoption of the English language, on the other hand, will be a shining example of cultural assimilation or acculturation, as distinct from cultural annihilation, a just and glowing tribute to the assimilative genius of the Indians.

Academic consideration and arm-chair theorisation apart, political pragmatism requires that English be made the official language of India. All human actions have to be tested on the Benthamite touchstone of utility and English does not fail this acid test. The industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services, about which the Constitution is

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# THE STATE OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

By A. Ranganathan

MR. N. G. RANGA M.P. has recently attacked the 'Nagpur Approach' to the land problem as "being contrary to the fundamental concepts of democratic socialism" and warned peasants to take heed that our policy-makers wanted them to become the Politico-economic slaves of their Soviet-oriented State Socialism. Indeed, he further emphasized that "they will have to work under bosses appointed by managers who in their turn come to be appointed by political or economic agents of their national regimes." There can be no doubt that the motive in applying this idea of ceilings to land holdings which resulted out of the nostrum fed cerebrations at Nagpur is of clear political significance.

Prof. Dantwala, who once held a high post in the Planning Commission referred to the parallelism which is perhaps implicit in the Indian and Chinese approaches. Commenting on a statement of the Planning Commission Report of the entire land in a village becoming "the cooperative responsibility of the entire community," Prof. Dantwala significantly added "If the aim of land reform is to abolish individual ownership in land and entrust its management to village panchayats—the Slogan "Land to the Tiller" sounds out of tune with the real intentions of the planners." And when we reflect on our delegations going to Red China every now and then, one begins to wonder whether we believe in cooperation or compulsion.

Mr. Nehru remarked that "neither he nor his father was an agriculturist and that he did not have intimate personal knowledge or experience of agriculture." And yet, he wishes to change the entire pattern of agrarian society in India. Mr. Nehru also referred to the supply of agricultural equipment by the Soviet Union to India and said that much modern machinery could only be utilised when the present land pattern changed. How illogical indeed! A wonderful example of the Prime Minister's "enlarged thinking." In reply to the brilliant criticism made by C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Nehru replied that "the momentary reaction of a peasant might be to dislike these things

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so rightly solicitous, will be amply guaranteed if English is made the official language of India. National issues require a national solution. Any attempt to supersede English is an attempt to set the clock of progress back. The retention of English, far from savouring of political servility, will be a saga of linguistic magnanimity, of linguistic realism. It is to be earnestly hoped, that with the catholicity of outlook and breadth of vision characteristic of the Indian people, those at the helm of affairs will, by a suitable amendment to Article 343 of the Constitution carried out in accordance with the provisions of Article 368, make English the official language of India, thus not only justifying the confidence and trust reposed in them by the present generation, but also earning the gratitude and approbation of generations yet to be born.

because he thinks land is being taken away. It is wrong. Land is not being carted away to some other country or continent. Land remains there and he will remain there." This is a most absurd statement. Land in Soviet Russia has not been carted away, but yet we are critical of the system that obtains there. The important point is whether we rely on freedom or totalitarianism as a guiding philosophy of the future. Mr. Nehru's statement that "I am a man out to do something in India to change the Peasant and agricultural economy of this country in the few years left to me. I may go wrong as often I go wrong, but even if I go wrong, it is my desire to reach a certain goal" is an instance of his cloudy thinking bordering on intolerance in his approach to problems. It is well to remember that even if it is possible to redistribute the excess it will be possible to release 20 million acres of which the beneficiaries will be 2 millions out of 16 million landless families.

Through the ages, we have been familiar with two types of cooperation, the socio-religious type and the socio-economic kind. The socio-religious type is based on the ancient Indian caste system, an approach which has found favour with Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. The same ideal seems to be translated by Mr. Nehru into the socio-economic sphere. Indeed, cooperative farming is a kind of a modern version of the caste system since the same motive of tribalism which sustained the original system is being sought to be perpetrated in the socio-economic sphere under the guise of cooperative farming. It will be another type of pyramid, with the tillers of the land at the bottom and the State Panjandrums at the top.

The decision of the Government to undertake State trading in food grains suffers from several misconceptions. The main argument is that the profits of the private sector in this direction can be utilized for social purposes. But this is bound to be a failure, since Government servants do not have the necessary incentive to increase the trade, or the anxiety to save the food stocks from deterioration or even the necessary temperament to care for the goodwill of the customers.

