

# The Indian Libertarian

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Vol. VI No. 5

May 15, 1958

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

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## The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Economic  
and Public Affairs

Edited by

MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of  
Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

### Subscription Rates:

Annual	..	Rs. 6
Half Yearly	..	Rs. 3
Quarterly	..	Rs. 1.50
(Post paid)		
Foreign		12sh. 3 dollars.

### ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page	.....	Rs. 100
Half Page	.....	Rs. 50
Quarter Page	....	Rs. 25
One-eighth Page	..	Rs. 15
One full column of a page		Rs. 50

### COVER PAGE

BACK COVER	.....	Rs. 150
SECOND COVER	....	Rs. 125
THIRD COVER	.....	Rs. 125

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Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

## Letters To The Editor

### P.S.P. IS OPPORTUNIST

Dear Madam: Mr. H. V. Kamath, the P.S.P. leader, in a recent statement to the press has given a wonderful exposition of the P.S.P. principles and policies. Mr. Kamath says that the P.S.P. will join hands with anybody, including the communists, to end misrule and bring about democratic socialism. In Kerala, the P.S.P. will join hands with the corrupt Congress to end the communist misrule. They have joined hands with the Muslim League, too, in Kerala to promote secularism! In Bombay, the P.S.P. has aligned itself with the totalitarian communists to end the Congress misrule and further the cause of democracy and socialism. In Orissa, the P.S.P. has joined hands with the reactionary and feudal party, the Ganatantra Parishad, to bring about democratic socialism!

In other words, the P.S.P. will join hands with the totalitarian communists, the corrupt Congress, communal and fanatic body like the Muslim League, and the reactionary and feudal party, the Ganatantra Parishad, to promote the cause of democracy, socialism, secularism, peace! In one word, Mr. Kamath could have said that the P.S.P. stands for OPPORTUNISM. One can do nothing but pity this party of frustrated, expelled, dissident Congressmen, led by leaders belonging to the denationalised and westernised upper middle class.

Bombay

M. L. Rathod

### FATHER OR SON OF MOTHER INDIA

Dear Madam: A unnecessary storm over a perfectly logical and legitimate amendment by the Jan Sangh members of the Delhi Corporation over the draft address to be presented to the President, has been created by many papers of

Delhi, including "Thought". Criticising the behaviour of the Jan Sangh members as irreverent and also as "communal" the journal goes to the length of saying, "Whether they (Jan Sangh) like it or not, Gandhi is practically unanimously (rather a bad form of English) accepted as the Father of the Nation."

Can the journal honestly say that there is unanimity on the subject? What of the opinion of the main minorities, namely the Christians and the Muslims? Surely no Christian, for that matter the Muslim, will accept the contention of Gandhi being he Father of the Nation, the former, because according to Christianity they only recognise the Fatherhood of God, and according to the Muslims no human being could be deified as the Congressmen want Gandhi to be deified.

Again there is a tolerably large section of the Hindus, who certainly refuse to subscribe to the foolish and tall claim of Gandhi being the father of the nation. India is an ancient and a hoary nation, its roots go into antiquity. Gandhi by no stretch of imagination, could be called the father of the nation. The Jan Sangh quite correctly showed the stupidity of the title, when even Gandhi recognised India as his Motherland. How then can a son of the Motherland be also the father of that Motherland? There was neither irreverence nor any communalism BUT solid common-sense and logic in the stand of the Jan Sangh.

Again the statement in Thought that the shot that killed Gandhi also killed the RSS (and perhaps the Jan Sangh) is NOT vouchsafed by the very fact that the Jan Sangh today constitutes the one group in the Delhi Corporation that has a majority. But for the unholy marriage of convenience between the Communists and the Congress corporators Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali would never have been elected the first Mayor of Delhi.

The misfortune in India is that the Press in general toes the Congress Government line, and like the Congress dub any and everybody who disagrees with the Congress as "communal", "reactionary" and what not, forgetting the fact that the Congress, as a whole, today is the most reactionary body in the country. In any democratic country the move of the Jan Sangh would have been welcomed.

New Delhi

Ishwar Das

## SHEIKH ABDULLAH RE-ARRESTED

IT is good news that Sheikh Abdullah has been re-arrested. He had entered "the wrong path," or re-entered it, to use the Prime Minister's words to the Kashmiri Association in Europe. He had made his intentions quite clear. He had taken definite steps to create chaos in Kashmir, inflaming fanatic passions through the characteristic, well-known methods of speaking from mosques after prayers. This is political exploitation of religion in the strictest sense. After prayer in congregation, collective emotions will have been roused. Prayer to Allah arouses group emotion, multiplied by the number attending several times. It is then directed to political purposes. Muslims are exhorted to fight enemies for the glory of Islam as a social fellowship of believers. In this context, the imagination of Muslims will run in the direction of considering all unbelievers to be *kafirs*. Islam enjoins on the faithful the conquest of *kafirs* as the ultimate obligation of their religion and society, which is independent of nation and country. Patriotism and loyalty to the State in which they live ebbs away. At such a moment, ambitious Muslims like Sheikh Abdullah direct the emotions (weighted by historical memories of past Islamic greatness) powerfully into the channel of their personal aspirations. This was what Sheikh Abdullah had started doing after his release. From the first day of India's conferring on him supreme power over Kashmir, as if it was his private patrimony, and as if it was also the private patrimony of the Indian Kashmiris, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru putting no constitutional checks whatever, Abdullah was speaking in two voices. One voice assured Kashmiris that he had acceded to India, only in the three subjects of defence, foreign relations and communications. This meant that India had entered into a *unilateral* agreement to provide defence, foreign relations and communications—all spending departments, with no right to levy taxes! Some degree of control over revenue should have been retained, as the realistic and patriotic Dr. Ambedkar suggested at the time. But our omniscient Prime Minister (who does not concede the claim of any of his colleagues to political wisdom in any particular,) let alone foreign affairs which he treats as his speciality, in which no one else is allowed to poach, negated the wise advice. Sheikh kept the door carefully open to claim independence for Kashmir under his absolute control as soon as the need for Indian protection and generosity in the matter of money and food grains etc. should pass.

The second voice he assumed was for the purpose of reassuring the Indian public of his *Indianness*. He proclaimed for Indian consumption that he did not believe in the two-nation theory, that he was a transcendently devout adherent of Mahatma Gandhi and Congress, that he was a true *nationalist*, whose nation was India, and that he was a friend of Nehru, whose affection and loyalty to him was unbounded and unbreakable. The Prime Minister swallowed these declarations, at their face value, and lavished men, money and goods in unstinted measure. It would be interest-

ing to learn the total amount of India's contribution to Kashmir, from the day Indian troops were flown to that province, which has been the source of so much trouble and expense to India. It cannot be less than Rs. 300 crores! This is part of the price India has paid for the distinction of having a Prime Minister with world-wide fame, with ambitions to save the whole world for peace and democracy! One is afraid that India may yet have to pay more in the years to come, not merely in money but in the fillip to disintegrating forces that his stewardship is giving so alarmingly. It is not as if he had no warnings and advice from fellow-citizens, endowed with better insight into the character of Sheikh Abdullah and his kind in Kashmir and elsewhere in the country. Sardar Patel himself *had misgivings about our policy*. He had seen clearly and intuitively the unreality of the Prime Minister's Kashmiri protege. It appears that he even recorded his opinion of Sheikh Abdullah, and his preference to Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed. It is known that Sardar Patel was asking his senior in office (but junior in statesmanship and in Gandhi's favour) to let him handle Kashmir affairs, since it fell within his capacity as Minister for the States and for Home Affairs. But he was not successful, which has been a tragedy for us.

## PANDIT DOGRA'S WARNINGS UNHEEDED

Kashmiri leaders like Pandit Premnath Dogra, who knew the history and communal character of Sheikh Abdullah, and were watching his administration at close quarters, were warning the country and sending statements and petitions and deputations to the President and Prime Minister, but to no purpose. It has been a tragedy that students of public affairs, national and international, should not have organised themselves sufficiently to give a lead to public opinion on this and other matters. The only well-equipped institution, with a competent journal namely *The Indian Council of World Affairs* has sunk to passive conformity to the Nehru line, and has largely abdicated its function of independent scholarship and check on official policies. The intelligentsia has failed us. In this light the contribution that this journal has been making for independent thought and informed criticism, *though we have to say it*, assumes unusual importance.

## THE MISTAKE OF BAKSHI GHULAM MAHOMED

It has been revealed that the tourist season in Kashmir today as well as the necessity of releasing the general public from the strict prohibitions of public meetings (which had to be re-imposed on account of Sheikh Abdullah's disruptive activities) is the reason for putting Sheikh Abdullah behind the bars again. But the administration has put itself wrong again before world public opinion, by arresting him under the old, discredited Preventive Detention Rules. They should have passed a law, punishing treachery and propaganda for separation of a part of the national

territory in favour of its independent sovereignty. This would have had a general application to all, who indulge in treacherous activities—the Dravida Kazagam, Dravida Munnetra Kazagam, the "We Tamilians" party, the Nagas and their foreign mentors, and spared the public mind from confusion and becoming a prey to the false interpretation of democratic rights of speech and agitation.

The Constitution is not a suicide pact. Liberty is not licence. Freedom cannot be given to those who pledge themselves to the destruction of national freedom and integrity. The present supine and nerveless attitude to separatists in different parts of the country, due more to timidity and lack of sensitiveness to national interests and patriotism generally, than to honest democratic conscience, shows the danger of democracy in the absence of a sufficiently keen consciousness of nationalism. Of the two sentiments of nationalism and democracy, the former is basic and is prior in value, inasmuch as it refers to the very existence of the nation. *All other values can flourish only when nationalism is safe.*

It is learnt (after writing this) that Sheikh Abdullah will be tried, though he has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Rules. It is to be hoped, however, that the rumour is true. To keep anyone in duress without a fair trial can never be excused and no one will give a clean bill to us if we deny due process. Even apart from democratic decency, it is demanded by the rule of law which is the basis of all good administration, even under monarchies and aristocracies. Even Bismarck and the Kaiser were afraid of public opinion, and punished many military offenders against civilians.

#### MUSLIM SUPPORTERS OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH

The convention of Muslim legislators from all States and the Shia Conference made public statements recently to the effect that they were entirely with India as nationals and citizens of India on the same terms as others. They declared that Sheikh Abdullah had given a false and wicked lead to Kashmiris. They affirmed that they disbelieved in the two-nation theory of the Muslim League, that resulted in the secession of Pakistan. So far so good. Having given equal citizenship to the Muslims, who remained in India, we cannot now express doubts about their assurances, and hope that in time they will reconcile themselves to Indian nationhood and citizenship, even sub-consciously, and that things will settle down to normality.

But this process is halted and the historic division between Hindu and Muslim is brought to the surface by the default of such beneficiaries of Indian generosity as Sheikh Abdullah. This is the worst disservice he is doing to Indian integral nationalism, and particularly to Indian Muslims.

The wounds are re-opened also when we hear news reports that there are still groups of Muslims in the country who put loyalty to Pakistan or Sheikh Abdullah above their obligation to India. A recent news report has it that in Jaipur there was a secret gathering of Muslims, who called upon their co-religionists to give their support to Sheikh Abdullah, in his cry for an independent Kashmir under his aegis. They even collected a purse of Rs. 10,000 and exhorted

their fellow-religionists to send monetary help to the Sheikh!

#### ARMY OFFICER ARRESTED IN DELHI

Another news report raises similar thoughts of national unity and patriotism. It ought to be clear by now that these sentiments are no decorative appendages of independence but vital bases of social life until an effective world order is achieved by humanity. It is reported that an army officer was arrested in Delhi, for alleged disclosure of secret army information to a foreign country. No details or confirmation are yet available at the time of writing. The report is printed (*Hindustan Times*, 29 April) in small type on an inner page in the midst of incongruous matter. One is led to guess that this is another case of making the offence of favoured groups inconspicuous, recalling the official policy of not naming the offenders in inter-communal affrays. The ostensible reason is to prevent the rival communities from being roused to greater fury against their opposite numbers. But this untruth in reporting hides the truth and has a consequence just the opposite of what is intended. For, the favoured community evokes the bitterness of the rival community on account of the official shielding the wrongdoers receive. It arouses resentment both with the policy-makers and the favoured.

In this case, the withholding of the name raises suspicions that the authorities are trying to hide the community to which the wrong-doer belongs from public gaze. This is subtle communalism on the part of Government, which evokes by its favouritism and injustice, a counter-communalism on the part of the other community. It is best to call a spade a spade and let citizens of all communities adjust themselves to truth and justice and take the consequences of unfair and anti-national doings from public opinion.

#### NAGA REBELS USE INDAN ARMY BULLETS

Similar thoughts inevitably arise from the news that the Naga rebels have been found using Indian army bullets. How did they get them? Did they loot army depots? If so the army officers and personnel are guilty of negligence, which in time of operations, should expose them to severe punishment. Or can it be that officers or men have sold them to the hostile tribals? Or (perish the thought!) can it be that our army contains officers and rank and file *more sympathetic to enemies in the field than to their own nation?*

This possibility cannot be excluded, for there have been cases when Indian officials have been tried for passing confidential information to foreign nations, particularly the one foreign nation that is swearing eternal enmity to us whose leaders are exhorting their people, day after day, without intermission or scruple, to be prepared for *jehad* or holy war against our country.

In the Naga field of operations, one hears, that the Nagas have established contact with Pakistanis across the border! Are these Pakistanis, civil or military, in this context?

The affair of the bullets connects naturally with these items of news. Members of Parliament and publicists should, without delay, elicit full information about these tangled factors and get satisfaction from

(Continued on page 16)

# Our Topsy—Turvy Prime Minister

By J. K. Dhairyawan

**P**RIME Minister Nehru has once again lived up to the reputation that he has rightly earned as the Hamlet on the political stage of the country. Within the course of one revolving week, he has made three contradictory statements, that should bring a blush of shame to any decent person, with the modicum of sanity about him. While he was having a farewell speech, after his recent visit to Kerala, he definitely stated that there was no question of his resigning or retiring from the Prime Ministership. The reason as stated by him, though smacking of personal pride and egoism, were typical of the Prime Minister, who has been identified by intelligent persons in the country as symbolic of the first person "I". There was no question for him to retire, because he represented the 400 millions of Indian people, his whole life has been bound up with the people's struggle for freedom and there were many national and international problems that had to be solved before he departed from the scene of his activities. In a word, like the French king, Nehru meant to convey that he was the State—*l'etat c'est moi*.

## AN IMPLIED THREAT

He did not stop there. He had a dig at the saboteurs, both within the cabinet and outside, when he stated that if the rightist lobby imagine that his retirement would be in their interests, they were in the wrong. Nehru outside the Government would be a greater danger to the rightist interests than Nehru inside the government. That was what he wanted to convey.

Hardly had the echoes of these words of his had died than, when he reached New Delhi, he startled the Indian public by sending a letter to the President of the Republic, asking him to be relieved of the office of the Prime Minister. The announcement was, as expected, received like a bombshell by the immediate crowd of sycophants that surround him in the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Cabinet. There was loud wailing and bemoaning at the prospect of being orphaned. One can understand the consternation in the Congress tents. However, the last straw that broke the back of Nehru temporarily was the discovery of a plot within his Cabinet, that was manouvring to get him out of the Government. But the astounding thing was the echoes of "No, No, Nehruji" raised by the local communists, from Gopalan to the village commissar joining in the Congress beating of their hearts. That the PSP joined in the wailing and bemoaning could be understood, when it is remembered that the party is the offspring of the Gandhian Congress.

## ABSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

In any true democracy the resignation or retirement, or even the death, of a Prime Minister, is never looked upon as such a calamity as the political parties in India seemed to imagine at the mere suggestion of the Prime Minister to retire from the high office. In

India, however, the rival political parties to the Congress, namely the PSP and the Communists should have welcomed the move on the part of the Prime Minister, and offered to step in the breach, created by the retirement or resignation of Mr. Nehru. For it is clear as daylight that once Mr. Nehru steps down from the high office, the Congress cannot stay in power a day longer. That should have been welcomed by the PSP and the Communists if they have the honest conviction that they offer the rival alternatives to the Congress government. But this sight of the Indian Reds falling in step with the sycophants of the Congress, in beseeching Nehru to withdraw his letter tells a different tale.