In this connection, it would be interesting to reproduce the views of Dr. Modiste Rubinstein (the Russian expert on Indian economic affairs and one of the odd collection in the Mehalanobis Zoo which includes names such as Prof. I. Y. Pisaiev, D. D. Degtyar, academician Filiminov, P. M. Moskvina, Timchevko all of the Soviet Union and Prof. Oscar Lange of Poland). According to Dr. Rubinstein, the present international climate is extremely auspicious—what with friendly neighbours as the U.S.S.R. and peoples Republic of China on whose experience India can draw and go ahead with the cooperation of the 'progressive' forces of the country to develop along 'Socialist' lines. Nikita Krushchev himself remarked that "the contours of India's future powerful industry, bulwark of her independence, of her national might" were reflected in the State-owned factories.

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# NEW FORM OF OWNERSHIP

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

**T**ODAY terms such as 'Capitalism' and 'Socialism' have attained the status of symbols. These terms now retain precious little of their original characteristics. These connotations of a word such as 'Capitalism' are so broad that it can mean anything and everything. It can mean free enterprise to an American, a process of state-administered capital expansion to an Englishman, and a synonym for exploitative cupidity to a Russian. Symbolic expressions such as 'Capitalism' and 'Socialism' fail to describe precisely today's business world.

If by capitalism, we mean capital formation and the process of saving, then Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of totalitarian Russia who imposes on that Nation a set of economic policies which results in a rate greater of national saving and capital formation than could be found in any other Nation, becomes the World's greatest Capitalist!!!

In its early derivation, the term 'capitalism' rested upon the simple idea of capital. It was thus associated with the process of saving and the use of savings to provide tools or machinery for an enlargement of production and distribution.

All the types of saving—personal, institutional and induced—result in capital formation. They do not re-

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The State sector in heavy industry must be developed. However, it would be a 'mistake' to confuse it with the 'State-monopoly capitalism' of the U.S.A. and Europe, where it is an aggregate of 'Private monopolies' which 'exploit' not only their own 'people' but also the 'people' of other countries since it is a handmaid of the imperialists and hence 'reactionary.' After all, Lenin has repeatedly emphasized that State capitalism is a step towards Socialism. And with a patronizing air, he concludes that India's progress towards the socialist path would have to be necessarily slower than that of China since foreign capital is "entrenched" in the Indian economy (or course, it does not apply to Russian Capital in the Chinese economy). And academician Yudin has already warned that 'a situation may arise when these (progressive) forces will be unable to refrain from the use of violence unless they choose to give up the fight.

The passionate faith of our New Delhi planners in socialism seems to be based on the pathetic assumption that socialism signifies materialism, a higher standard of living. Actually the so-called materialism of the Socialist way of life is an inverted kind of building colossal buildings and mouthing the familiar slogan of production and more production at the expense or urgent consumer wants and dismissing criticism as "reactionary or lacking even a grain of intelligence". It is high time we threw away the totalitarian devices of ceilings and cooperativization, food controls and ration cards, expropriation of private property and physical methods of planning and forced economic development if we are to preserve the spirit of democracy as distinguished from its outer trappings.

sult necessarily in the establishment of new individual enterprises or employers, however.

The dream of the early socialists to diffuse the ownership of the means of production among the people is well on its way to being realised in America and West Germany.

In America, there are a number of large manufacturing corporations the interesting thing about which is that for every four employees there are five to six owners or shareholders. The shareholders are sometimes twice as numerous as the employees. In addition to the substantial public interest in Corporations through the ownership of bonds—and the indirect interest—through the holdings of life insurance and savings accounts—some 6,500,000 individuals own shares of public corporations. Of equal interest ownership is being acquired by employees. A five percent assignment of wages by Steel Workers to stock acquisition under the existing payable savings plans would result, according to New York Times, in majority control of the steel companies in 12 years.

For a long time, number of concerns in Germany have to a certain degree made their employees co-workers by enabling them to purchase small shares in the Works. A certain percentage of the stock capital is made available in shares of small denominations so that pensioners and other people of limited means may also be able to buy them. Shares are offered for sale to the public with special emphasis on those of small denominations. Since there is no desire to have the Works controlled by one or two large Stock-holders. The same procedure is applied to Government owned concerns which might be easily turned into privately owned stock companies.

New ways are being found to make saving attractive and to provide the German economy with capital that is urgently needed for investments and rationalization measures but is not available on the capital market.

This method of saving and new form of ownership—midway between the concepts of capitalism—have been met with great interest by the public in West Germany. Nor is it confined to Germany alone. According to the statements of the President of the New York Stock-Exchange, some 120 million Americans are shareholders either directly, or indirectly. A year or two ago, Austria embarked on a new experiment by issuing "peoples' shares" of two large nationalised banks. The small-saver in these countries is casting around for possibilities of small denomination.

What we see in America, West Germany, and Austria today is not pure capitalism, nor is it socialism, nor is it anything in-between. It is unique. Its characteristics are a result of the changing needs of contemporary society. It has had no pre-conceived blueprint. It has brought into being new institutions of society including the modern business corporations which are quite different from anything which existed when the ideas of capitalism and socialism were first formulated. The so-called masses have not been subjected to impoverishment. There has been no discernible

degradation or exploitation of the working masses—quite the contrary! Indeed, the so-called leisure classes have become now the leisure-masses.

The adaptation and modification of the business world has forced business organisations to diffuse the ownership of production and distribution without placing government in control. Control has gradually moved into the hands of a developing group of professional managers. The separation of ownership and immediate control could not have been foreseen a century ago. This separation of ownership—and immediate control has permitted the dispersal of ownership without transferring control into the hands of the government.

Ownership has been distributed widely, for the most part. Control of the means of production and distribution has been denied to Govt. for, history and current experience tell us that in that direction lies all danger. A new group of professional managers has evolved. Its members are usually not significantly large owners of the production. They are a group which has developed, is developing, and will develop new attitude towards their tasks, as they sensitively tune to the requirements of the responsibilities. Private managers of business firms can do society's economic tasks better than government officials simply because the circumstances within which they work require them to be more resourceful and ingenious. The modern large corporation is not an extension in size of the single enterprise, or the partnership firm of business organisation. It is qualitatively different, and there is much which we have got to learn of its vast possibilities. What has been happening is that by the process of trial and error, institutions have evolved which seem to work and serve tolerably well the needs of society. As long as we are possessed of human freedom, we shall continue to evolve such institutions that are neither capitalistic or socialistic in the original sense of these terms. If this is so, we cannot expect to ex-

tend very far our understanding of today's business world; or foresee its future—evolution until we break away from the comfortable indulgence of using symbols of a bygone day.

It is now necessary to make small savings popular in India too. We too must introduce the "people's shares" which constitutes a new method to enable the 'man in the street' to accumulate. It will awaken his interest in the general economy. He will no longer be an under-privileged outsider since he has a direct share in the profits. 'People's shares' might well be regarded as a promising attempt to establish a new form of ownership midway between the old concepts of capitalism and socialism.

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Marshal Voroshilov  
Is a victim o'the wheel of  
Fortune. A venerable Soviet hero .  
Is reduced at last to zero!  
Let's hope he's only relegated  
and not liquidated!

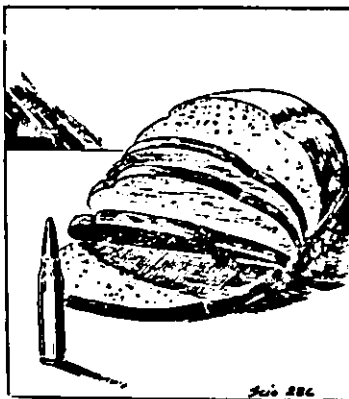
The British Prime Minister has arrived in Moscow, and the usual programme of courtesies is now under way. One of the tit-bits of the meeting of the leaders as reported by news agencies is that Khrushchev offered the chief guest a drink of mineral waters with the recommendation that they are good for the kidneys.

Lovers of roast beef and ale  
Must have looked dejected and pale  
And go one through a dinner ill  
Where the chief course is of waters mineral!  
The Russians may have to mind their kidneys  
But not the countrymen of Churchills and  
Sidneys!

Libra

## DID YOU KNOW...

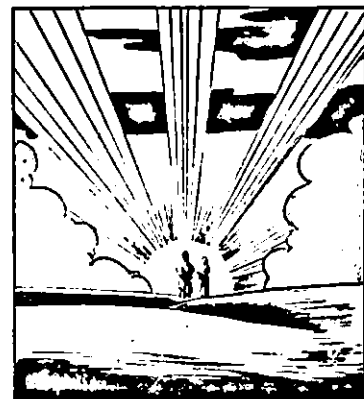
By Scio



By any monetary standard, the cost of one rifle cartridge would buy a loaf of bread. The cost of one battleship provide a modern brick school in more than 100 cities.



The total cost of World War II to all nations involved exceeded \$1,300,000,000,000. 22,080,000 persons were killed, an additional 34,300,000 were hurt, making a total of 56,380,000 casualties.



Some historians say man's civilization dawned about 7000 years ago in Iran. They base their calculations on evidence which indicated when man turned from hunting to farming.

These may seem alarmist or long-range possibilities. But they have been repeating themselves all round us so frequently that we have no excuse to plead that we were not warned. Mr. Shroff referred to this possibility when he adjured the Prime Minister to go slow with his doxies. It is a thousand pities that the Prime Minister should have lost a rare opportunity to rally round him men of good-will, of abilities and of character such as would help him break with his growing incubus of compromising comradeship and commitments.