In the first place they seem to be diffident in forming a stable government. Another thing is equally transparently clear, that the Red leadership find in the stewardship of the country by Nehru, an ideal man, who without being an official communist, is advancing the communist cause as no one else can. In fact, according to the Indian Reds, and their paymasters, the men in the Kremlin, Nehru is doing the spade work for the communists in a thorough manner, so that after him, India like a ripe fruit — economically and politically shattered by the Nehru experiments in planning — would fall into the communist hands, with the middle-class and the industrialists badly mauled. This anti-national role of the communists in India also explains the attitude of Dange in Parliament, when he showed the party's concern over the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. According to him, the arrest was bound to have repercussions in international sphere. What he meant was that a free Abdullah, with his anti-Indian activities, was best serving the cause of international communism and the policies of the local commissars.

That apart, when Mr. Nehru made his decision of stepping down from the office of the Prime Minister and when he was prevailed upon by the Congress Parliamentary party to reconsider his decision, he flatly said that he had made the statement after "great concentration" and that it was "not a casual statement." He had made up his mind. So there was to be an end to any more controversy or discussion over that issue. But those who have watched our Prime Minister all these years very closely and clearly, knew that there was never any finality in what he says. And that was again to be demonstrated this time. Within a couple of days there was "fresh light" seen by the Prime Minister and he bowed down to the popular clamour of NOT resigning from the high office of the Prime Minister. All his concentration and deep thinking had gone waste.

## SAME OLD GANDHIAN TACTICS

It did not require any political pandit to prophesy, when first the announcement by Mr. Nehru was made, that it was one of the tricks from the Gandhian bundle of techniques; that he was using in browbeating the servile crowd of his Congress followers to accept

him as the undisputed leader of the party, and of the country with none to challenge his authority and his whims. Those were the same tactics he followed some years back when he got rid of Tandonji as the president of the Congress, during his tenure of office, simply because he found Tandonji a thorn in his side. At that time even the Iron Man of the Congress, the late Sardar Patel, bowed before him and yielded to his threats. That the late Sardar and Mr. Nehru were not seeing eye to eye on many national problems was known to those who knew the Sardar well. The differences between the Sardar and Mr. Nehru had come to a head again just before Gandhi was assassinated. On that fateful day Gandhi was delayed at the evening prayer meeting only because Gandhi had the last interview with the Sardar and he prevailed upon the Sardar NOT to make their differences public at any cost in the interest of the *izzat* of the Congress. That was another surrender on the part of the Sardar.

### THE GANDHIAN TRUMP CARD

These easy "victories" gained by Mr. Nehru has emboldened him once again to play the Gandhian trump card, and he has won hands down. That was to be expected in the context of the complete debacle of the Congress in the country, the anti-national role played by the communists, and the absence of a strong Opposition party of the Centre, and of national character in the country. All the so-called "Opposition" parties, from the PSP to the communists, are parties of what is called the Left. The Jan Sangh party promises to develop, if conducted on right lines, to offer the REAL Opposition to the Congress and the parties of the Left. The industrialists and the small businessmen could well have played their part in mobilising the forces of national unity and national solidarity, if only the industrialists had any patriotic vision. But the criticism, though well meant and well directed, by men like Mr. A.D. Shroff and his Forum of Free Enterprise, lacks the true foundation of a political Opposition, because it seems, that the organisers of the Forum have fears, that offending Mr. Nehru is offending their personal interests. Fear to say boldly, and say it frankly, has never been the foundation of true democracy. As long as the backbone of democracy, the middle-classes and the industrialists, have not the courage to come out in the public, and expose the disastrous policies of planned economy and regimentation that the present policies of the Government would lead to, democracy has a dismal future in the country. As things are at present, democracy would be stifled before it has time to thrive on the Indian soil, only because of the apathy and fear of the classes that have always formed the spearhead of democratic form of government all over the world.

### THE CAT IS OUT OF THE BAG

Now that storm in the tea cup of the Congress is over, and Mr. Nehru is once again back to his post, it is worthwhile to go into what was behind this shock-therapy that Mr. Nehru had resorted to. It is put quite bluntly in the issue of "Blitz" (May 8). "Blitz", as is well known, is the unofficial mouthpiece of Mr. Nehru. In a despatch from New Delhi it states, "Nehru made the dramatic announcement because he is getting more and more out of tune with certain sections of people

in his own party in regard to essential policies" and "there is clamour in the Left section of the Party to give the Prime Minister *more powers necessary to reorganise the Cabinet so that the new policies do not suffer from internal divisions . . . . .*" So the cat is out of the bag. It is to get more powers that this shock-therapy was tried, and as expected, the trick has worked.

What "Blitz" stated about the internal differences is well known to the public. It is an open secret that persons like Morarjibhai, S. K. Patil and many others have not the slightest faith in the "socialist pattern" of the Prime Minister. They are there in the Cabinet for pomp and power, and nothing more. And what is more, Mr. Nehru knows that too well but the Congress Party is so bankrupt in talent and intelligence that Mr. Nehru had no other recourse than to include such men. It is equally known that many of the Chief Ministers of the States like Dr. B.C. Roy of Bengal, Dr. Sampurnanand of Uttar Pradesh and many others, have not the slightest respect for Mr. Nehru or his policies, and go their own way completely ignoring the Prime Minister. But the personality cult, built round Mr. Nehru, helps him to maintain his power and position, and when he finds his position shaky, he has only to threaten resignation, and the men who constitute the Congress Party immediately surrender. Mr. Nehru has once again got his way, but to intelligent persons in the country, his 11 years of stewardship of the national interests has been a brilliant frustration. That is a national tragedy, and one believes that Mr. Nehru is intelligent enough to know it. He is today the prisoner of his own emotions and quick temperament, a man of fine sentiments but lacking the courage of his convictions. And what is worse still, a man who has tasted power and unable to give it up.

### Nehru's Failure

Ten years back when Nehru assumed reigns of office, the country was financially sound and solvent, the administration had a reputation for efficiency and a good measure of incorruptibility, and people had faith in idealism. During the last ten years of Nehru's leadership and Prime Ministership the country's position as a creditor nation has not only disappeared but we are contracting debts from every conceivable quarter in the world. During the last ten years the administration has been weakened and it has earned notoriety for being corrupt and inefficient. Idealism is now a rare virtue and anybody who tries to seek it amongst the majority of politicians who preside over the nation's destiny, is sure to be disappointed. This is a colossal failure when placed against the bright prospects with which we had started our life as a free nation. It is quite possible that it is this consciousness of failure that must be prompting Nehru time and again to think of giving up Prime Ministership. And his repeated essays in resignation would seem to emanate from his desire to see that the country does not think as badly of himself as he does himself and thus to find a prop to his waning self-confidence.

The joke has been tried once too often and the last episode has hardly added to Nehru's prestige. In fact it has confirmed the view of those who tend to regard Nehru as the Hamlet of India's politics.

—Nagpur Times

# THE HAMLETIAN NEHRU

By G. B. Verghese

*Writing under the caption—"The National Scene"—B. G. Verghese, an esteemed contributor to the "Times of India" writes as follows about the Nehru drama in the capital. It is a scathing condemnation of Mr. Nehru, his preachings and practices being poles apart.*

**T**HE political crisis has been patched up. There was a flutter in the Congress dovecots, when Mr. Nehru returned from Kerala last week, to announce his intention to relinquish office temporarily. But, then as suddenly as the crisis was created, it was artificially resolved.

## BLOWING HOT AND COLD

What happened? In substance the Prime Minister said his mind was confused and in a ferment about many things. In his first statement to the Congress Parliamentary Party he merely said he wanted to retire temporarily in order to see "a period of calm quiet" to fit him for "the great tasks ahead." In his second statement, he said that he was distressed by the deterioration in the Congress and public life generally. There was too much jobbery. In his third statement, Mr. Nehru went further in denouncing the evils of careerism, communalism, revivalism and factionalism which he found rampant. All this scandalized and suffocated him. He, however, went back on his previous statement to some extent and gave the Congress a good chit. And then, amidst jubilant applause, he declared that he had decided to give up all thought of relinquishing office in response to the affectionate appeals of the party. Thereafter Mr. Pant and Mr. Dhebar thanked Mr. Nehru for his magnanimity and promised him that the party would be good in future. There was more applause.

...the Prime Minister has secured nothing more than an overwhelming vote of confidence, and will probably take a holiday—which he richly deserves... despite all his protestations... Nothing has been resolved but the crisis is apparently over.

But is it? Mr. Nehru came near tearing off the mask of complacency and compromise that has been the bane of the Congress and the country. The revelation might have been startling and may have led to momentary panic and confusion. But some good, possibly a great deal of good might have come out of it. At the last minute, however, Mr. Nehru faltered. *He compromised without any gain. He threw away the opportunity he himself had created.*

What is it that troubles Mr. Nehru? Jobbery? Communalism? Revivalism? But these are no novel ailments. These things have troubled the Prime Minister for years. What troubles a lot of other honest and intelligent people, both inside the Congress and outside, is that *ALL these evils have flourished NOT in the absence of Nehru's leadership BUT in spite of it.* And why? Because there has been a compromise with principles right along the line and errant persons have not merely been tolerated BUT entrenched in authority.

Mr. Nehru denounces revivalism. But in Madras, the Congress rules with the assistance of the Dravida Kazhagam, while in Bihar, another distinguished Congress Government stands at the apex of a delicately balanced pyramid of caste relationships.

Mr. Nehru denounces jobbery. But yet the Congress which emerged as a minority in Orissa after the last elections was able to employ methods of political piracy in order to convert itself into a majority and gain office. And having shown a rugged determination to retain its majority.

Mr. Nehru denounces factionalism. Yet Mr. Kairon is able to get elected as Chief of the Punjab P.C.C. a person whom the Congress Election Committee did not find a desirable candidate. He did so to prove his strength and he has stayed in office.

Mr. Nehru denounces the fall in standards of public life. But it was he who would have set aside the findings of the Chagla Commission.

Mr. Nehru denounces indiscipline in the Congress and outside. But it is his Government and the Congress Working Committee that has repeatedly demonstrated the fact that they only respond to pressure and threats. This happened during the States Reorganisation Commission debate, over the Assam Pay refinery agitation and the appointment of the Pay Commission.

—Times of India

## Plot To Murder Pakistani President

Karachi: Behind the Noon-Suhrawardhy election alliance to dethrone President Mirza and divide the Presidency and the Prime Ministership amongst themselves rests the higher secret of a plot to assassinate General Iskander Mirza before the November elections.

News of the conspiracy reached the President's office last week, as a result of a loose talk in certain Party quarters. Intelligence was alerted on Sunday morning and an intensive police-hunt has been on ever since.

A group of people under suspicion for executing the Liaquat murder plot, are reportedly under watch, and two men have been detained and questioned in this regard.

The tightest ever security curtain has been drawn around the President and his entourage, while at the same time rigorous censorship has been imposed against the leakage of this news.

President Mirza is said to be using the information in his possession to compel Prime Minister Noon to give up his pre-election arrangement with the former Premier Suhrawardhy, now a sworn foe of President Mirza.

—Blitz Special

## Oh, Weep For Adonis!

By Raja Hutheesing

**H**ISTORY, it is said, repeats itself. In 1952-53 Mr. Nehru resigned from the presidentship of the Congress, as he then felt that there was a lot of corruption and jobbery within its ranks. Three days later however when the Congress pleaded with him, vowed to eradicate all corruption and dedicate themselves to the ideals of the Congress, Mr. Nehru returned to the presidentship to fight the 1952 general elections. Nothing, however, changed and corruption and jobbery gathered new strength. Once again it has three days only for Mr. Nehru to change his mind and return to the fold, as a result of the many pledges of re-dedication given by Congressmen.

No one in India desires Mr. Nehru's retirement, temporarily or otherwise, and least of all myself. But there are occasions when personal loyalty or affection has to be pushed aside in the greater interests of the country. Mr. Nehru may bemoan the deterioration of the moral standards in the country and the vulgarisation of our public life, *but he is more responsible for this than the Congress party itself.* Corruption can be found amongst the highest members of the Government, as also jobbery, nepotism and the unseemly haste to amass wealth in crook gains and avoidance of taxation. All these sores of the body politics grow larger and larger every day. Congressmen are busy collecting the loaves and fishes of office and those not in office seek to obtain their share as members of the party. The deterioration of moral standards of our country began with our leaders and not the common man.

Our present degredation is leading the country to the same morass in which Chiang-kai-shek's China found herself. There was no rescue in China from the jaws of communism, but in India, we had one hope.

If a man like Mr. Nehru could shed the glamour of office, and seek no reason to justify what is after all a tragi-comedy, he could perhaps—it was a small chance—bring back the only organised party in the country to the righteous path of service and sacrifice. Unfortunately for us, there is no organised party in the country, apart from the Congress, except the Communists.

Three days ago, a little hope was resurrected in us from the dying ashes. Mr. Nehru by his decision has taken away that little glimmer and left us in the darkness of a totalitarian future. Oh! Weep for Adonis!

### Credit And Other Money

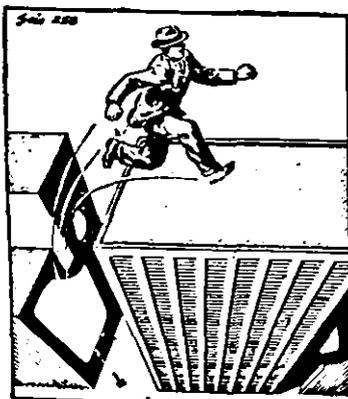
By G. T. Olarensaw

Hugo Bilgram's definition of Credit as the antithesis of debt is rather remarkable seeing that all credit is Debt. Neither Debt nor Credit is Money Both Debt and Credit are a condition in commerce. The condition of Debt or Credit ends when money cancels out that condition.

Only money issued Debt Free in payment for services and goods delivered to Government is 100% Purchase power when Taxes are eliminated. Taxation destroys money as Purchase power. Taxation creates False Debt and is False accountancy, as Taxation pays for nothing but does destroy good money so that Debt and Credit are the conditions in commerce. There is no absolute security in a Tax State for by Taxes all Securities and Values are destroyed by inflation of False Debt. The Purchase power of money is that part of money left after Taxes have destroyed. Taxless money — Goods and Service is true purchase power.

### DID YOU KNOW...

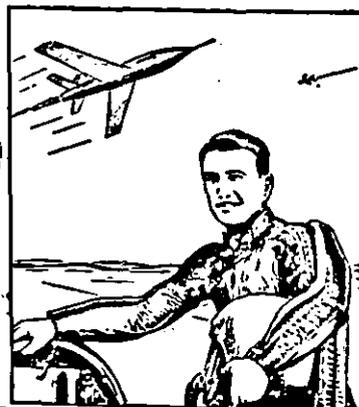
By Scio



A flea's ability to jump 100 times his own height makes him champion among the world's high jumpers. To equal the flea's feat, a man would have to jump as high as a forty-four-story building.



Often when there is an earthquake on land, the sea nearby is shaken so violently that sailors are in more danger than those on the land.



Lt. Col. Frank K. Everest, Jr. of the U.S. Air Force gained the distinction of being the fastest man alive when he recently flew a rocket-powered airplane, the Bell X-2, at a speed of 1,900 miles per hour.

# War with India Is Inevitable

By "Vigilant"

**T**HERE is once again fire and brimstone used against India by every political leader of any importance in Pakistan. That is no wonder to any intelligent person in India, who has watched the progress or otherwise of Pakistan during the last 11 years of separation. A State, donated by the British to serve their own imperialist purpose, is living up to the expectations that the donors had in view. There is not a day that passes when there is no false charges levelled at the doors of India for the ills that Pakistan is heir to. But the latest stepping up of the campaign of hymn and hatred against India has more than meets the eye. It is a well-calculated campaign to fan up and keep the embers of Islamic hatred burning in Pakistan, so that when the D-day comes the masses would be ready to jump into the fray of a "holy" *jihad* against India, for the greater glory of Islam.

## THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR

And the reasons are not far to seek. All these 11 years, Pakistani politicians have wasted their time and energy in the pursuit of their own personal gains without the least thought of the good or welfare of the Pakistani people. The Kashmir dispute, the canal waters dispute, and the thousand and one grievances against India, alleged or genuine, are merely to feed the fires of Islamic hatred against Hindu India. It was, therefore, not surprising to find that Pakistan leaders, including two former Prime Ministers—Choudhari Mahomed Ali and Chundrigar—stating that "war or police action" against India is inevitable." It may come just now, or perhaps in two or three years, **BUT COME IT MUST.**

This hate campaign is strengthened by the long-standing demand, which was implicit in the creation of Pakistan — the demand of a corridor — passing through India, namely parts of Bihar and U.P. to join the two wings of the freak of a State that is Pakistan. This demand of a corridor is linked up with another demand for "*lebenstraum*," of more territory for the rehabilitation of the Muslims, since the present area of Pakistan is NOT sufficient to accommodate ALL the Muslims of the sub-continent. And what would be more logical to the Islamic fanatic mind than that West Bengal and East Punjab be immediately added to Pakistan! There is nothing novel or unexpected in these Pakistani demands for more territory and a corridor. They were there when Pakistan was accepted, based as it was on the two-nation theory of the Muslim League.