### The Railway Budget

There are some curious features about the Railway budget which reveal the extent to which all of us are victims of hypnotic suggestion. The Indian Railways have long been boosted as the country's major source of prosperity and serving as the arteries of the nation's financial well-being. In the olden days when the Railways were private companies, there was some point in drawing up a budget in the orthodox ways, showing income, expenditure, profit and so on. The continuance of the same formalities even after they had been nationalised serves no other purpose than to enable the government to exploit this limb of the 'public sector' to doctrinaire and anti-social ends. If as contended, the Railways are working at a profit, the first and most sensible as well as equitable thing to do would be to reduce the levels of the various charges made by it for the services it renders. Passenger fares ought to be scaled down, the scandalous state of overcrowding, of the railways functioning as mobile black-holes, must be put an end to and other temptations to treat or abuse it as a monopoly should be resisted.

But what we see is the very reverse. The latest budget figures show how the maximum of profit is screwed out of the public for a minimum of amenities conferred on it. The fact that the figures of estimates and actuals do not tally or bear any intelligent relation to one another need not be gone in this context. It is a sad commentary on the amaturish irresponsibility or worse of those entrusted with the preparation of the budget figures that they should be so wildly wide of the mark. But when the figures are further analysed, we are able to see how the principle of robbing peter to pay Paul is scientifically worked out. The net profits are split up into different categories, and passed on into different accounts to justify other kinds of dubious spending under other heads.

To give two illustrations: The Budget provides for the starting of separate and special schools for the children of Railway employees, thus putting them into a favoured category while the benefits of elementary education are still denied to the bulk of the children of the nation languishing in traditional poverty and neglect. Secondly, special holiday homes are to be established for the relaxation of Railway personnel at health centres like Kashmir and other islets of the earthly paradise. We do not of course grudge any one such pleasures and compensation as may come their way. But that a government pro-

claiming its devotion to equality and classlessness should in this blatant manner submit to be blackmailed by some sections at the cost of the rest is a matter of profound shame and grief to all lovers of decency and fair-play. The kind of pampering some groups is the surest way of making them inefficient and unmanageable. The corruptions and inefficiencies of our railways were succinctly and scorchingly described by Acharya Kripalani himself and the Railway minister confirmed him by his shame-faced silence. But nowadays and everywhere in the world, canons of public taxation have become so unconscionable as to make it a matter of course for ministerial rakes to cover up their extravagances by holding the community to ransom.

Nor is this all: Mr. Jag Jivan Ram was made to pronounce some *ipse dixit*s about the alleged rivalry between rail and road transport and to indulge in dark hints of impending legislation to liquidate the road transport out of the way. The motor transport trade in the country is one of the most heavily taxed, but being in the private sector, it has devised ways and means of standing upto the exactions of a predatory government and yet carrying on and rendering invaluable service in opening up the interior of the country to the benefits of trade and commerce. Mr. Jag Jivan Ram or his Laputan flappers failed to see the ludicrousness of a central minister complaining that the government with all its resources and *privileges was unable to compete with the private sector in a telling instance!* To get rid of a powerful rival who openly undersells you and yet makes a better show than you is the device of a bully and a crowd. The simple reason why the government Railways are unable to meet the challenge of the private transport industry is that they are top-heavy, corrupt, inefficient and dilatory. Instead of setting its house in order, the ministry wants to abolish the road-transport so that it may continue unchecked in its wasteful courses and not be answerable to anyone at the same time. Had the Railways been in the private sector during the last ten years, their record would have been more fruitful and gratifying to the students of our expanding economy.

It is to be hoped that members of the Lok Sabha would concentrate on this aspect of the Railway budget, and use it to point the moral of government inefficiency as well as to adorn the tale of official corruption. The reality of our Railway budget-figures is that our government is mulcting the travelling public of a sum of about 60 crores or so as though it were a luxury for people to travel. It is an impost on trade, on commerce, on industry, on communications, on thrift as practised by the most active, industrious and useful members of the country. Here is a brand of socialism with a vengeance—penalising the productive elements of society to feed the drones. Incidentally, it would be of interest to know from the highest sources whether Mr. Jag Jivan Ram's puerile and petulant complaints against the motor transport industry reflect any impending change in official policy. To drive the motor transport off the roads would be a case of cutting off the nose to spite the face, and a muddled exhibition of mere brute force. It would be 'nationalisation' run mad!

# NEWS DIGEST

## WHILE BHOPAL STARVES THEY GO ON PADA YATRA

Last week as the entire Madhya Pradesh Cabinet was busy doing "Padayatra", food grain prices in the State capital touched a new high and it appeared as if this acute problem was nobody's business.

With all the plethora of statements and assurances that have of late been coming in an endless stream from Ministers, there is no escaping from the fact that the Government has not been able to do much to arrest this soaring price-level. The fair price shops, while they helped to minimise the miseries of a section of the people, have on the other hand raised serious problem of law and order.

Long queues of men and women at fair price shops with lathi-weilding policemen watching them lest there should be quarrels, which have not been infrequent, are a common sight in Bhopal and elsewhere in the State. At Datia Government had to impose Sec. 144 after an attempted loot of the grain shop.

The State Government appears to be in no mood to countenance the opposition agitations and demonstrations that have been going on in the capital almost daily. But without a shadow of doubt much of the Government's prestige will depend upon how it solves this question which has assumed such alarming proportions in Bhopal.

Two months ago one could get the best of wheat in Bhopal for Rs. 22 to Rs. 25 a maund. The popular "Sharbati" variety last week-end touched the record Rs. 34 a maund mark a thing unheard of in Bhopal even during the worst post-war days.

There is an element of indifference among the official circle in its approach to this question. The situation was taking a turn for the worse and it prompted Governor Mr. Pataskar to go on an unscheduled tour round the city to see the situation for himself.

A few days back over a hundred housewives marched to the Commissioner's office demanding cheap food-grains. A junior officer first took the whole thing in a light-hearted manner but his smile soon vanished as the angry house-wives shouting and screaming protested against the meagre supply of five seers of food grain from fair price shops.

I myself had two angry callers the other day. One of them was a Congress MLA from Chhattisgarh who said that he could not speak up because of party discipline and at the same time dared not go to his constituency where the Government's "suicidal rice policy was ruining the cultivators" as he put it. Chhattisgarh cultivators who produced the State's bulk of rice, he said, were on the verge of extinction.

There has been a bumper crop. A ban on the export of rice prevails and the Government is in the market to buy paddy. His point was that the Government bought not even one-fifth of the total arrivals of paddy in the market. Pricing officers were not fair, he said. The cultivator had to under-sell his remaining paddy to the merchant who stocked them and would ultimately sell it to the Government by converting it into rice. "If the Government cannot purchase all the paddy, then it must lift the ban on export", the MLA argued.

My other agitated visitor was a Secretariat clerk. He had a big family. He was not entitled to a ration card as his salary was slightly higher than the Rs. 150 limit imposed by the Government. From the existing shops he could not buy because he was in the office throughout the day. His children are not allowed to buy from the fair price shops and his wife could not take the risk of standing in the long queue in the midst of a hostile crowd for hours together only to be told later that the "day's stock is over". To top it all, he said he could not think of buying wheat from the market because it was too costly.

Such then is the situation in Bhopal where daily demonstrations have become the order of the day. As I write this a large number of cultivators are squatting before the Tahsil office seeking relief from the damage caused to the standing crop by last week's severe hail-storm, the local Jan Sangh chief is on hunger strike and the Communists always fishing in Bhopal's troubled waters hitting up new plans for a prolonged agitation.

## DANGEROUS TO INFLAME PEOPLE JAN SANGH LEADER'S WARNING

NAGPUR, Sunday: Addressing a meeting of Nagpur Nagar Jan Sangh workers today at the hall of the Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh, Rambhau Godbole, Organising Secretary of the Maharashtra unit of the party strongly criticised the tendency of some leaders to inflame the sentiments of the people and to run away from the scene when met with a defeat.

Such a leadership, he warned, would prove most harmful to the national interests. The Jan Sangh is against this kind of opposition and stand for propagating its faith on constructive lines and thus create renewed respect for Bharatiya thought and culture. It is not only an opposition party for the sake of opposition only.

Bachharaj Vyas, MLC; Treasurer of the Maharashtra Pradesh Jan Sangh, was in the chair.

Earlier Prabhakararao Faizpurkar, Organising Secretary of the Nagpur Vibag Jan Sangh read reports about the numerous cultivators conferences organised recently to explain to the people how harmful to the cultivators' interests was the recently enacted Vidarbha Tenancy Bill. He said that as many as 21,000 cultivators had attended these conferences.

B. A. Udhoji, Jan Sangh Corporator read a report about the Nagpur Corporations work in the last year.

## WARNING AGAINST CEILING ON LAND "PRODUCTION WILL FALL"

A warning that the proposed ceiling on land and the starting of co-operatives to manage the surplus land would bring down food production in the country was given by Dr. S.G. Panandikar, noted economist, in Bombay on Monday.