Whether the Congress leadership admit it or not, the fact remains that the partition of the country was done on the two-nation theory. It was sheer defeatism that made the old and tired Congress leadership accept partition. In their haste to grab power and glamour of office they did not see, that far from solving the Hindu-Muslim question, they were laying

the beginning and the foundation of a perpetual source of trouble to Hindu India. When the Congress leadership accepted partition they imagined that the Muslims will be satisfied, and, what is still more amazing, forgetting ALL the lessons of thousands years of Islamic history, both in this country and in the world, they expected that the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan would be tolerated by the Muslims.

## THE DISILLUSIONMENT

The first shock came soon after the acceptance of partition when the Hindus and Sikhs of West Pakistan were forcibly driven out of the country, thousands were murdered and raped, property worth crores of rupees was literally looted by the Muslims and a long and weary trek by refugees was started towards India. Mr. Nehru then confessed that he under-estimated the fanaticism of the Muslims. But this wisdom, after the event, was of no avail to India or to the unfortunate refugees. The refugees of West Pakistan had to pay by their lives and property the price of the independence of the truncated India that is Bharat today. And today Hindus of East Pakistan are adding their contribution.

But if the Congress leadership had any knowledge of Islamic fanaticism, whether in India or the world, they would not have been so complacent. Whether it was European Turkey, during the 19th century, or whether it was Iran or Egypt, non-Islamic minorities have ALWAYS been slaughtered for the glory of Islam and the satisfaction of the Allah. The Indian Muslims of Pakistan could not be an exception to this Islamic tradition.

## THE BIGGEST BLUNDER

A wrong reading of Islamic history and the Gandhian illusion of Hindu-Muslim unity landed the Congress and the country into committing one of the biggest blunders of the century. Intelligent and patriotic Indians, who were aware of the danger of appeasing Islamic fanaticism were dubbed as "communalists", reactionaries and what not. But what is still more amazing is that despite the 11 years' experience of Pakistani hatred and hymn against India our Prime Minister Nehru still hugs the Gandhian illusion to his bosom and says that his mind is so conditioned that he cannot consider the Pakistani as the enemy of India, though all these years Pakistan has repeatedly asserted that India is Pakistan's enemy Number One. As the leader of the nation, Mr. Nehru cannot carry his personal idiosyncracies so far as to imperial the security and independence of the country he is called upon to guide. From the way our Congress Government has behaved so far, it is not improbable that the fresh demands of Pakistan for a corridor and additional territory may be considered, and perhaps a make-shift of a compromise may be arrived at.

This may, at first, sound alarming to many Indians,

but we have precedents to fall back upon to support our surmises. Has not the Government of India surrendered all along the line on the canal waters dispute? Have not the New Delhi authorities agreed to build canals worth Rs. 68 crores for Pakistan when it was none of our business to do so? Have not the New Delhi authorities gone further when they accepted a fresh demand of Rs. 160 crores for the building of the canals for Pakistan? It is only when Pakistan's appetite increased, and when fresh and impossible demands, running into thousands of crores of rupees were made that New Delhi was shaken out of its complacency. This is not mere conjecture BUT facts admitted by Mr. Nehru. When the conditioning of the mind of our leaders is such, as admitted by Mr. Nehru, anything to get "the friendship" of Pakistan would be agreed to by our leaders, or to be more correct, our sole leader, now that his hands have been strengthened by the vote of confidence passed by the Congress parliamentary party.

#### ARMS BEFORE BREAD AND BUTTER

While this is the state of wishful-thinking and complacency on the part of the New Delhi authorities, despite all the political confusion, the splinter groups of political parties and the general economic state of deterioration in Pakistan, there is one notable fact about Pakistan, the complete unanimity on the part of ALL leaders and the rank and file of the Pakistanis as regards a showdown with India. This explains the attitude of the Pakistani leaders that when they suspected their Western allies—Britain and the USA—of developing cold feet towards her, as demonstrated by the Graham report on Kashmir, Mr. Noon, the Pakistani Prime Minister, did not hesitate from blackmailing the Western allies by holding out the threat that if they did not stop the financial aid to India, they would have to think again of their alliance with the West. In fact it was a clear hint that Pakistan would not mind joining the Communist bloc of nations. What Pakistan wants immediately and now is more arms and more ammunition in preference to bread and butter to measure swords with Hindu India. But this Pakistani threat was received with the contempt it deserved by U.S.A. and Britain. Having realized that she had overshot the mark today, a Pakistani mission is in USA, headed by Asgar Ali and Ayub Khan for getting jet bombers and more military aid from Washington. These Pakistan emissaries in USA, however, leave no occasion to impress upon the American public that US financial aid to India helps New Delhi to have a bigger military build-up that is threatening Pakistan. The argument runs in the familiar Islamic logic. India has no territorial ambitions; she is only concerned with her economic progress. But Pakistan's main concern is NOT that India is militarily strong, BUT that no aid, financial or military, should be given to India because India is Pakistan's only enemy.

#### A METHOD IN PAK MADNESS

The present mounting of the cries of "jehad" against India in Pakistan can be dismissed by our leaders and our people only at our own peril. There is a method in the madness of Pakistan. When the Muslim League started the agitation for Pakistan, the very idea was pooh-pooed by Congressmen from Nehru downwards. What was considered to be "a fantastic nonsense" and a fanatic demand on the part of the hot-

headed Muslim leaders has come to stay. Today what appears to be mere verbal threats are sure to be translated into action by the fanatical leaders of Pakistan. It might look that theirs is the gambler's chance, but many times, it is the gamblers, the men who dare and risk, that often succeed. If the League has succeeded in getting what looked to be fantastic and fanatic, it is also probable that what sounds as a gambler's chance might also succeed unless India is alert and is prepared to meet this threat from Pakistan.

#### PAK STRATEGY

The Pakistan strategy is quite clear and logical. At the time of partition the Defence Services of both Pakistan and India were equipped with British arms and armaments. And since numerically India was twice as large as Pakistan, India was more than a match to meet Pakistan in any open war. Today the situation is not the same. Pakistan has made up for the lack of numbers by modernising her Defence Services with the American aid and equipment. Today her striking potential, both in the air and on land, has considerably increased. In air and even on land, Pakistan, in the opinion of many military experts, has passed the parity limit with India. As the Pakistani Army Chief has once admitted today, Pakistan has a fully equipped modern, small, but a compact hand-hitting force that can take the field in a couple of days, and deal a lightning blow to India. It is equipped with jet bombers and modern missiles. These are the stark realities of the situation. Mere wishful thinking on the part of Mr. Nehru is not going to defend India and protect her independence. And, if and when, Pakistan decides to have the showdown, in the present state of mind of our sole leader, it is more than possible that India would be caught napping. It is here that public opinion in the country should be educated to the real threat that Pakistan and her leadership constitute to India. Public opinion in the country should insist on the Government the need to take measures to counteract these threats from Pakistan which are real and not imaginary. Preaching sermons on "panchasheela" and co-existence are no match to the cries of "jehad" against India, backed by a lightning force of a well-equipped mobile unit that can give India a taste of German *blitzkrieg*. After the theatrical offer of a "No war" pact with India, Pakistan today is determined to have a war with India, may be as early as possible, or in a year or two. And what is significant is that ALL parties are agreed on that score.

READ

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By F. A. RIDLEY

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# ECONOMIC FREEDOM

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE entire stream of thought, feeling and policy, (social, economic and political), now called Leftist, and issuing in various forms and degrees of socialism and communism illustrates how a partial truth can obtain strong and fanatic hold of whole generations and large areas of globe when it is supported by a major emotion. Leftist thought is borne on a swift and strong current of emotion, namely sympathy with the under-dog, mixed with hatred for the favoured ones of society. The tendency is assisted by a number of factors such as the impossibility of experimentation in social affairs, and the limited opportunity for even statistical measurement even when dictatorial governments introduce changes by force.

## FRUSTRATION, THE MAIN BASIS

Socialism and communism have ostensibly originated in the sense of frustration that leaders of progress experienced with the course of democracy in European countries, after the French Revolution. It was found that political democracy brought equality no doubt in the legal sense but without capital the worker benefitting little or nothing by the new equality and new right of franchise. Equality before the law did not confer on him the capacity to bargain with the capitalist employer. Hence they felt that the goal of "earthly paradise" was yet far off from the large majority of the people, who could not resist the exploitation of the capitalist class. It was felt poignantly that economic freedom should be added to political freedom, if democracy and its great ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity were to be realised in any significant measure. The problem was how to put the substance of humanism into the framework of democracy.

But the analysis the reformers made of the economic process was faulty, and hence the remedy they came to suggest for the extension of political freedom, to include economic freedom, was also faulty. But the emotion of humanitarianism so widespread in the nineteenth century in Europe (which however halted before the lesser breeds without the law in Asia and Africa) blinded thinkers to the necessity of fuller analysis and riper consideration. To this must be added the Marxist working class movement which prevented the refinement of the vital ideas of socialism and communism by politicalisation and even militarisation of the masses mobilising their hunger, jealousy and greed. Marx offered to the fascinated gaze of the poor and disinherited the ecstatic hope of economic salvation here and now.

## PITTING CLASS AGAINST CLASS

But the means he recommended aroused the worst passions of humanity as the motive force of change making for betterment. He did not hesitate to make class-war the basis of his reconstruction, which in fact, he called a revolution. War naturally arouses uncompromising antagonism, irreconcilable conflict, which are reinforced by greed and jealousy. Social

unity was destroyed in whose place Marx put *international class* unity of the working class. The results (after the founding of Revolutionary Communism in Russia in 1917) have developed after the war of 1939-46 into the present tremendous conflict between communist and free Powers with the imminent probability of World War III in the nuclear age.

It is necessary for thinkers in all nations to reassess the sources and truth of the socialist or Leftist movement, and help the world to restart the process of reconstruction on sounder foundations, enabling the poorer sections of people everywhere, to enter into the heritage of humanity and heal the wounds of civilisation.

A fertile way to begin this rethinking is to direct thought to the meaning of economic freedom which was the motivation of socialism. We may also enquire whether and to what extent the great Russian experiment, with its repercussions in China and East Europe, has achieved the reality of economic freedom to the benefit of the vast majority of the working class. But this is another study, unusually beset with difficulties, what with the Iron Curtain and unreliability of official statistics in this part of post-war world. But one thing is clear from the statements of Russian leaders themselves. Mr. Mikoyan confessed, when in India on a visit last year, that great disparities in income between workers and the upper class of scientists, administrators, factory managers, military commanders etc. still existed in his country from 400 roubles to workers to 10,000 roubles in the higher brackets! Obviously then economic freedom or full satisfaction of wants through surrender of all freedom and power to the state has not been achieved even in Russia!

## RUSSIA, A STANDING WARNING

If after forty years of absolute power, over the people, unheard of in the history of the world, the communist dispensation cannot bring economic freedom to the working class, it is clear that the methods by Russia on the recommendation of her Great Teacher, Karl Marx, are wrong.

His wrong methods issue from wrong notions of economic freedom to which Karl Marx jumped without adequate reflection. At the outset we have to recognise that the phrase *economic freedom* has at least two meanings. One is freedom for producing wealth by the use of capital, whether the producer is a single person with tools capable of being used by single persons like a carpenter or shoe-maker, or companies using large-scale machinery. This implies the ownership and management of the means of production or capital. This is the legitimate meaning of economic freedom. Just as political freedom means the participation of the people in the work of government, to check the holders of power and ensure its application only to the common interest, so economic freedom should mean the freedom of people, to use capital for the production of wealth to satisfy their wants, and those of the people through fair exchange. It

should not mean the deprivation of the producer's freedom altogether in favour of government. This would only mean the transfer of the right of the capitalist to the Government, *which would result in transferring freedom to the holders of power exclusively.*

### MARXIAN FALLACY

A justification is often urged in favour of this meaning of economic freedom, which is the essence of Marxism. It is said that true economic freedom can be assured only by absorbing economic power in the State. This would remove the exploitation of the working-class by capitalists, and enable just and equal distribution of surplus value to workers. According to Marx, the economic product and its value are created *solely* by the workers, the owners of capital having no economic function at all! They are entitled to salary as managers if they manage the concern but not to profits. Thus he justified the appropriation of the entire surplus by labour or on behalf of labour by the communist government, on the false and sophistical theory of surplus value.

This view of economic freedom is reinforced by the further consideration that only a socialist government owning all means of production on behalf of labour can succeed in affording social security and guaranteeing the right to work and employment. If these are guaranteed, the worker is guaranteed the basic necessities and amenities of life—food, shelter, clothing, medical assistance and education for children without dependence on the favour of the employing class. "You work honestly, and to the best of your ability, and I shall free you from all economic anxiety"—says the socialist State. This is the socialist meaning of economic freedom.

### THE SHRINKING OF FREEDOM

Nothing is more difficult than to realise in imagination a social and economic system radically different from the one to which we are accustomed. The existence of the Iron Curtain, and the outward signs of success symbolised by the Sputniks make it all the more difficult to understand just how much of human freedom is left in the communist order of things in Soviet Russia. Yet a few facts seem to be indubitable. For one thing, the utmost that could be said is that the kind of freedom that is enjoyed by the Russian working-class is freedom from hunger and want. They have jobs and incomes just about the subsistence level. But they have no other kind of freedom that makes for human dignity. They cannot choose their jobs nor can they choose their place of residence. They cannot combine in trade unions to press their case for betterment or the redress of genuine grievances. They cannot even travel within the country (let alone to foreign lands) without a passport! They have not much margin to save, and put by any money against old age or disability. The only investment possible for him is State loans. He cannot open a store or a shop, repair workshop, or other small concern wherein he can achieve economic freedom, and be his own master. No self-employment is possible to a socialist worker in the land of communism. *He is always at the beck and call of a huge bureaucracy, which is a hierarchy with a single centre of power and influence, which makes it impossible for individuals to move from*

sphere to sphere of work and society in pursuit of congeniality, if there is oppression in any particular circle.

The consumers, too, have very little choice in their purchases of essential goods. Their economic demand does not determine in any significant sense or degree the range of goods produced and put on the market. Production is directed by high policy that may give priority to military goods in preference to consumer goods. In the absence of a free market, prices of goods are unrelated both to cost of production and to consumer demand. The liberty of the consumer, thus is severely restricted in a socialist State.

The quality of human life will inevitably suffer in this suppression of freedom in every walk of life, particularly economic life. The sense of responsibility, the degree of initiative necessary for successful exercise of capacity, for taking advantage of opportunities in production and distribution or trade in accordance with one's own judgement and opportunity to estimate demand and market conditions, commitment to self-directed activity so necessary for the maximisation of production are all impaired by centralised management of economic affairs. In a large country like Russia or China, central planning and management of all units of production and their balancing them against each other and between the claims of the State and those of individual consumption becomes well nigh impossible. It is beyond human capacity and involves the suppression of freedom to those engaged in economic activity at all levels from the manual worker to the manager and commissar. It necessitates continual mal-adjustments between demand and supply in the economy such as over-production and under-production, wastes in every line, direction of too many workers to one line and too few to another etc. The recent accounts of sending office workers to Siberia for agricultural tasks in Russia and similar forcible diversion of educated city people to distant rural areas in China, are examples of such huge maladjustments.

### SOCIALIST STATE IS A HUGE PRISON HOUSE

Economic freedom in this sense of the State taking the entire responsibility for providing every kind of goods and services to all citizens at every level, from vegetable selling and staple foods, clothes, shelter, medicine, amusement, to art and science, involves complete totalitarianism and reduces every kind of worker to the condition of a robot.

Compared with this system, based on a such a view of economic freedom, as consisting in supplanting everyone's right and opportunity, of self-directed efforts to provide for his own wants in a free economy, economic freedom such as we are familiar within democracies (falsely called capitalist economy) is decisively better. For capitalist rule is not an essential characteristic of free economy. As a matter of fact, capitalists will be able to run the economy with the maximum of benefit to all only where the State sets limits to their unrestricted scope for using capital as they like. Free economy is not capitalist economy. Capitalists are to be prevented from establishing monopolies. The State should establish laws against cartels and unfair business practices that enable them to extract prices higher than would prevail under fair and free competition (which is the true meaning

of exploitation). Socialists have thoughtlessly committed themselves to the Marxian theory of exploitation which confounds it with legitimate profit. According to Marxism there is no fair trade or fair profit in a capitalist system, for capitalists are supposed not to contribute at all to production!