Speaking on "The Food Problem—How to Solve it?" under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise, Dr. Panandikar said that the problem of landless labour could be solved by concentrating on small irrigation projects. This would also help increase food production.

Regarding State trading, he said that the State



should attempt to check profiteering by private traders rather than take over the trade itself. State trading would be a remedy worse than the disease.

Mr. R.V. Murthy presided over the meeting.

#### RS. 100 CRORES FROM U.S. FOR INDIAN PROJECTS

A sum of Rs. 100 crores, accruing from PL 480 Agreements, would soon be available for various multi-purpose projects in India, said Mr. Howard E. Houston, Minister-Director of the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission to India in Bombay on Thursday.

Mr. Houston, who was speaking on "Indo-Pan-American Technical Corporation," at a meeting under the auspices of Indo-Pan-American Association, said that three PL 480 Agreements had been signed between India and the U.S., under which this country would, receive more than eight million metric tons of American food grains, principally wheat, which would be sold for rupees. A substantial portion of the rupee sale proceeds would be loaned back to the Government of India for the economic development projects.

These proceeds, he added, currently amounted to more than Rs. 100 crores and his country was now negotiating projects for investing these funds. These loans would be for 40 years, giving India sufficient time to repay them.

One of the reasons why India's food production was not satisfactory was because of the lack of fertilisers. He felt that the country's prosperity lay in being self-sufficient in food. This aspect of the economy needed much more urgent attention than industrialisation.

Mr. Houston said that India was a potential trade market for foreign private capital, which fought shy for want of adequate incentives. If it had not been for foreign private capital, his country would not have been in the enviable position she now was in, he added.

Mr. Murarji Vaidya, President of the Indo-Pan-American Association, welcomed Mr. Houston.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Houston said: "Nothing will please us more than to see India on her own feet."

He said that expert agricultural teams under the Ford Foundation would shortly visit India to study the current agricultural problems and make recommendations to the Government of India.

Referring to American aid—now totalling Rs. 206.33 crores to India—Mr. Houston said the United States gave aid to 53 countries, representing the "whole spectrum of Governments."

During the last seven years, T.C.M. had participated in 156 joint Indo-American projects.

#### HUNGRY MEN JAILED FOR STEALING WHEAT

JULLUNDER, Feb 10. Naranjan Singh of Hariana Village, in Jullunder District was sentenced yesterday to one and half month's rigorous imprisonment under Section 379 of IPC by Magistrate Miss Sushil Aurora for having committed theft of a maund of wheat. In his statement the accused said that he had committed the theft because his family was without food for several days.

The crime of this unfortunate person seems to be that he was anxious to save his family from death due to starvation. While the punishment for stealing a maund of wheat (which would not have cost more

than a few rupees) extends to one and half month's rigorous imprisonment, hundreds of Congress thieves in our public sector get away scot free after robbing the tax payer's money in millions.

#### What are the Evils of Capitalism

By G. T. Olarenshaw

WE are continually seeing in print mention of the Evils of Capitalism as though Capitalism existed or had existed. We also read of the Benefits of Democracy yet neither of these two conditions exist in any country. It is time we examined the mechanism if it exists as an evil. Having examined it what do we find? We find that capitalism has not yet existed and we also find that Democracy has been described as a good idea but it has never been formulated into a working mechanism. I will leave Democracy now and will concentrate on the myth of Capitalism. For Capitalism, not having existed is a myth. Capitalism is therefore only an evil in so far as it is a myth. The system under which we are enslaved is not the Capitalist system, it is a False Debt System. This system is anti-Capitalistic from its very foundation. Total Debt exceeding Total Capital many times over. What is Capital? It is money, and Service having no charge against it, no tax nor other government Levy which destroys its capital value. Its Capital value is or service existing anywhere which can truly be classed as capital? Has any country an untaxed national money as Capital? If so where it is? Because if it exists it is a Capitalist country. We can examine it for its evils of Capitalism. Such a country would be using Bank Debt Free money Tax Free. Its money would be the most valuable on Earth as it would be 100% purchase power. Its people would be Debt Free & Tax Free. With an ever increasing Debt Free economy let us make no mistake about this evil of Capitalism. It exists only in the imagination of Gangster Thieves whose livelihood is one monstrous steal of all things from the produces of goods & service. The beauty of their theft is that they steal by the simple method of Loading the values that they steal back to their victims as Debt money or Bank Credits at interest; the poor victims of his monstrous trick do not realise that Bank Credits are not money, neither do they realise that the World Bank has no money other than that people is less than half the Taxes levied yearly. If taxes paid for anything there would be more money in the banks and people than there are taxes, levied. No amount of Taxes can pay the Taxed people for the goods & Services they supply to the Government. Now let us have a look at Inflation—that Ghastly apparition which in our papers on behalf of our Political Ventriloquists. What is the Inflation, if it is not money, it is Debt. False Debt Bankers having claimed as their values exceeding 80 times the Total money in existence. They claim interest upon that amount of money which to them means that every thing on earth is directly and indirectly had from them on Hire Purchase. Instead of an evil Capitalism we have an evil non-Capitalism. Only true Capitalism can end poverty, strikes and War—the tools of Usury.