### FREE ECONOMY IS NOT "LAISSEZ FAIRE" CAPITALISM

Hence the only true and *viable* meaning of economic freedom is the freedom to citizens to engage in production of their own choice, with their own or borrowed capital. There should be a free market for money and goods and share exchange through banks, private manufacturing units and stock exchanges. There should be free scope for savings and investments. Alternative and competing institutions for saving and investment should be maintained in the

economy, competing against each other to meet the wishes of competing consumers. Plurality of institutions in all spheres of the economy — production, distribution, exchange and consumption — springing from and maintained by the free choice of individuals pursuing their own plan of life is essential for true economic freedom. For this purpose, both monopoly and State capitalism have to be rigorously eschewed. Free economy needs to be maintained by law regulating its activities not with a view to supplant it but with a view to prevent unfair practices. The regulations should play the role of the banks of a river that allow the waters to flow in its proper course but prevent their losing themselves on all sides or regulations should act like queue for boarding buses, entering cinemas or like the rule of the road. They should *maximise* freedom and not annul it altogether. Such economic freedom is indispensable for the successful functioning of republicanism or democracy.

## The Ills The Congress Is Subject To

By Vivek

SOME recent addresses by Congress leaders seem to show real perturbation at Communist advances in many parts of the country. That such advances were inevitable if the general behaviour of Congress leaders and some Congress policies continued unaltered has been pointed out by the student of affairs for many years. The inexperienced, inflated by power, hardly ever wish to recognise unpleasant facts. They prefer to continue in the pleasant paths marked out by their own custom. The energy that should be devoted to reconsideration and self-reform they more usually divert to the decrial of those pointing out their errors and the reduction of their influence as much as possible by curtailing their venues. Yet now that anxiety seems at last to be making some impact on the leading minds in the Congress, it may be useful to state briefly the basic changes necessary if the Communist onslaught is to be held, and the Communist forces enfeebled by the time the next elections come round.

The reliance of the Congress for its party and election funds on large business, especially speculative and not too scrupulous tax-evading business, must cease. The Congress must become a party supported by regular small contributions from a large number of people. Time and again has it been demonstrated how this could be done. The advantage that would follow from live grassroots work and contact with about twenty lakh members spread throughout the country, paying six rupees a year each, are too obvious to need elaboration. Becoming a real party of the people, the Congress would need no longer to truckle to the interests of the individual, of those who now are generally regarded as its patron and because of whom, its actions in particular cases bring it into disrepute.

### COMPROMISING SON!

Honesty in every respect, adherence to public virtue, however unpleasant the consequences in family and community circles, must be the rule all Congressmen

in positions of power. Surveying the country as a whole, it is difficult to find more than a very few Congress dignitaries in Government and party with a reputation for complete disinterestedness. Almost invariably, even to those admitted to be personally above reproach, there is tagged a compromising son, nephew, caste fellow, communal or regional bias. Public opinion holds that few indeed of those who have been in ministerial and other important political appointments since Independence have not bettered in material matters the conditions of themselves or their appendages, directly or indirectly.

The unwillingness of the highest Congress authorities to have investigated impartially specific allegations against important Congressmen and their anxiety to maintain in power well-known figures, even though their past fame has now extended its limits to cover positively insalubrious areas of action are very potent factors in the decline of public trust in the Congress. Methods for proper investigation that while safeguarding those in authority from wild attacks would bring out the truth, were suggested many years ago, but no ears are so deaf as those that having heard, are determined not to heed.

Simplicity of living, the avoidance of ostentation and grandeur, these were what the Indian people expected of the Congress in power. Compliance with these would have brought to the Congress both respect and affection. But at Delhi and the State capitals are to be found in high party officials, Congress Governors and Ministers, a body of men who seem intent on vying in their manner of living, personal and official, not only with the Lat and Counsellor Sahebs of the immediate past, but even on going beyond them to the Grand Moghul, his Subedars and Rajahs.

The Adviser would put out the electric lights in the rooms he was not using, and later, all the lights in his bungalow, save perhaps one in the porch, but the residences of Ministers in many a State capital blaze

with electric lights all night long. The Adviser was content with a brick compound wall built many years ago, painted yellow and white, but the Minister must replace it with ornamental stone at a cost of thousands to the public.

Luxury in office and home, and a high standard of amenities for the rulers are perhaps regarded as some compensation for the poverty of the country ruled over. Public functions and edifices must be on the same grandiose scale. Never, perhaps has there been such expenditure on mere showing-off as today; never such an efflorescence of building at the public cost in cities and towns all over the country. Augustus found Rome of brick and left it of marble, but Augustus obtained the money from colonial areas abroad. He gave the Romans something for nothing.

The Congress has neither Augustus tastes nor his capacity. It diverts the funds of the country badly needed for essential purposes to garish structures. Independence of financial interests—true contact with the people, honesty and praiseworthy simplicity, these must be the cornerstones of Congress behaviour, if it wishes to see no more Communist victories.

### IS CONGRESS TRULY DISTRESSED

But is the Congress party truly distressed at Communist success? Is there not a certain ambivalence in the attitude of some of its most powerful men towards the Communists? Within the Union Government itself, one of the most important appointments, that of the Minister of Defence, is held by Krishna Menon, widely alleged to be a strong partisan and supporter of the Soviet Union and international communism.

This in itself boosts the morale of the Communist Party in India. Its members cannot but feel that right at the centre of power they have a real friend. Naturally, Krishna Menon has hardly ever had anything to say against the Communists. His chief, the Prime Minister, to whom he owes this high position does from time to time attack the Communists but his wrath, too, is reserved for the Communists within the country. Towards the Communists outside and the rulers of Communist States and of countries held by the Communists, he has sympathy to the point of rarely raising even a word at their most questionable activities. His policy, he says, is non-alignment, but as has been demonstrated, on innumerable occasions, it is more non-aligned with the opponents of the Communists than with the Communists.

This too, must be a source of great encouragement to the Communists in India and must expand their influence with the Indian people. The Communists can rightly say to themselves "Mr. Nehru is not our direct friend. Declaredly he is even opposed. Yet he is particularly friendly with those from whom we derive not only our doctrine but also receive continuous guidance and assistance. He cannot but be aware of the links that bind us and them. Obviously then though not our strong friend, he is by no means an enemy."

### LITTLE WRONG

The Indian people, too, with their respect for Mr. Nehru's views, are impressed with the fact that he finds little wrong in the actions of International Communism and accordingly, cannot hold a really adverse

opinion about internal Communism. The presence in the Cabinet of Krishna Menon combined with this policy then assists considerably Communist expansion. These together mean a softness towards the Communists, and a turning of the blind eye on their acts and deeds, of which they take the fullest advantage. It means the making by the Government of India of the Communist Party into a respectable political party for which Indian citizens can vote without feeling that they are thereby endangering their country's independence and their own personal rights under its Constitution.

The continuance of the Communist Government in Kerala is another indication of this same policy. There can be little doubt that if it were not for advice and persuasion from high quarters in Delhi, the Communist Government in Kerala would have been beaten long before this, thus blunting the spearhead of the Communist attack, and diminishing greatly its influence. In these respects fundamental change is necessary, if the Congress is at all serious about holding the Communists.

### SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

The Congress has declared its determination to bring about a socialistic pattern of society in India. This necessarily involves checking exploitation, reducing glaring inequalities, providing work and minimum standard of living for all citizens. In the circumstances of India, it means the undertaking of a most gigantic and onerous task. Vested interests, economic and social, must be upset. Substantial opposition is inevitable. Yet the task must go forward and the people will judge the Congress even more by the sincerity and vigour of its efforts in these directions than by the success attained by them. Any falling back, any refusal to move, especially in economic policy, will affect Congress prestige and morale. The weak sisters, the persuaders to 'peace in our time, oh, Lord' and the continuance of conditions as they are in economic policy, cannot be listened to, even if refusal leads to the parting of the ways with them.

Particular policies again, such as those about food or agricultural credit must be based upon recognition and understanding of the actual position and real difficulties and needs. Food production does not increase because of the fixation of targets in the Planning Commission nor is agricultural credit adequately and widely disturbed because the Planning Commission holds single village co-operative societies to be sacrosanct.

Finally, the Congress must be prepared to revise unwise decisions, such as that of the maintenance of bilingual Bombay, which have enabled the Communists, taking advantage of genuinely popular grievances, to build up their strength in areas where it was negligible. Mr. Nehru may seek to reassure himself and doubting colleagues by recalling that organisational weaknesses have been a recurrent feature of Congress history and have never really affected its existence or vitality, but he and other Congressmen would do well to remember that formerly there were always behind the Congress the appeal and strength of the national movement, and that its enemies were neither in craft nor in unscrupulousness ever equal to the deadly Communists.

# PLANNED CHAOS

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

**I**N the pre-independence era all the economic ills were placed at the door of the foreign rulers and our leaders had drawn a rosy picture before the people, and it was believed that after independence our country would enjoy prosperity, but unfortunately our country is faced with a difficult economic situation after ten years of independence, which is the cause of concern both to the Government and the people. Our country is in the process of an enormous development programme and there is nothing spectacular if the people experience hardship and privation, but the situation cannot be overlooked by calling it a natural effect of developmental economy. It is a fact that in an effort to change the economic structure of a backward and underdeveloped economy there are strains and stresses in some sectors, but an all-round deterioration in the economic situation is mainly due to basic mistakes in our planning which is not based on intelligence and foresight, and which failed to meet the basic requirements of the people.

## THE FOOD SITUATION

Again there is no proper co-ordination between the different policies of the Government. There is shortage of foodgrains which has caused great hardships to the common man. The Ministers talk of increasing the food production of this country, but this objective cannot be achieved rapidly without importing large quantities of fertilizers from abroad, but as we are facing foreign exchange crisis, due to bunglings of the Ministers, it will not be possible to import fertilizers and the only solution is to give up the fertilizer projects. The food problem is not a short-term problem but it will be with us as long as our country does not attain self-sufficiency in food. It is the duty of every citizen of India to meet this difficult situation, but he has every right to know how this crisis was originated.

## PLANNING BY AMATEURS

The main cause of this crisis is the Government and not the people. Our Ministers are amateurs in the field of administration and it is our folly to expect solution of economic problems at the hands of Khaddarwadi Congressmen ignorant of economics. In order to have rapid economic development of the country, our leaders have introduced Five Year Plans. Our First Five Year Plan was introduced in the year of 1951 which came to an end in 1956. It was mainly based on agriculture as 44.4% of the total outlay was earmarked for agriculture. In 1956 we have introduced the bold and over-ambitious Second Five Year Plan, with an emphasis on heavy and basic industries, without realising the fact that our country is not self-sufficient in food supplies. It was wrongly assumed by our leaders that our First Five Year Plan was a

grand success, but in the opinion of the present writer it was an utter failure, as it was not able to achieve the objectives, namely, raising the standard of life, solving the problem of unemployment etc. etc. We are still asked by our leaders to tighten our belts, and with the same mouth, they tell us that we have succeeded in their plan.

## PLANNED CHAOS

The Government, it seems, have realised their mistake in not assigning the first priority to agriculture, but as yet, no concrete steps have been taken by the Government to solve the food problem. The Government have neglected programmes which are essential for intensive farming in order to get the maximum production, namely minor irrigation projects, improved seeds, fixation of just rent and ceiling of land holdings, but on the contrary our Government have undertaken major irrigation projects which are unprofitable to farmers, and which are harmful to our agriculturists in India.

In addition to food shortage we are faced today with a very critical situation. Unemployment is increasing day by day, and a number of mills are closing due to taxation policy of the Government. The credit and currency policies, taxation structure are all responsible for this situation. The industrial policy of the Government of India is halting and detrimental to the rapid industrialization of the country. Our taxation policy is not based on actual facts, but it is mainly based to get maximum revenue for the Second Five Year Plan, and to plug every hole of possible evasion. The measures of taxation cause a considerable burden to businessmen, and they have retarded the industrial growth by inhibiting savings and capital formation.

Small saving industries which can become the basis of industrialisation have not been properly cared for. During the last eighteen months the prices are rising and the Government could not succeed in bringing them to normal level. The rise in prices has caused hardships to people with fixed income, but the variation in prices of commodities, at different periods and different regions, and between manufactured goods and agricultural goods, has helped hoarders and speculators. The Government have failed to establish a stable price level in our country. Unless the Government stabilise the price level it is not possible to avert the present crisis.

## GOVERNMENT BLOW HOT AND COLD

The taxation policy is also inconsistent with the objective of the Government of India, namely, raising the standard of living of the common man, and of reducing economic inequalities. Indirect taxes which have increased much more than the direct taxes have

affected the common man adversely. Even the essential articles of life are not free from these taxes, and in spite of this our Finance Minister says, "We want to give complete freedom to everybody to grow to the best of his capacity—mental, moral and physical, but we don't want anybody to grow at the cost of others. That is the limit which everybody ought to impose upon himself and if that is not done it becomes the business of the State to do this" Is it ever possible to anyone "to grow to the best of his capacity" with this heavy burden of taxation? Is there any freedom in this country? It has become a crime in this country to own wealth, to spend it, or to give in charity. In other words, we are not allowed even to consume the things that we wish to consume. At every stage the Government intervene and yet the Finance Minister says that he wants to give *complete freedom*. Such irresponsible statements can only be made by ministers, to whom economics is Greek and Latin.

### KILLING PRIVATE INITIATIVE

In order to develop one's own personality, one must be free from State interference. In the words of T. H. Green, the duty of the State is to remove "the hindrance of hindrances" but unfortunately our Government place hindrances in the path of the people "to develop their personality". The taxation policy has reduced the capacity of the people to save and invest. Businessmen in India are not very enthusiastic to invest their capital because firstly of the confiscatory nature of taxation policy, and secondly after heavy taxation there is very little to invest. The implications of new taxation policy have not been realised by the people of this country. As the incidence of the taxes will be felt, the economic activity in this country will be greatly reduced. *In order to plug the real and imaginary holes a pattern of taxation has been devised which can achieve only one result in killing the initiative of private enterprise.* Unless our taxation policy is changed it is difficult to see how further development on extensive scale can take place.

The Finance Minister has recently said that Prof. Kaldor's proposals on which our confiscatory pattern of taxation is based could not be accepted, as his proposals were based on insufficient knowledge of our economic conditions. If that is so, then the whole tax system, which has caused so much chaos should be scrapped off. Did the Government invite Prof. Kaldor to reform our taxation system with insufficient data? Was it fair and just on the part of Dr. Kaldor to put our country into chaos? Did he not know that our Finance Ministers, not well-versed in Economics, would accept his proposals in parts, and put the country into chaos? It is futile to blame Prof. Kaldor for the mess, for the simple reason that his proposals were integrated and comprehensive. They should be either accepted or rejected *in toto*. But our Finance Minister plucked a few flowers from the whole bunch and made a mess of the whole thing. By these proposals initiative of the private enterprise has been killed. At present what we require is increased production but under present conditions it is not possible. Stability of currency is one of the most important conditions for expanding economy. Unless the people have faith in the value of money they will not work, save and invest. Our Government have failed to bring the price level to the normal level. As a result of

this, inflation has set in, but unfortunately our Finance Minister is not prepared to accept that there is inflation in our country. He says "no inflation worth the name is in the country even though we have shouted very loudly about a rise in prices; rise in prices was not much compared with what had been noticed in the world as a whole". This clearly shows that our Finance Minister is unaware of the actual conditions prevailing in the country that the people have to face, or else he is turning his Nelson's eye to it.

Over and above this he has decided to resort to deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 1200 crores. There will be larger supply of purchasing power in the money market without concomitant increase in production. The consequence of this policy will be a rise in price level and ultimately complete breakdown of the economy as a whole.

In the Second Five Year Planning Commission has put a very great emphasis on heavy and basic industries, without realising the fact that agriculture is the basic industry in our country. Agriculture supplies food to everyone, including the increasing industrial population. It also supplies raw materials for industry. It provides a market for consumers goods and producers goods required for agricultural production. At the early stage of the economic development this market is indispensable for industrialisation and capital formation. It also provides foreign exchange by exporting agricultural products to get imports equipment, and materials required for the industry.

The only solution to overcome the present chaos is to give full scope to the private enterprise. Private enterprise, based on profit motive, is *a sine qua non* of the economic progress. Government has not realised this fact and the result is that the ruling party is under illusion, namely that it is the only party which is the repository of wisdom, foresight and intelligence. Now time has come to tell our rulers that if the economic development is to be achieved on right lines, then they must have the co-operation of all the people. Ten years of administration by these amateurs in Khaddar have put the country today in a mess, and only the combined efforts of all can save the situation. During these ten years these amateurs have created more problems for the people and created chaos. Corruption, nepotism, bribery, scandals have become common and this is mainly due to inefficiency of our amateurs. *Free economy and less of government interference alone can save the present crisis.* Unless this is realised by the ruling party it is not possible to put our economy on sound basis. "The private sector, with its experience and ability, to mobilise individuals resources for the development of country's commerce and industry with expediency, efficiency and economy based on the incentives of the legitimate profits, should not only be enabled but even encouraged to play its part in production of more wealth and providing more employment at the minimum cost to the nation". Our problem is building up an under-developed economy into an integrated economy which will satisfy the basic needs of the millions of our people, raise their standard of life with limited financial and technical resources. Profit motive is not bad. Exploitation can be avoided by proper fiscal and monetary policies, but to curb down the initiative of the private enterprise

# Road Transport In India

By Kishore Valicha

THE success or failure of economic planning in India depends upon a number of factors. Among these, some are of vital importance and these consequently deserve primary consideration, while others are only instrumental and mediatorial. The nature of these factors and their relative urgency depend both upon the previous progress this country has made and the mode of planning that has been granted by officialdom.

The last ten years in India have witnessed what may now be termed, a concerted drive towards a planned economy. In particular, this tendency has found specific expression in the Second Five Year Plan now in force. In view of this, it becomes necessary to consider the chasms and crevices that may in the course of time come to muster sufficient enormity so as to pull the Plan apart. Of such a nature and immensity is the lack of transport facilities in India. *Prima facie*, the railways are inadequate to meet the full requirements of transport; the burden subsequently falls on the shoulders of road operators. In other words, if our Plan has to be carried out and our economic development is not to be retarded, the burden of moving the goods and the people will fall on road transport facilities.

## IMPORTANCE OF TRANSPORT

We need not deplore, for road transport can meet this challenge with the provision in view that the Government is going to do its job and render the Road Ministry the support it needs. But the construction of roads by itself is not enough; what is of more importance is the significant consideration of stepping up vehicular output. We have not merely to build

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is to retard the progress of our economy. It is free economy that produced a "miracle" in Western Germany. Ludwig Frehard, Germany's Economic Minister and a staunch supporter of free market economy pointed this up in the issue of "TIME". 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 capacity as consumers and dissolve all advantages which do not result directly from higher performance. Free competition thus tends to progress and profits for the whole social order.

A famous scientist once summed up the difference between a socialist and capitalist in the following terms: "A capitalist, he said, is a man who, if he himself is living well doesn't mind if others are living better. A socialist, on the other hand, is a man who doesn't care how badly he himself is living so long as nobody is allowed to live better". So FREE ECONOMY is the only remedy for the present planned chaos in India.

roads, we have urgently to construct vehicles to run on these roads.

The Tariff Commission in its Report submitted an estimated demand for 50,000 vehicles by 1960-61. Of these, 70 to 80% would be run on diesel engines, a figure which works out to approximately 82,000 diesel oil engines by 1960-61. Diesel oil engines are at present being manufactured by our firms in India. According to reports, Messrs. Simpson & Co., who are doing some 8000 annually, can manufacture 12,000 engines by the required time, provided that they can expand their capacities. The Automobile Products of India, from reports gathered, promise to manufacture 3000 Meadows engines, while Tata-Mercedes-Benz, Jamshedpur hope to take up the manufacture of Mercedes engines during the last stage of their phased programme which will result in about 12,000 engines by the required time. Finally, Ashok-Leyland, Madras, appear to have undertaken the manufacture of 3000 engines by 1960-61.

## SAVING IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

As these figures go to show, the targets established by the Tariff Commission are capable of realization. Yet it is fair to sound a premonitory tocsin. The targets are indubitably attainable, provided the manufacturers will be able to execute their plans with pliant flexibility. It is estimated that an economy of Rs. 23 to 80 crores of foreign exchange as a result of development programmes under the Second Plan can be effected by an indigenous production of diesel engines, compressors, blowers and fans. The largest saving on vehicular diesel engines alone has been worked out at between Rs. 7.97 and 13.97 crores.

This being so, it behoves us to enquire into the duties and responsibilities of the Government of India in such a situation. Very many factors are detrimental to the rapid progress of road transport, which has to be considered in determining the future of vehicular diesel engine production in this country. Nearly all these factors arise from an almost avowed indifference on the part of the Government of India.

A fruitful method by which diesel engine production can be stepped up is by channelizing the unutilized capacities of smaller firms towards producing isolated component parts of diesel engines. Besides harnessing the idle capacities dormant in smaller firms, it will reduce much of the labour of major diesel engine producers, while the assembling can be done by the latter. This is a suggestion that can be profitably employed as it will go a long way in facilitating production.

Another pointer that may not be ignored refers to the duty of the Government. The special licences, granted to the major diesel engine producers may complicate the situation if not made proper use of. Towards this end a recriminatory step appears advisable in cases where expected figures have not been reached, due solely to the deliberate apathy the part of

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# THE TEXTILE CRISIS

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

INDIA is passing through an unprecedented crisis in the textile industry since the war. It is indeed a serious thing if recessionary symptoms like mill closures and unemployment manifest in a growing economy. The economic condition of the textile industry has become so perilous that many mills, even well-established units, are seriously considering reducing normal production by closing down one shift with a view to cutting down losses. 26 units have stopped working and 25,000 workers have already been affected. The Chairman of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association has warned that 40 to 50 mills employing over 50,000 men will soon have to follow suit if the present grave textile crisis continues. The curtailment of shifts in Bombay city has affected 20,000 workers. The textile industry which is our only major industry providing employment to hundreds of thousands, contributing an annual sum of more than Rs. 140 crores as taxes to the Central and State governments and earning for the country a considerable amount of precious foreign exchange is now confronted with the prospect of closure of a number of its units.

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the firm in question. It is hoped the Government will withdraw the special privileges in such cases. The principle underlined refers to the peremptory expediency of the situation, which prevails and which affects directly the development of road transport. The urgency of the situation must perforce rouse in the Government a maximum vigilance in all its dealings, particularly when special licences are involved.

## A RETROGRADE STEP

Finally, while considering the factors likely to discourage the current trend towards dieselisation, the practice, particularly of State Governments, to levy additional taxes on diesel oil is highly deplorable. A pointed reference was made to this tendency by the Tariff Commission in its Report on the Automobile Industry. The Commission strongly recommended that no measure be adopted which would deprive the operator and, consequently, the consumer, of the advantage of the disparity between the prices of diesel oil and petrol, as this added advantage has been found to play an important part in popularizing diesel transport.

In fine, it must be pointed out that the policies pursued by the Government make the future ambiguous to an extreme degree and reduce the efforts of diesel engine manufacturers to nullity. As it is conceded, diesel power plays a vital role in the scheme of economic progress and in all varieties of industrialization. It is in the interests of the people, that the Government, set up, healthier conditions for a facile and smooth production of diesel engines. The conditions should be with a view to helping private small manufacturers meet the requirements of transport in India, probably the most vital necessity of the day.

What has led to this deepening textile crisis is the sharp rise in food prices, the tight monetary conditions, the heavy excise duties on mill cloth and the recent tightening of restrictions on bank advances against textiles which has resulted in a sharp decline in the offtake of several individual cloth traders. The result is that there is a heavy accumulation of cloth stocks with mills, the estimated value of which is said to be about 50% of the entire paid-up capital of the industry and the slump in the textile prices lately. Nearly Rs. 60 crores of finance, it is said, has been locked up — consequent on the heavy accumulation of cloth stock. The abnormal accumulation of stocks with mills, coupled with consumer resistance and lower purchasing power of the common man, has been forcing the mills to undersell so much so that the very economy of the textile industry has been perilously shaken.

The textile industry is now compelled to make drastic cuts in cloth prices. The mills cannot be expected to continue to make distress sales of their output for an indefinite period. Many mills which published their accounts last year have shown a sizeable loss. No industry can afford to lose indefinitely and still survive.

If no immediate steps are taken to reduce the burden on this premier national industry, another 50 mills might close down throwing out of employment over 50,000 persons for the 2nd Five Year Plan to absorb in its own good time! The Government, far from solving the unemployment problem which it promise to do through its Second Five Year Plan, has aggravated it by positive actions. Immediate abolition of the excise duty altogether and liberalising of the present restrictions on bank advances against textiles can alone resolve the deepening textile crisis.

The present Government's policy of levying excise duties on Indian mill cloth is prompted not by economic considerations but pure Gandhian sentiments with a view to propping up the outdated Khaddar industry. No amount of government props and the rebate on the sales of Khaddar can ever make the dying Khadi industry stand on its own legs. In fact, the present policy of pampering the Khaddar industry at the expense of textile industry is, for the sheer absurdity of it, analogous to drawing vital blood from a healthy body in a futile bid to revive a dead one by transfusion. The idea of making Khaddar compete with mill cloth is chimerical in the extreme. Right in the home town of Gandhij, Ahmedabad, a recent survey carried out by the students of the Gujerat University, made a startling disclosure that 85% of the people prefer the mill cloth to Khaddar. Khaddar today has become the symbol of corruption, inefficiency, hypocrisy and double-talk. Mill cloth is cheaper, more durable, less expensive, more decent than and much superior to, the drab, ugly, rough and costly Khaddar. Moreover, there are a thousand varieties of mill cloth to select from to suit one's purse and taste. But, as far as Khaddar is concerned, the choice, if at all there is any, is between coarse Khaddar and coarser Khaddar.

# 'Free' Education Is A Fraud

**T**HE White Cap, and the white cap includes the white turban, has proved more full of tricks than the the proverbial hat. The latest stunt is "free education". The Punjab Government propose to introduce free education upto Matriculation in all Government Schools. How good-sounding! And yet how ill-meaning!

Already the scales are weighted heavily against private schools. Government schools receive more grants in aid than private schools. They can, therefore, afford to charge lower fees. And yet most people prefer to send their wards to private schools. The conclusion is inescapable that on the whole private schools are better run. But that is no consideration to the Punjab Government set on the way to totalitarianism. Rather the superiority of most private schools becomes, for it, an argument to kill them so as to establish the hegemony of Government over the education of the coming generation.

The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) Educational Institutions, the Chief Khalsa Dewan (C.K.D.) and the Santan Dharma (S.D.) Sabha have a proud record of service in the field of education. They may be said to be the moulders of modern Punjab with all its drive, its prosperity and its general enlightenment. Today all these three educational services running thousands of schools are unanimous that education must be free in all schools—private and Governmental or in neither. But the Government would not listen. Dictators never cared for public opinion.

## A FRAUD

The Punjab Government has already taken over all the District Board schools in the province. Even so, it is running only 20% of the schools in the State. And now it wants to starve out the remaining 80%. Will it be able to digest what it devours? Perhaps not. But what does it care if educational facilities diminish—so long as the Government is left a lone wolf in education? Maybe men with local influence will flood Government schools giving free education. The backward sections of society, with no influence to command, may be forced to join what private schools may be left, and pay their fees. The whole thing is retrograde and anti-people. In the name of "free" education the poorer sections alone may be left to pay their fees!

When education upto Matriculation becomes free all over the State it will cost the Punjab Government some crores of rupees every year. With this money it could transform the economy of the State. But regimes wanting to "condition" the people are interested more in controlling education than in increasing employment. They know that they can exercise totalitarian power only over a population "conditioned" in their favour!

## PEOPLE WILL BE TAXED

They say they are going to make education free and they expect to be cheered for the favour. But would it be free? Are the ministers going to pay for the people's education out of their pockets which

have no doubt bulged fat during their years of office? Certainly not. *Every rupee spent on education will have been paid by the people in the form of increased taxes.* Nor is that all. For every rupee spent on "free" education the people would have been taxed something like two rupees—to pay for the appointment of more education officers, and for the enlarged establishment with all its corruption and waste! Such then are the economics of this wonderful "free education."

*The Government has imposed an education cess to make it "free".* The question is: why should education be free only in Government Schools when the cess will be paid by all people regardless of whether their wards are studying in private or Government schools? But to that there is no reply. *Because a correct reply would demolish the Government's case for not giving enough grant to private schools to make education free there too.*

## TINKERING AND TAMPERING

These ten years of Congress rule have seen gross tampering with school text books. Old texts, which tended to form character, have been replaced by new ones glorifying Congress leaders. We have great respect for Kasturba. But we know she was no more than a good old lady of whom nobody would have heard anything but for the fact that she happened to be the wife of Gandhiji. Nevertheless in the new text books Kasturba is more important than Sita Mata! A regular prostitution of our educational system has gone on so that today the school which shouts "Nehru Chacha" the loudest is adjudged the best. Private schools are a partial check on this brain-washing of our young generation. They provide medium of moral-religious instruction which is taboo in Government schools. But that is precisely why the Government is out to destroy them.

Government schools have an important place in the scheme of education. They can provide free education to the socially or economically backward. The Government could also set up first class schools to act as a model for private schools. There could be a competitive co-existence of private and Government schools in which each would gain by the example of the other. We hope the Congress has not cast its die for dictatorship. We hope—against hope—that it will meet reason with reasonableness, and not with the bulldozer of State power.

—'Organiser'

## RS. 1 LAKH ON POLICE "BANDOBAST" FOR NEHRU FOR ONE DAY

Bombay: Shri Shantilal Shah, Labour Minister, Government of Bombay, who was deputising for the Chief Minister, in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, stated that the amount of expenditure incurred by the Government on "police bandobast" between Poona and Pratapgrah at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Chhatrapati Shivaji by Prime Minister Nehru was Rs. 95,527.

## DELUGE OF RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA STUFF OVER INDIA

LONDON: "The enormous volume of subsidised Communist literature flooding into India", is the subject of Gordon Shepherd's despatch in *Daily Telegraph*.

One organisation alone—Russia's foreign language publishing House in Moscow—is estimated to be sending books into India at the rate of nearly 4,00,00 a year and the journal's New Delhi correspondent cites statistics to show how the Kremlin, using this and other sources, has expanded its drive during the last three years.

These figures indicate that in 1957, Russia's propaganda efforts in books were spread through 135 titles totalling 2,900,000 copies. This compares with six titles and 78,000 copies in the preceding year and with two titles and 17,000 copies in 1955.

The books are broadly divided into three types; translations into English and Hindustani of established Russian classics of the pre-Communist era; standard Marxist works in translation form and insidious and expanding category of books with an indirect propaganda appear.

As an example of this last type, the correspondent said the Russians have distributed a "beautifully produced" English version of a Russian space-travel story for young people. This traces the story of man's conquest of the air "as though it were almost exclusively a Russian achievement". Newton gets a passing mention for his theory of gravity, but the aeroplane itself is treated as something which arose in Russia. All the Communist publications have one thing in common. "Their ridiculously cheap price."

The space travel book, for example, is published at about one sixth of its value by normal commercial standards. According to the correspondent, a significant feature of "this massive Communist campaign" is its emphasis on the vernacular tongues in India.

For instance, 23 new Russian works have just appeared in Tamil and these were not imported but brought out by four Madras publishers under Russian contract. Emphasis is also on the vernacular in the periodicals published by the Russian Embassy in New Delhi. One, the most important, now runs to over 200,000 copies an issue and of these only, 30,000 are in English and only 33,000 in Hindi. Some 34,000 appearing in the Bengali language and about the same number are put out in Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada.



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

The western world's reply to this "Communist deluge" is small. The American output of locally produced periodicals about matches the Russian, "but the British Council ploughs its decorous furrows, concentrating on maintaining standards of good English in the country."

The correspondent concludes by warning: "A part of the cultural lead built up by centuries of British connection has been wiped out by less than four years of vast and ever-expanding communist campaign."

## TOTALITARIAN TAXATION KILLS DEMOCRACY

The other aspect of the new tax laws is the growing interference with the individual freedom. The tendency of the State to encroach, more and more on the freedom of the individual, is as clearly reflected in recent tax as in their branches of the law.

Let us make no mistake. *Civil liberty and individual freedom can die* as surely, though not as swiftly, in a democracy as it can in a totalitarian State. The nose-counting method — one man one vote — will certainly survive. But it is only the husk of democracy. *When civil liberty and individual freedom are excessively restricted, it is poor consolation to know that the persons responsible for such a state of affairs were the elected representatives of the people.*

—A. D. Shroff on "Recent Changes in Tax Structure"

(Continued from Page 4)

Government that criminal slackness (if no worse) on the part of responsible persons is scotched.