## OUR BANGALORE LETTER

We have made a departure in the libertarian work by way of getting members to make speeches on topics of their own choice. Three members. Srinivasan, Nagaraj and Prhalada Rao spoke on Citizenship rights, family under communism and the writer in a totalitarian State. They had prepared well and raised important questions from the freedom point of view. It is a good beginning. It is hoped to continue this in subsequent weeks. We meet every Friday, except on important occasions when there might be other engagements.

We should have a Libertarian Ginger Group to counter-act the New-Socialist Ginger Group of Dr. Gyan Chand, Mahalanobis, Mrs Indira Gandhi who are forcing the pace of communist "Progress" by suggesting further measures of communisation to Nehru and Congress. They are helping to neutralise Congress opposition and to gain further adherents to Nehru in Congress so that further communist steps may not be unduly delayed.

We may not be able to compete with the Ginger Group in influence for they are close to Nehru and have his ear and suggest just what he wants, to curry his favour.

But there is need for a body of intellectuals to see through the communist implications and orientation of the ideas being urged on Congress and Government by the Ginger Group. And such ideas should be analysed and their mischievous consequences pointed out to the uncommitted Members of Congress and Parliament. The Forum of Free Enterprise and Agriculturists' Federation are doing this work more and more boldly and their efforts are beginning to tell. They are being reinforced by the utterances of senior Congress leaders or Ex-leaders like C. R., K. M. Munshi and Ex-Administrators like Mr. M. A. Srinivasan and V. P. Menon and S. Y. Krishnaswamy.

The greatest problem before the country today is, how to spread ideas of free society with sufficient clarity and emotional fore. Freedom as a concept is too vague and abstract to most people even among the educated. It becomes real only when shown in concrete terms with reference to current affairs. For instance, merchants now realise

the danger of socialism from the easy way in which Nehru's word has made State trading in good grains the effective policy of the Governments, state and Central. At one word from him 30 to 40 thousand wholesalers in food grains lose their principal means of livelihood and millions of retailers are also unfavourably affected. What excuses this usurpation and deprivation? Socialism as a manra or dogma! It occurs to nobody that socialism as a doctrine should be combatted through intelligent reasoning and that only such argumentation and rebuttal can deprive socialism of its aura of authority. There is no use in criticising socialist measures of liquidation from practical arguments of the moment that they diminish production, etc.

Another example is the proposal to impose ceilings on land holdings. It is more urgent to raise the floor of holdings since they are mostly uneconomic in area and do not permit the use of modern methods that need higher outlay in fertiliser and machinery and irrigation. And ceilings on larger holdings are unnecessary also since it is admitted that there are crores of acres of cultivable waste lands available for distribution among landless agriculturists!

But communism says that property in land as in machine-capital is the course of capitalism and must be liquidated. And so no amount of argumentation from a commonsense and scientific point of view has any effect on the leader or leaders who are committed to communist notions beforehand. Social Justice does not demand that all the landless people irrespective of capacity, inclination and resources should be given land only out of the surplus yielded by dispossessing the present holders! But the mere mention of social justice as the aim benumbs the reasoning faculties for intelligent people and predisposes them to accept robbery as the legitimate means of satisfying the have-nots. Formerly the mention of pleasing the god or goddess sufficed to sanction human sacrifice in the eyes of millions of "civilised" people!

It is only a system of ideas based on reason and values freshly re-grasped through new reflection that

can disabuse the modern mind of these obstinate errors of the communist way of thinking. This is the first task of the devotee of Libertarianism of the democratic way of life.

I believe no other journal in India is doing so much for this pure rational goal than the "Indian Libertarian." Of course there is much of national defence argumentation against aggressors like Pakistanis. But national independence is the foundation of liberty and when it is threatened by the ambitions of Pakistanis and others, it should come first in the crusade for liberty.

The other way is to interest wider circles of intellectuals both obscure, brilliant writers and well-known personalities of people in key positions like editors of important newspapers and professors of economic and politics and philosophy in universities and research institutes.