## ARMY STORES PURCHASE SCANDAL AGAIN

Mr. V. K. Krishnan who got his jeep scandal buried through the kindness of the Prime Minister and rose on its grave to Cabinet position was the subject of attack again in Parliament. It appears that the Defence Department has not cast off its habit of making purchases of doubtful army stores. The goods bought are not up to standard. Mr. Menon's reply that "they suffice for our purposes" is adding insult to injury. What is the suggestion of the reply? Does it mean that since anyhow our policy of buddhist non-violence in all eventualities is there, shoddy weapons (guns that do not go off and planes that do not leave the ground)—do *not* greatly matter? The condition of affairs in the Defence department needs close scrutiny. The post of Defence Minister should, without loss of time, go to more reliable hands.

## OUR P. M. ATTEMPTS TO SHIELD PAKISTAN

The Prime Minister and Mrs. Lakshmi Menon answered in reply to questions that Indian dacoits are helped by Pakistanis just across the border with shelter and even fast vehicles. Characteristically, our chivalrous Prime Minister took pains to analyse the situation carefully to absolve the Pakistani Government from complicity in this matter! He even suggested that such help is being given by Pakistani local groups without the knowledge and sanction or aid from the Government at Karachi!

# To Prosper, Man Must Be Free

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

## I

Every living thing must behave according to its nature if it is to live successfully.

As simple illustrations: "fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly".

Less simple is the requirement that man, in order to improve his material welfare to its highest level, *must be free*.

This is not true of all efficient economies.

The bees and the ants, for example, have highly efficient totalitarian economies.

The worker ants on the cover, bringing in leaves to fertilize their fungus crop, accept without question their preordained station in life.

In this society there is no effort to "improve oneself": the rations of fungus each one is allowed to eat depends absolutely upon which caste it belongs to.

Needless to say, the workers get the least and the rulers get the most.

This way of life must conform to natural order for ants because they live highly successfully.

## II

But man's material welfare are based on no caste system, no preordained station in life, no limitations on how far above the crowd he can raise his stature.

Every normal man is born with hopes and aspirations, and his mind and muscles function at their peak efficiency only when he is able to use them in working for the goals that he personally desires.

It is true that human economies can "get along" without following this natural law.

The pyramid-building Egyptians kept going for a long time but they never improved their economy to any extent because they did not make the best use of their man-power or knowledge.

For example, the principle of the steam engine—man's greatest helper—was known to the high caste Egyptians but it was "top secret" and used only to manipulate the arms of "sacred" idols and frighten the populace into superstitious obedience.

Think of how many pyramids the Egyptians could have built with steam power!

## III

Evidence that man was meant to be free is found in the fact that man cannot be forced to do anything that he is truly unwilling to do.

Experience with slave labour shows that he will cut off his own hands, smash his legs, or even take his life.

But even if resigned to his lot in life, the man working without hope and against his choice is a poor producer.

From this obvious truth comes another—the chief concern of man's government should be to establish and protect the highest degree of personal freedom possible within the framework of law and order.

The two best current examples of the efficiency of freedom are the United States and Soviet Russia.

Americans are free to dream, plan, try, fail, and try again.

Most Russians do as they are told and take what is given or face punishment as "enemies of the state".

The few Russians who do have freedom, prove the law of freedom.

Chief of these are the Russian scientists who are encouraged, pampered, lionized, and extravagantly rewarded for the effective use of their desperately needed talents.

The success of the Soviet weapons and satellite programmes is ample evidence of how the law works.

## IV

There is a scientific explanation for the superior economic progress of free men.

In science it is called "the results of divergent phenomena" which means the progress that happens accidentally when two or more things are combined without any previous knowledge of what will happen.

In the economic life of any population of men free to think and act, there are thousands of "divergent phenomena" coming together in a never ending stream of imaginative thought.

Although most of them are "duds" there are always a few that results in more or better production of the good things of life.

## V

Freedom, of course, is not the *only* thing required for economic progress, but it is indispensable.

In denying freedom man denies his purpose for being on earth.

Americans have accepted it and have prospered beyond all other peoples.

As the Bible puts it: "Whoso looketh into the *perfect law of liberty* and continueth therein—this man shall be blessed in his deed".



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

## THE DOG-FIGHTS IN BHARAT SEVAK SAMAJ

NEW DELHI: Today the Bharat Sevak Samaj is a house divided against itself. In spite of the fact that only 'yesmen' have been taken in the so-called non-political organization propped up by State finances. The virus of group rivalry prevalent in the ruling party has entered the organisation and is having its full play. The various sections and departments are all functioning as autonomous units and advisers after advisers are being appointed for co-ordinating the activities of these units. In fact there is an adviser for 'Co-ordination' itself!

The situation within this house had gone to such a length that one section was on the point of open revolt, when the President of the organization, Pandit Nehru, had to intervene. He visited the BSS office on 21st March 1958 for the first time in the last five years. An open break has been postponed, but rancour and bitterness persist.

### NOT SERVICE BUT WARRING

In the Kanpur convention to the Samaj, the internal rift for loaves and fishes had reached the highest limit and there were several instances of show-down between the warring camps. It was somehow patched up for some time. The differences, however, went on mounting and again there was a crash which was just going to break the institution. The chief antagonists are Minister Nanda, chairman of BSS, and R. N. Chaudhury, Information Secretary of BSS.

It is reliably learnt that the resolutions adopted at the convention of the BSS at Kanpur, were changed materially before they were sent to the Press. Objections were raised by certain persons over this, and in order to silence them into submission, the Administrative Committee of the Samaj at its meeting on 18th March condemned them and made wild allegations about their activities.

Bharat Sevak Samaj, started five years ago at the instance of the Government of India, under cover of a non-political non-party organization, is gradually coming out openly as a baby of the ruling party, financed from the Public Exchequer. Late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Shri Jaya Prakash Narain and Shri Ashoka Mehta, who associated themselves with this institution in its early stages, had to withdraw their co-operation when they found out the real purpose of this institution.

The Administrative Committee of the BSS had decided by a resolution that persons connected with it should not take active part in politics. Shri Govind Sahay was accordingly asked to quit BSS when he decided to enter the legislature. But the same rule does not apply to everyone. For example, Shri Jugal Kishore Khanna, who still draws a decent allowance from the BSS, is devoting all his time and energy to the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, as the Chairman of its ad hoc committee.

Not only some individuals like the above, but also some of the departments of the Samaj, are granted extraordinary privileges and concessions, such as employing new persons. Just to provide jobs to their "favourites", new departments such as "Jan Jagriti Vibhag" are being created to employ unemployed favourites.

All the sections are being flooded by assistants under different denominations. They have no work, and there is none to take work from them. The so-called officers are either on tour, or resting in their house. The office is functioning thus. The drain of public money is beyond comparison. The Press Information Bureau, Government of India, has begun publicising the activities of B.S.S. as though it were a purely governmental organisation!

### In Lighter Vein

Pakistan's entire aim was nothing but to sabotage India because it was jealous of India — Pant.  
We fear this might hurt Nehru.

The trouble with this country is that the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, the symbol of our hope, has become weak-kneed—Asoka Mehta.

A case the people getting the government they deserve.

I do not wish to drive English from India but I will definitely not allow it to become the master of my mind. — Vinoba Bhave.

Mental linguistic of a Saint-in-Khaddar.

Referring to the alleged inconsistency on his part on the language issue, Rajaji said that he had not changed; he had only grown — News.

Dialectical growth, we suppose?

Over a million and a half school text books in Hindi were destroyed in Uttar Pradesh as a result of the Devanagari script reform introduced by the State Government.

One more example of Hindi fanatics right in their home State.

The Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister declined to reveal, *in public interest*, the steps Government had taken to prevent the recurrence of leakage of question papers — News.

Mind your steps.

Mr. Morarji Desai is so pleased with India blades now, that he prefers them to foreign blades. — News.  
The same applies to his Prohibition experiment. Illicit liquor has come to stay in Bombay.

We do not want atomic weapons, because we do not know how to use them. — Firoze Khan Noon.

Perhaps Noon wants the U.S. to teach him how to use them.

There was a time when we were sending out more and more of hides and seeking foreign help to make them into finished goods. — Morarji Desai.

Today thick-skinned Congressmen are begging for foreign aid to prop up a crumbling law.

Moscow Radio announced that 99.97% of the total electorate voted in the national elections to the Supreme Soviet.

A case of cent per cent totalitarianism.

# Another Communist Affair

THE celebration of the sixtieth birthday of the great Negro singer, Paul Robeson turned out to be the usual communist affair. The decision to organise the celebration was taken abroad, obviously, in the higher circles of the international communist movement. Otherwise, it is not possible to explain how the celebrations were organised simultaneously in twenty-six countries, most of whom belonged to the communist camp or were uncommitted nations and how the communists in each country played a prominent part in organising them.

In India the communists got busy as soon as they received the instruction. Immediately the usual fellow-travellers were roped in and with their help a number of high ranking individuals were inveigled into joining the preparatory committees that were set up in a number of cities. On this occasion the task was not very difficult. Paul Robeson is well-known as a singer and there are thousands of persons who love and admire his songs. Who would not like to join the celebration of the sixtieth birthday of this favourite singer? The communists therefore easily succeeded in securing the blessings of the Prime Minister and in persuading a number of Judges and other high officers to join the committees. The association of these prominent persons threw the people off their guard and a communist stunt for propaganda and publicity acquired the colour of a *bonafide* cultural event.

It was the eminent public commentator, Mr. A. D. Gorwala who first drew attention to and exposed the real character of the celebrations. He pointed out that the celebrations were being organised not because Paul Robeson was a great singer but because he was a communist or a fellow traveller and always helped all communist activities. Mr. H. R. Pardivala, the well-known lawyer, followed him. In the course of a letter published in the *Times of India*, Mr. Pardivala wrote:

"Paul Robeson is undoubtedly a great musician. All lovers of music will, therefore, rejoice on his attaining that age. There are however many musicians and other artists living all over the world who have attained equal, if not higher fame and age. Our fellow-travelling friends have of course seen no reason to rejoice over their birthdays.

"The sponsors of this move have sought to beguile the unwary by representing Paul Robeson as a great humanist. The world has yet to know of the humanistic activities of Paul Robeson. The sudden outburst of zeal on the part of the communists to celebrate the birthday of Paul Robeson, the great artiste, should not surprise anybody. It is only a part of their larger game to seek any excuse to further the interests of their party.

"It is common knowledge that to the communists no art is real and no culture worthwhile which does not serve and advance the cause of their party. It is also common knowledge that functions such as this are organised and utilised by them only as snares for indoctrinating the innocent and duping the unwary."

Other letters followed which threw more light on the personality and actions of Paul Robeson. In the course of a letter published in *Indian Express* Mr. Mohan Das pricked the bubble of Paul Robeson's

martyrdom. It had been represented by some correspondents that Robeson had been denied in his native country, the United States; "the right to even earn his living". Mr. Mohan Das nailed the lie to the counter by pointing out that Robeson owned an extensive country house in Connecticut, had unlisted telephone numbers, was free to sing whenever and wherever he chose to, earned a minimum of \$2000 for every concert and had amassed a fortune from his programmes on the radio and the screen.

Some light was also thrown on the alleged championship by Robeson of the cause of Negro emancipation. It was pointed out that the premier organisation of the Negroes, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples, had repudiated him. A quotation from an article in *The Crisis*, the official organ of the Association, will be of interest in this connection. "A few short years ago Negro Americans were proud to point to Paul Robeson as another example of the fallacy of the "white supremacy" myth. . . . . The Paul Robeson whom Moscow today parades before the world is not the same man. . . . They (Negroes) see no similarity between Paul Robeson, American, who overcame the obstacles of discrimination to win world acclaim for his artistic accomplishment and Paul Robeson, Moscow's No. 1 Negro, who spouts Communist propaganda as widely as Vishinsky. . . . Those closest to Paul Robeson in the years through which he rose from obscurity to world fame and respect, are perhaps most shocked about the change he has undergone. To them Paul Robeson of today is a tragic figure."

Robeson is also being applauded as a "great humanist." Mr. Pardivala has questioned that claim and has also thrown light on Robeson's close association with all communist front organisations. He writes:

"Let us next examine his "humanism". Far from upholding the cause of human dignity, he has always justified the inhuman tyranny imposed by the Kremlin on the people of Russia and the satellite countries. He has been affiliated with nearly sixty Communist-front organisations. In 1948 he went on record saying "I want to destroy fascism, and to do it I am prepared to accept the opposite form of dictatorship." Even a tyro in politics will detect the familiar communist line in this declaration. In the same year, in a press interview which he gave in Paris, he publicly defended concentration camps in Soviet Russia. Paul Robeson seems to be able to take the dictates of the Kremlin without hesitation. To him the attack by the Chinese Communists and North Koreans on South Korea was not aggression. The vagaries of the Communist political theory and practice during recent years appear to be to Robeson as immutable as the Ten Commandments. His vehement insistence at the London Conference of the World Peace Committee in 1949 that the non-Cominform delegates from Yugoslavia be ousted, was a stand only an out-and-out party-liner would have insisted on. By following the Stalin line in this inner party squabble, he demonstrated the atrophy of his critical faculty. Only recently he repeated without any compunction the total Khrushchev line and depicted the Hungarian revolt as a movement of "fascists" against "workers"."

The celebrations were organised on a big scale in Bombay, New Delhi and other places. There could be, however, no doubt about their political implications. Mr. M. C. Chagla, the Chief Justice of Bombay, who presided over the celebration in Bombay, himself admitted that the celebrations were being organised because Robeson "was more than a mere artist". This was in answer to the question why, when many other artists had reached the age of sixty, Robeson alone was being honoured with the celebration of his sixtieth birthday. Other advocates and defenders of the celebration have been more explicit. They have all along emphasised the political activities and attitudes of Robeson rather than his artistic talents. It is clear therefore that the celebrations were a political affair.

In his reply to the correspondents who joined issues with him, Mr. Pardivala has in an able manner summed up all these arguments and made some pertinent observations about Mr. Chagla's remark. He writes:

"In his inaugural speech at the C. J. Hall, Mr. Chagla said that it was "a fantastic and malicious lie" to call these celebrations a communist show. This highly "judicial" language was hardly called for. Nobody called Mr. Chagla a Communist, and he need not have protested so much. He would have been more to the point if he had told us where this move originated from. A mere glance at the committee will show that it is largely composed of known fellow-travellers and sympathisers of the Communist Party. As usual they have inveigled a few persons well placed in public life like Mr. Chagla, to join it with the object of giving it respectability and a non-political appearance. Even the posters pasted all over the city betray that they were printed at the Communist Party press where even job work printing of a non-political nature is seldom undertaken.

"It is surprising that persons so well acquainted with the affairs of the world as Mr. Chagla should allow themselves to be exploited by political partisans for their political ends. Simple and unsuspecting people are induced to attend such functions by the belief that there could be no harm in doing so, if persons like Mr. Chagla can preside over them.

"Of all persons in public life those occupying judicial positions must keep themselves above suspicion of sympathising with any political creed. If they do not do so, they will only drag themselves into the arena of public debate, much to the prejudice not only of their personal dignity but also of the prestige of the high office they occupy."

Turning his attention to the communist organisers of the celebrations Mr. Pardivala writes:

"To those comrades and others like them, I would only ask if they know the work done in the cause of Negro emancipation and human dignity by Roland Hayes, Ralph Bunche, Walter White, Max Yergen, Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, Marion Anderson, Dorothy Maynor and a host of other Negro leaders and artists. And what about the eminent artists and writers behind the iron curtain who have dedicated not only their art but also their lives to the noble cause of human freedom and dignity? The number of Russian writers and artists who were shot or consigned to the concentration camp in Russia only because they sought to uphold human dignity and individual freedom is legion. Even today eminent Russian writers like Boris Pasternak find themselves unable to reach the people through their work, because they would not toe the

party line. Great writers in Hungary and other satellite countries like Tiber Dery and others are rotting in prisons because they refuse to accept Russian tutelage and betray their conscience and their country. What about celebrating their birthday? It is time these comrades realised that in underestimating the intelligence of others, they are not doing much credit to their own".

—From *Freedom First*

## THE OLD STORY 'SOUND MONEY AT ALL HAZARDS'

IN the issue of Plain Talk, a Washington, D. C. magazine published by Morris A. Bealle, . . . the following is an excerpt of an article written by Lester O. Wisler.