Prof. Shenoy of Ahmedabad was the only one among the Panel of Planning Economists to oppose the official suggestions of Mahalanobis, lock, stock and barrel.

Nehru is feeling the weight of the attacks in Rural Voice and by the utterances of A.D. Shroff, C. R. and Munshi, and is worried. The Mysore State rallied two thousand young farmers to be addressed by Nehru to wean them from being influenced by the Federation of agriculturists. I wrote a series of queries that were printed and distributed to the young farmers. They were prevented from discussing policy matters so that they could not raise awkward questions!

Ideas have to be grasped by quiet reflection but meetings at which they are introduced in reference to current question like high prices arouse interest. If literature is then given, it will catch. People, young and old, must be roused to feel that the problems are their own and that they have duty as citizens of free India to think and spread sound ideas and contribute to public opinion. The interest roused should be so touched with patriotic emotion that a band of volunteers should be recruited for constant work in this line. It is only in this way, it seems to me, that a new circle of leaders and followers can be brought into existence. The old leaders have outlived their existence. Ex-Congress men who resign

do so out of disappointment in not getting as much as they feel they ought to, out of the Gandhian loot. The party of ex-Congressmen in Madras calling itself National Democratic Congress and that of Thevar calling itself the Forward Bloc. They have no ideas of a free society and no fire of enthusiasm for slow and solid construction.

I am hoping to avail myself of the invitation to visit Kerala from the 24th to the 6th with the Party President, Mr. Ghosh.

That is an opportunity to study the communist regime at first hand. Of course I will write my impressions in the "Indian Libertarian" in so far as they could be safely published in view of the serious nature of the allegations. We have Jan Sangh representatives there who will arrange meetings with important individuals in Kerala.

M. A. Venkata Rao,  
Bangalore.

that his Third Plan if it at all does Fructify, can only improve the Lot of about 300 millions only. So what about the other 300 millions? India being Neutral will never be involved in any wars & will never get the Blasts of Atom & H-Bombs, so the Surplus of Millions will never become Cannon-Fodder, and as ALL PESTILENCE IS UNDER CONTROL so the only DANGER REMAINING IS STARVATION FOR SOME & SEMI-STARVATION FOR THE MOST, & some Natural Calamity. Therefore I suggest that there is the ONE AND ONLY REMEDY (just as Prohibition and other (20) Twenty Commandments are being Enforced by our White-capped Gurus (& Preceptors) the Best Remedy is to Order "COMPULSORY STERILISATION" of each and every person—male & female and even of youngsters of ten years & over—whether he or she is or not a Papa or a Mama. In this

matter of Population-Control RELIGION AND SENTIMENTAL THINKING WILL BE THE DOWNFALL & RUIN OF INDIA, and so also the THOUSANDS OF CRORES OF RUPEES SPENT ON PLANS WILL BE A SHEER WASTE OF GOOD MONEY, ENERGY & TIME. Let this Twenty Second COMMANDMENT be "COMPULSORY STERILISATION" and I am SURE the present Generation will Bless our Gurus for many years, at least upto 1970.

It is a Fact that 90% of the population LOVE Pandit Nehru and so I am Sure that these 90% will OBEY him also. Therefore let him order this COMPULSORY STERILISATION & also levy a Tax on all children beyond Two in every family. These Drastic Measures will succeed in keeping India's Population within 60 crores.

Homi N. Driver  
Poona.

## Letter To The Editor

Dear Madam, Dr. Chandrashekar declares that India's population will amount to about 600 million in 1961, and we were informed in 1947 at Partition that it was 360 million. This means that "THE BEST INDIAN PRODUCE & MANUFACTURE SINCE 1947 HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN POPULATION WEALTH OF ABOUT 18 MILLIONS PER YEAR." Well done India. Who said that India was a poor Country. On the contrary the above figures prove her as VERY FERTILE. To some of us this FERTILITY proves that Pandit Nehru's Five Year Plans WILL BE FAILURES & THE FUTURE ONES WILL BE MORE SO because of the SHEER HANDICAP OF OVER-POPULATION and more and more addition of millions per year. At present we estimate that from our present population there are about 10% Beggars, but after 1961 this percentage is Bound to INCREASE upto about 50%. What a country and what kind of a Nation Pandit Nehru can foresee after completing his Third Plan in 1965? I am SURE

### ANNUAL STATEMENT UNDER THE REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPER ACT

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper "The Indian Libertarian"

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(See Rule 8)

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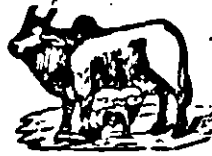
I, Govind Narayan Lawande, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated 24th February 1959

G. N. Lawande.

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