"It makes no difference WHETHER OR NOT you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket — *both these major political parties have but one Plank written exactly the same: 'We advocate a Sound Currency to be preserved at all hazards.'*

"Although both parties have been called upon many times to explain just what is meant by the last three words '*at all hazards*', they have successfully evaded the question. Does it mean debt-slavery? Does it mean starvation of the masses?

*Not a dollar's worth of Federal Reserve System capital is owned by the United States Government — yet the full and complete authority to issue the money and credit of this country has been delegated to the Federal Reserve (private) Corporation by unconstitutional laws enacted by our Congress.*

Article I, Section 8, paragraph 5 of the Constitution of the United States specifically grants the sole power to Congress as its sole duty: '*To issue the money and regulate the value thereof.*' Our Congress has completely failed in its duty to carry out this section of the Constitution which every member of Congress has sworn to uphold. President Lincoln caused nearly 400 millions of "Greenback" Dollars to be issued, free of interest-debt, but the Wall Street Banksters do not want any more of these "Greenback" UNITED STATES NOTES issued.

A vast portion of all money in circulation in the United States today is based on credit-loans made by the Federal Reserve Notes, borrowed by the Federal Reserve System, on the securities furnished in the form of Mortgages and Trust Deeds of the American people, whose sole credit these 'financiers' are using and making them pay interest on their own stolen credit.

If Congress would do what this section of the Constitution provides, most of our economic troubles would be solved. There would be no deflation or inflation of the American dollar if Congress "*regulated the value of money*" as called for by our Constitution. Congress is solely responsible for all 'depressions' and the 'deflated' dollar, as well as all 'boom prosperities' with 'inflationary' 39c dollars.

Our American slogan should be: "*Get the Government out of private business and get the private Federal Reserve System Corporation out of the Government's business.*" Give the people the "MONEY BUSINESS" and that would stop the Federal Reserve "MONKEY BUSINESS racket"

—*Economic Liberty*

## **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

### **STEPPING UP THE "JEHAD" CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA**

Karachi: An unprecedented hate and hysterical campaign, the theme of which is that war with India is inevitable, and that a "jihad" against India is the only solution to the Kashmir dispute has been launched by the Pakistani press and politicians.

During the last three days, two former Prime Ministers, Choudhary Mahomed Ali and Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, the Minister for State for the Interior, Mr. Jalaludin Khan, and a host of less important politicians have advocated "police action" against India.

The aim of such "police action" is no longer the "liberation of Kashmir" alone. It is to include the annexation of East Punjab and West Bengal as in the opinion of diehard Leaguers, the Radcliffe Award was an iniquity quite inconsistent with the original conception of Pakistan.

The Karachi morning daily, *The Times of Karachi*, which generally reflects the opinion of the ruling party, the Republicans, ran a front-page editorial entitled, "Bharat Will Be Partitioned Again."

The paper said: "This imperialist aggression—Kashmir's accession to India and the subsequent integration—has not been attended by success in so far as Pakistan is concerned, but has certainly succeeded in making up all over again the Hindu-Muslim question, which paralysed the subcontinent before, so that India is again the scene of that eternal climax.

This is the meaning of Sheikh Abdullah's revolt and suppression. By raising the banner of Kashmir Muslims he is essentially identifying himself with "the fate and future of the whole body of Muslims in India."

Perhaps it is no coincidence that General Ayub Khan and the Air Vice Marshal Ashgar Khan should be negotiating in Washington for jet bombers at a time when almost all the leaders of political parties in Pakistan should be thinking and talking in terms of a war as the only solution to the Indo-Pakistani disputes.

### **ALL PARTIES BACK "JEHAD" AGAINST INDIA**

Karachi: The Working Committee of the Muslim League offered its unqualified support to the Central Government in its endeavour to secure "the right of self-government for Kashmiris" even if it "implied a readjustment and reassessment of the country's foreign policy."

The resolution referred to "the ruthless suppression of freedom movement in Kashmir" and "the matchless sacrifices of the people there".

However Khan Abdul Qyayum Khan, President of the League, told a public meeting here that "police action" against India was the only solution to the Kashmir dispute. He said that one factor that contributed to the rigidity of the Indian attitude was the instability of the Pakistani Government and maintained that League Government would alone secure Kashmir to Pakistan.

### **NAGA-PAKISTANI GANG-UP EVIDENCE GATHERED IN ASSAM**

Shillong: The Government of Assam is now in possession of definite evidence of liaison between hostile

Nagas who have descended from their country to raid North Cachar and anti-Indian elements in East Pakistan.

A press note issued by the Government said briefly that small groups of hostile Nagas were moving about in certain areas of Cachar district during the last few days, presumably with the intention of crossing over to East Pakistan" and a small batch of four Nagas hostiles had already managed to enter Pakistan across the border in Cachar.

The press note also contains an assurance that border check-posts have been tightened up to prevent further Naga infiltration and that the Police are on the track of the gangsters.

It is learnt reliably that Nagas not only entered East Pakistan but returned after establishing contacts with anti-Indian forces there.

It is known here for a long time that Nagas have been attempting to smuggle agents into Pakistan. Last year one Naga was arrested near Dhancherra, scene of last week's Naga raid, inside Cachar district.

Recent unconfirmed reports from Cachar say that six Nagas were seen roaming in the Badarpur area in Cachar establishing connections with elements friendly to East Pakistan. They were equipped with large bundle of Indian and Pakistani currency notes.

### **NAGA HOSTILES CROSS BORDER TO GET PAK HELP**

Shillong: A group of Naga hostiles believed to be emissaries of Naga rebels returned to Naga hills after a secret visit to Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan during the last border trouble with the obvious intention of seeking help from the Pakistan Government, it is learnt here.

These hostiles evaded the border check posts during both the journeys.

Meanwhile, a press note issued by Assam Government yesterday said a small batch of Naga hostiles has already managed to enter Pakistan across the border of the Cachar district. The border check points have since been tightened up to prevent any further Naga infiltration into Pakistan.

The press note adds, meanwhile, police force is on the track of these gangsters.

Small groups of Naga hostiles have been moving in certain areas of Cachar district during the past few days presumably with the intention of crossing over to East Pakistan.

### **PAK. AGGRESSION ON ASSAM BORDER**

The Pak incidences have become so much a part of daily routine that we have come in time to ignore them. This is a sad thing to record for it bespeaks of a peculiar lethargy that has been part and parcel of Indian heritage. How many of us are aware of the constant and regular Pakistani intrusions that are a daily feature. On May, 1, thirty Pakistani fishermen intruded into the Indian side of the Surma, and continued fishing for several hours the week-end, inspite of strong protests by the border police, according to information received from Levapupa.

According to information available here, the Pakistani Government is setting up telephone installations, linking all its military camps established along the Surma and the Kushiara on the border, a thing that speaks volumes of danger to India.

### RELEASE SHEIKH ABDULLA DEMANDS PAKISTAN IN UN

United Nations: Pakistan demanded that Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir "should be immediately freed and restored to full enjoyment of human rights". Prince Aly Khan, Pakistan's permanent UN representative made the demand in a letter to the Security Council.

In a letter to the President, Aly Khan said that if peace is to be established in Indian occupied Kashmir, it is imperative that, as a first step, Sheikh Abdullah should be released immediately and restored to the full enjoyment of his human rights.

In a letter addressed to the President of the Council, Prince Aly Khan called the re-arrest of Abdullah the most recent instance of the reign of terror in India-occupied Kashmir, and denied the Indian charge that Sheikh Abdullah was planning large-scale disorders and subversions in the next few days.

Under the provision of the Preventive Detention Act, under which Sheikh Abdullah was arrested, no trial is required. This is a conclusive proof of the fact that the puppet Bakshi Government was unable to substantiate its allegation with any evidence which could be sustained in a court of law.

### SADIQ'S TIGHT-ROPE WALKING

How alive the Hindu-Muslim question is to-day, inspite of the partition, can be seen by the political opportunism resorted to by the G. M. Sadiq. The daily *Khidmat* has put the matter rightly in its leading article "In one breath, by opposing the ideologies of Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. Sadiq desires to be known as a progressive and a patriot, and in another breath, by objecting to his re-arrest, he wishes to get praise from the enemies of the country, who were misled by Sheikh Abdullah's emotional speeches."

### JANA SANGH ON ABDULLAH'S ARREST

The committee expressed its opinion in a resolution that the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah "was most essential for safeguarding the unity, integrity and defence of Jammu and Kashmir State as also of the rest of India."

The committee also expressed its satisfaction at the decision of the Government of India to extend the authority of the Auditor-General of India to the Jammu and Kashmir State.

### DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ARE UNISLAMIC

Karachi: During the Municipal elections in the City recently, a lone crusader against the elections, carried a placard—"Elections Are Un-Islamic".

According to this Islamic fanatic, Shafat Ahmed who staged a one-man demonstration against

the elections, the mosque is the basic unit in the Islamic system of government. He was seen carrying another placard bearing the inscription—"Return to the Mosque".

This lone one-man crusade in favour of Islamism is nothing new or wonderful, for Islamic countries. The Book of the Allah—the Koran—affords more than enough ammunition against all progressive practices. It is un-Islamic for a Muslim woman to come out in the open without the *purdah*; it is equally un-Islamic for a man, strictly according to orthodox Muslims, to shave one's beard; it is equally un-Islamic for a Muslim person if he does not do his *namaz* six times in a day, turn his face towards Mecca and his back against the civilised world.

And what is not un-Islamic is very difficult, according to these outdated and fanatic Muslims, and which only the Allah seems to know. Perhaps taking a bath daily, as the Hindus do, may be also interpreted as un-Islamic, since it is a practice with the so-called "kaffir" Hindus.

### LONE VOICE OF SANITY IN PAKISTAN

Mr. Bhashani has called for a mass movement in Pakistan to "make a clean sweep of all kinds of controversy and intrigues."

In a statement he referred to "the crisis deepening every day" and said: "Only by uniting all democratic forces by consolidating their ranks and relentlessly fighting the conspiracy of the anti-people forces, can we salvage our national honour, repair our ruined economy, build a stable democratic political order, and rekindle faith in the minds of the people. Those who say democracy has no future in Pakistan are false prophets. I firmly believe Pakistan will be a great, happy and prosperous democratic nation."

Mr. Bhashani referred to the report recently emanating from Washington that chiefs of U.S. armed forces were drawing up plans to get up ballistic missiles bases in South-East Asian countries coming under S.E.A.T.O. "I call upon the people and the Government," he said, "to think seriously about this possible menace and take appropriate steps against such a move. I am sure Pakistan will resist such a move by all means." Criticizing Pakistan's foreign policy, he said by its pursuance "we find our political stability lost, economy ruined and, above all, sovereignty in peril."

### JAIL-BREAKING RAZKAR CONVICTS ARRESTED

Poona: The former Razakar convicts of Hyderabad, who had escaped from Parbhani Jail in 1950, have been arrested here by the Poona police.

Birbal Khanotalwar Khan Pathan and Sheikh Samsher Khan Pathan, the two Razakar convicts who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on charges of committing dacoity etc. had escaped from Parbhani jail with rifles of the jail guards in 1950.

They were arrested by the police from the house of a prostitute and enquiry by the course revealed that they were former Razakars and were convicted to long terms of imprisonment in a dacoity case and that they had escaped from the parbhani jail.

Both of them have been taken to Prabhani on Monday night for further investigations and necessary action.

## Move To Unseat Khrushchev— Major Power Struggle In Russia

**WARSAW:** Communist sources have said that they believe a major struggle was under way in Moscow, and that the Chinese communists have joined with the Soviet "conservatives" in a bid to unseat Mr. Nikita Khrushchev.

The official communist newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, reported last night that the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee was now in session.

Indications so far were that Khrushchev was gathering the storm—and possibly had already won.

Displeasure with Khrushchev and, specially, his foreign policy, is cited here as the principle motive behind this week's splashing Chinese attack on the Yugoslav communists and President Tito. The attack is being read here as an insult on Khrushchev and the ideas advanced by him at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party.

### THE CHINESE STAND

In particular it conflicts with the 20th Congress resolution that in advanced countries, communists can win power gaining permanent parliamentary majority and without resorting to internal revolution.

Last month's sudden slow-down in Khrushchev's summit tactics can be traced to Chinese intervention, according to observers here. The Chinese were reported to be dissatisfied with two aspects of the Russian campaign for summit talks: first, the wave of letters from Soviet leadership put aside the Chinese claim to a seat in the United Nations, and secondly, that the campaign's emphasis on the maining of *status quo* would weaken China's demand for Formosa.

### THE PROLETARIAN VIEW

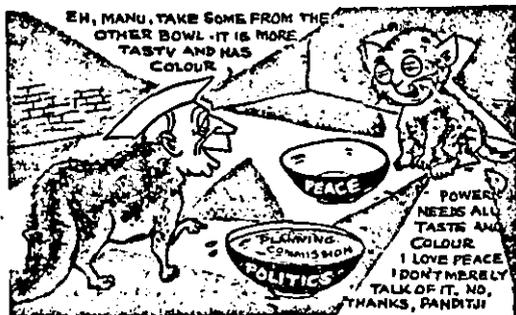
According to the time-table of events, Khrushchev's troubles started during his visit to Hungary.

On April 6, he said that if counter-revolution came again, the Hungarians would have to deal with it themselves.

The next day he denied making this statement. It was a direct contradiction of proletarian internationalism. On his return to Moscow, he found his conservative opponents—Mikhail Suslov and P. Pospelov—had prepared an article attacking Tito for the theoretical magazine, *Communist*.

The article was published against Khrushchev's will, though he succeeded in limiting its edition. The issue has never been available here, and it is not the Poles who have kept it out.

—Times of India



Courtesy "Filmindia"

## Communist Chickens Come Home. To Roost In China

**THE** results of a totalitarian economy are made abundantly clear in the recent economic stresses that China is experiencing.

Peking has introduced a new regime of austerity for its armed forces. The cuts in the ration of pork and edible oil made last December have now been followed by a reduction of over an ounce in the daily food ration and of another seven ounces in coal.

Instead of two uniforms that were issued in the past, the officers will now be able to claim only one. Last year the officers were ordered to send home the dependents living near their camps so that they could take part in "constructive work." Now it has been decided that the soldiers working on construction projects will get only two pairs of shoes a year instead of three or four.

This indicates sufficiently the ultimate incompatibility of a socialist economy with individual welfare. The same has been the case with India. After ten years of penalization of the common man through exorbitant taxation, the average Indian's plight has been definitely worsened. The position is worse in India than in China. If anything spells the failure of planning, this does it most unequivocally. The only sensible conclusion is that planning is unsuited to the atmosphere prevailing in underdeveloped countries. We hope our leaders will take note of this latest Chinese development and will reconsider their misguided efforts which are only opening the way to totalitarianism and poverty.

### "WAR WITH INDIA IS INEVITABLE"

Karachi: Choudhari Mahomed Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, told a public meeting in Lahore "that war with India was inevitable". The Associated Press of Pakistan carried this news.

Mr. Mahomed Ali had just been elected head of a new party, Pakistan Nizame Islam Party.

Speaking for 50 minutes with quotations from the Koran, he said: "An open clash with India may occur in one, two or three years, at the most three years, **BUT OCCUR IT MUST.**"

He named ten year old disputes with India and Pakistan, including the accession of Kashmir to India, and the distribution of Indus river canal waters as the main causes of the war he was expecting.

### U.S. JET BOMBER FOR PAKISTAN

**WASHINGTON:** The United States has promised to deliver 20 to 25 jet bombers to Pakistan for use against any aggression, reliable American sources said here.

The bombers will be handed over in several deliveries, beginning next spring, and Pakistan pilots will come to USA for training in the next few months.

The offer was made by the U.S. Government to a Pakistani mission which spent two weeks here, and which included the Finance Minister Amjad Ali and the Army and Air Force's Commanders-in Chief, General Mahomed Ayub Khan and Air Force-Marshal Mahomed Asghar.

The Pakistani delegation had urged delivery of jet bombers to counteract India's purchase of British Canberra jets.

—Times of India

# The March Of Science

## DISCOVERIES ON THE FRONTIER OF PHYSICS

William L. Laurence writes in *The New York Times*:  
In 1925 two young students of theoretical physics at Leiden University in Holland, named Samuel Goudsmit and George Uhlenbeck, both in their early twenties, published a suggestion to explain a small detail in the spectrum of atoms which stood in the way of a satisfactory understanding of the atom's constitution. The puzzle, they suggested, could be solved by adding one simple property to the electron, the fundamental unit of electricity and of matter. In addition to revolving around the positively charged nucleus of atoms in the manner of a planet moving about the sun, they proposed, the electron, again like the earth, spins on its axis like a top, either clockwise or counter clockwise.

That suggestion, in explanation of what appeared at the time to be a small detail, has turned out to be one of the basic discoveries of modern science, one of the major pillars upon which rests our understanding of the constitution of the infinitesimal atom and the structure of the infinite universe.

### KEY TO THE UNIVERSE

How the discovery of the electron spin provided science with a major key to the understanding of the universe was used as an illustration last week of how one discovery, arrived at through basic research, leads to other, quite unexpected, discoveries. The subject was the highlight of the Harvard Day Programme in New York, in which the story of research on the frontiers of physics was demonstrated by two of Harvard's distinguished scientists—Prof. Edward M. Purcell, Nobel Prize winning nuclear physicist, and Prof. Thomas Gold, one of the world's leading astrophysicists.

The demonstration included the first films of Harvard's recently developed crystal amplifier of the faint radio waves transmitted by distant galaxies and clouds of cosmic gas between the galaxies, out of which, it is believed, new stars and galaxies are everlastingly being created. The amplifier, known as the "Solid State Maser," developed at Harvard by Prof. Nicholas Bloembergen, is based on a discovery that stemmed directly from the discovery of the electron's spin.

The Maser, it was announced by Professor Gold, will in the near future be incorporated in Harvard's sixth-inch radio telescope. It will extend the range of the telescope ten times further into intergalactic space, where the density of atoms is one-billionth that of the highest vacuum that can be achieved on earth. This means that the volume of the universe "observable" by means of the radio waves it transmits will be increased a thousand-fold.

Professor Gold, who came to Harvard from Cambridge University, England, is one of the three British scientists who developed the new revolutionary concept of the "steady state universe," according to which the universe is constantly being created afresh. The theory, still controversial, will either be definitely proved or disproved by means of the newly developed Harvard amplifier, Professor Gold stated.

## GREATEST MYSTERIES

By extending the range of radio telescopes, Professor Gold said, astronomers may soon find it possible to explore the horizon of the universe. This fact, together with the fast advancing knowledge of outer space, may, he said, provide a breakthrough on the greatest mysteries of cosmology: How was the universe built up? How was it evolved? And what will happen to it in the future?

The discovery that the electron spins led to the discovery that the atom transmits radio waves, but it took many years before an apparatus sensitive enough to tune in on these waves could be developed. This was made possible as the result of developments during the war of highly sensitive radar receivers. With the aid of these, Professor Purcell, in 1951, became the first man to tune in directly on the radio waves emitted from the great hydrogen clouds in outer space, and this, Professor Gold said, provided highly suggestive evidence that these vast cosmic clouds are the raw material out of which new stars and galaxies are constantly being created.

"The scientific race," he continued, "has been speeding up enormously in the first half of this century; and it shows every promise of speeding up a great deal more in the second half. Over 90 per cent of all the scientists who, ever lived are living now. They are just as clever, on the average as the men who preceded them."

### POINT COUNTER POINT

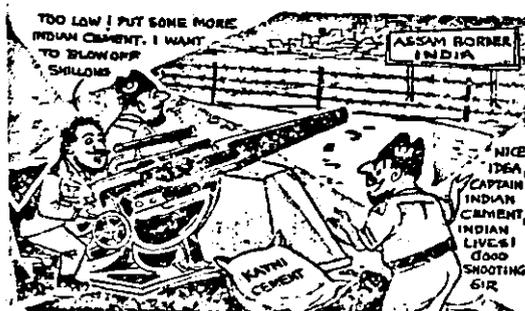
It should be remembered that no Government can do for the people what the people can do for themselves—Pant.

Thus spoke the politician!

With a view to stemming the outbreak of epidemics in East Pakistan, the Government of India has made a gift of one-lakh doses of cholera vaccine and one-lakh doses of smallpox vaccine to the Government of Pakistan.

We are waiting for the Pak Premier to announce that the germs of the epidemic are of Indian origin.

Government has now decided to prune the Plan. We suggest that we first plan the pruning, says, a Five-Year Plan to prune the Plan.



Courtesy "Filmindia"

## Current Trends In Planning

### Dr. Raghuvira's Lecture

Tuesday the 6th April was the day chosen for a meeting under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute at which Dr. Raghuvira, M.P. spoke on 'Current Trends in Planning'.

Introducing the speaker, Dr. B. S. Sanyal, Assistant Research Director, said that Dr. Raghuvira, being a versatile scholar, could speak on almost any subject under the sun, but his name had entered the public mind recently through the special brand of wit and humour associated with Hindi renderings for technical words in English.

### THE DOCTOR EXPLAINS

Dr. Raghuvira, before going on to his speech on planning, remarked that it was true that there had come about a few queer long words in Hindi claiming to be substituted for technical English words. But, he insisted, that it was his own intention that no words should exceed four syllables as far as possible. He therefore disclaimed any responsibility for the funnier phrases circulating around.

Coming to the main theme of the day, Dr. Raghuvira said that when we take to planning what we should keep clearly in mind is the specific problems being faced by our own country. We may go to other countries and see what they have done and what they are doing to solve their own problems. Each country has its own good and bad points. We have to pick up lessons to solve our own problems.

Among the countries faced with the problem of planning to develop their resources, India and China had conditions and problems very close to each other. The main features were a large population, with agriculture as the basic source of employment. Most urgent attention is to be given to the villages.

The people in China, continued Dr. Raghuvira, are very hard working and pay individual attention to their crop. Each wheat plant receives as much attention as if it were a mango tree. One good point in the present Chinese planning and its execution is that every man knows precisely what his part is in the national plan. For instance, recently, flies and sparrows were quite a nuisance. So the govern-

ment made it the duty of every schoolboy and even teachers to kill all flies and sparrows!

Shifting on to his impressions of Russia, Dr. Raghuvira did not quite like the greater emphasis laid by the Russian planners on heavy industries. Also, he desired decentralisation in planning.

What impressed him most in West Germany, said Dr. Raghuvira, was the remarkable recoupment achieved there in such a short time after the devastations of the war. The 'planning' there, if at all it can be called a planning, was quite different. The state gave full scope for the individual to plan his own production, and gave him every assistance he needed. A tanner, for instance, would be allowed as much hide as he planned to process. But, pointed out Dr. Raghuvira, such a quick restoration is possible only in Germany, because the technical proficiency and experienced personnel, are available in abundance.

### THE PLAN IN INDIA

But for countries like India, the whole emphasis has to be on labour intensive methods. We do not need much foreign exchange. We have plenty of manpower to be used. Indian planning should give priorities to village development. A greater scope should be given to individual planning. After assuring the basic necessities to all the people, we should never import more than what we can pay for the export. We should keep a closed economy in order to have full control on our economy.

Dr. Raghuvira did not favour self-sufficiency of villages as they hamper the full utilisation of the technology.

During the discussion that followed, Mr. M. V. Balakrishna Rao of the Libertarian Social Institute, pointed out the importance of making explicit the methods of realising the social ideals of equality and prosperity. There is no dispute as to the social ideal to be realised. Even the Free Enterprisers defend it, only on the ground that it is the most efficient means of meeting the needs of the people. The most tragic lesson of recent history has been the appalling monstrosities perpetrated by the so-called saviours of the people. The most

crucial point at issue today, asserted Mr. Rao, is the precise roles to be played by the industrialist in the market and the State in economic development. One of the fundamental defects of all patterns of socialist and welfare measures is the assumption that the politician needs no checks on his conduct. By proving that the "capitalist is a crook, the socialist has not proved the integrity of the politician. And politics continues to be the last resort of the scoundrel.

The most important matter which Dr. Raghuvira failed to deal with, stressed Mr. Rao, was the order to do things, and what means would be employed. What are the safeguards against the government turning the Indian Democratic Republic into a another slave empire like China or Russia? All other things are subordinate, chaining the politician is the most urgent need of our civilization, concluded Mr. Rao.

Mr. Rao also mentioned the usefulness of the techniques of decentralised industries practiced in Japan and Switzerland. Here we have both modern productivity and economic decentralisation. Decentralisation need not mean reverting to primitive modes of production like the charka. Large-scale installations like the Damodar Valley Project are uneconomical, said Mr. Rao. As to self-sufficiency of villages, he said, it is enough if each village earned sufficient money by its sales to buy all it needed for its own consumption. Any other form of self-sufficiency would prevent India from enjoying the advantages of division of labour.

The meeting concluded not only over a cup of tea but also, for Mr. Rao, under a cup of tea. This was due solely to the fact that the bearer upset the tray right on top of Mr. Rao, a summit performance indeed! —Sudarshan

## READ

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# Book Reviews

## Toil, Taxes And Troubles

**TOIL, TAXES AND TROUBLES** by Vivien Kellems p. 159, Price \$2.50 E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1952.

**T**OIL, Taxes and Troubles is the graphic title Miss Vivien Kellems chooses for her book to describe her trouble with the Federal Government when it insisted that Miss Kellems as employer had to withhold part of the pay of employees to be paid to the Income Tax Department in compliance with the Withholding Tax Law. Miss Kellems was convinced that this law is unconstitutional, and therefore decided to have a test case.

Miss Kellems maintained that she had had no right to withhold from her employees the tax the Government dictated. She announced that, on February 20th, her factory in Westport, Connecticut, would defy the Government and refuse to deduct and pay the Withholding Tax from the pay envelopes of her employees. She asked the Government to prosecute her thereby bringing a test case before the courts.

But the Government refused her February challenge to a test case. It then sent four Internal Revenue agents to her factory to demand the payment of the taxes she had not withheld. She answered that the money should be collected from her employees, to whom she had paid it as their earnings agreed upon. Though she knew, as also the agents, that this tax had been already paid by her employees, the agents claimed the full amount as a hundred per cent penalty for failure to deduct. When Miss Kellems still refused to pay, the agents went to her bank and intimidated it into surrendering the full amount, \$ 1,685.40. This they did without any court order.

For one year after this the agents did not reappear even though she continued to violate the Withholding Tax Law. Then in August, 1949, they returned and demanded \$ 6, 100.

Miss Kellems had paid that amount to her employees and had photostat proofs that they had paid it to the Government as tax due from them. The Internal Revenue agents

once again stepped into her bank and collected \$ 6,100 from her funds.

Miss Kellems demanded a refund of this \$ 6,100 as she had full proof that her employees had deposited that amount duly in the Income Tax Department. The refund was refused. She then filed her claim with the Federal District Court in New Haven in January, 1950. But it was only in February, 1951, that she managed to secure a trial. Even here, she was not allowed to test the constitutionality of the withholding Tax Law. But she did get a refund of her money.

### LEGAL QUIBBLINGS

The legal quibblings are complex. "You start out with the Withholding Tax Law and there are lots of Sections: Section 1600, Section 1601 — all the way through Section 1,627, and many of these Sections have little Sections; a, b, c, d, e, and f. . . . One Section says that the penalty for not deducting and withholding is 10 per quarter, and another gives a criminal penalty . . . but tucked away off down in Section 1627, where you'd scarcely notice it, it says that all of the penalties provided in Section 1400 will apply to the Withholding Tax Law. You hurriedly thumb through to Section 1400 and are not right back on your heels because that's the Social Security Law.

. . . Then there are more Sections . . . you will finally come to Section 1430 and it says all the penalties provided in Sections 2700, 1800 and 3661 shall also apply. . . you search out Section 2700 and, believe it or not, that's a tax on a pistol. But you poke warily around among the Sections and there it is, tucked right in under Section 2707(a) — the cute thing! 'Any person who willfully fails to pay, collect or truthfully account for any pay over the pistol tax, or willfully attempts to evade, or defeat any such or the payment thereof shall be penalised exactly 100 per cent of the tax not paid, collected or accounted for.'

It is because Miss Kellems withhold the tax that 100% penalty was seized from the bank! But Miss

Kellems argued that the Withholding Tax Law does not impose a new tax but is only a method of collecting it, and therefore the section on Pistol tax did not apply.

### HER STAND

The points Miss Kellems wanted the court to clear were:

1. Was my right to be secure in my papers and efforts against unreasonable searches and seizures violated?
2. Was I deprived of my property without due process of law when the Government seized my bank account?
3. When employees are forced to pay for collecting taxes is private property taken for public use?
4. Does this not also apply to the money taken from the pay envelope?
5. Is the fine for not collecting taxes that are already paid of 100 per cent excessive when the fine for cheating and fraud is only 50 per cent?
6. When I am forced against my will to collect taxes for the Government isn't this involuntary servitude in the true meaning of the words?

And above all, is not the honest doubt as to the constitutionality of a law, in the mind of a citizen, "reasonable cause" enough for him to break that law and ask for a test case?

Miss Kenneth has fought this battle with an ideological conviction in the background. It is her stand that the Sixteenth Amendment to the American Constitution gives undue power to the Federal Government and its method of collection and the penalties it can inflict are a danger to the democratic rights of the Individual. She suggests that the Sixteenth Amendment be re-

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pealed. With the income tax must also go the graduated inheritance tax, the estate tax, and the capital gains tax. Discrimination in tax notes between married and single people must end, as must double taxation on dividends. All taxes should be visible. And the tax payers must feel the pinch of it.

"Taxes are not the private property of politicians to be used as punitive, coercive instruments against the very people who pay them. Taxes are not funds given to these politicians so that they may buy themselves back into office. Nor are they to be levied for the purpose of taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots. . ."

The obvious objection to the author's stand would be that she is not facing the charges of the leftists and is ignoring the imperfections of the market system as it is today. But second thoughts on the whole narration of her episode reveal, though the author herself does not see it clearly, that what she is opposing is not the fact that the taxes are heavy, but the tyrannical manner of collection which can be and is abused by the Federal Authorities. Miss Vivien Kellems has not kept distinct three separate though inter-related aspects of the issue: 1. Whether the existing social inequalities can be eliminated in any way other than taxing the rich to use it for the poor; 2. Whether

Income tax as such has special anti-social features; and 3. Whether it is not possible to so legislate the procedure of collecting the taxes that the individual rights of the citizen will be secure. Or, it may be, as it often happens, the law may have good safeguards for the citizen, but the timidity of the individual may fail to get it enforced in a specific case.

It is hard to do full justice to the admirable manner in which the author covers points of the American constitution, the legal aspects of her particular test case, and the ideological background made explicit in the last chapter.

What is of special interest to Indians in this connection, is the moral courage Miss Vivien Kellems has shown and the technique of satyagraha, not in the pseudo-sense of going to fast on a false issue, but having been convinced something is wrong, to peacefully and lawfully to oppose an unjust law. Every Indian industrialist who is being squeezed out of existence by the present tax structure in India must read this book.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CO-OPERATOR

Reviewed by Harold Rafton

**THREE VOYAGES.** By James Peter Warbasse. Chicago, Co-operative League of the U.S.A. 266 pp., \$3.50.

That the choice of James Peter Warbasse as "Humanist of the Year" in 1954 was a happy one is abundantly clear from the perusal of the autobiographical sketches which constitute the contents of this book.

The "three voyages" are three periods in his life—as an eminent surgeon, as an inquirer into and participator in radical movements, and as the organizer and chief architect of consumer co-operation in the United States. Radical movements and co-operation began to claim the interest of Dr. Warbasse some time before he retired from his surgical career at the age of fifty-three, and co-operation became the labour of his later years after he had examined and rejected

the many radical "isms" offered as panaceas for the ills of mankind.

Dr. Warbasse points out that while conflicting interests separate us into many groups, we all can unite on the fact that everyone is a consumer. Thus, if we are organized as consumers we achieve a harmonious societal integration, which can be obtained in no other way. As Dr. Warbasse puts it: "I have known disillusioned communists, socialists, single-taxers, anarchists, syndicalists, and religionists, but I have yet to meet a disillusioned co-operator."

The book sparkles with humour, as when Dr. Warbasse was invited to teach French at a girls' school, without previously having studied that language. Never at a loss, he immediately took French lessons himself, and kept one jump ahead of his classes. There is drama, also, as when, in 1924, while on his way to a railroad station in Stuttgart, he was attracted by cries, and rushed into a garden party, saving a small boy from choking to death on a candy-ball by cutting into the child's trachea with a pocket knife, removing the candy, and then rushing off to catch his train.

### THE VITALITY OF THE DOCTOR

But what impresses one most is the intense vitality of the man, the well nigh incredible scope of his activities, his optimistic outlook, his passion for the welfare of his fellows, and the fact that he had translated his labours into solid and lasting achievement. By whatever standard he is measured, he emerges as a true humanist. When last I saw Dr. Warbasse some months ago, in his 90th year, his firm quick step, his resonant voice, the twinkle in his eye, his animated conversation all belied his age, and gave hope that his ship will long sail the high seas before reaching its final port.

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