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EDITORIAL

CHINA IS ANGRY WITH INDIA OVER TIBET

THE statements of the Prime Minister about the Sino-Tibetan conflict and the clear policy of friendship with China, desire for the autonomy of Tibet as a buffer state between her and India and sympathy with the sufferings of the Tibetan people under the reforming zeal of the Reds have been restrained and tactful. They have put first things first and have expressed the sentiments of the Indian people with perfect clarity and dignity. As an American paper put it, they were 'literate and civilised'.

In glaring contrast to Nehru's tone, spokesmen of the Chinese Government, officialdom and Party have gone all out in unrestrained and almost brutal condemnation of India's sympathy for the Tibetans. Chou En-lai himself set the example by asking Nehru in his speech, at the Chinese National Conference: "with whom he sympathised—the reactionary upper strata aided by foreign imperialists or with the poor Tibetans who were oppressed by them so long?"

This is the familiar communist distinction between the upper class of "exploiters" and the lower class of "have-nots" in every nation. Communists have committed themselves to liberating the poor of every nation in the world, in due course, from their own upper class! They do not believe in the validity and sanctity of nationalism binding the classes together in homogeneous bonds of fellow-feeling.

So when Chinese armies marched on Tibet, Nehru asked in dismay from whom they proposed to liberate the Tibetans?

He should have known communist doctrine by that time and need not have been dismayed and puzzled.

Also, he should have known what value to set on Chou En-lai's assurance to him that he would respect Tibetan autonomy and would let the Dalai Lama retain his traditional position of national and spiritual leadership.

There is one defect in the policy statements of the Prime Minister, and that is the absence of a clear charge against the Chinese that they had broken the autonomy clause of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 1951. As Jai Prakash Narain puts it, we should have no hesitation in calling a spade a spade. Friendship should be no bar to truth and sincerity.

SINO-TIBETAN AGREEMENT OF 1951

It is worthwhile to place on record that part of the Sino-Tibetan Agreement which includes the autonomy clause without ambiguity.

1. That Tibet would enjoy regional autonomy and that the Chinese Central Government would not interfere with its political institutions and internal administration.

2. and 3 refer to Chinese responsibility for foreign relations and the stationing of troops in Tibet.

4. That the Chinese Central Government would recognise and maintain that Dalai Lama's position; that the Panchen Lama would be allowed to return

ATTENTION

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to the part of Tibet formerly ruled by his predecessors and that religious freedom would be protected.

5. That the Tibetan Regional Government would voluntarily carry out reform without interference from the Central Government and that the latter should assist the Tibetan people in their political, economic, industrial, commercial, cultural and educational development.

Perhaps it is this clause under which the Chinese justify their interference under the name of reform.

The reforms introduced were typically communist and left but little autonomy to the Tibetan authorities and common people.

The planting of lakhs of Chinese settlers in the midst of the Tibetans on their best lands, the robbery of monasteries under the name of loans, the sending of workers to distant places for labour on military establishments and roads, the incitement of the lower classes against the lamas and official hierarchy, above all the notorious land reforms which means robbing Peter to pay Paul. These are not reforms that can be forced on an unwilling people. They are reforms that destroy the entire social system and ways of life of the people. No wonder the Tibetans rebelled. The rebellion began some three years ago. India was adopting a hush hush policy and discouraged journalists from sending reports about the clashes in Tibet.

INDIA'S INTEREST IN TIBET

The Prime Minister has recently been stressing that India's interest in Tibet and its Dalai Lama is primarily cultural and sentimental and not political.

This in an indication that he has resolved to wash his hands of the tangle and sacrifice Tibet for the sake of mollifying China's wounded sensibility.

Nehru himself has expressed surprise at the tough and brutal nature of the attack made by newspapers and officials and politicians on him and India. He

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was surprised that so old and civilised a nation as China should use such vulgar abuse. One paper said that China was now strong and would not tolerate the hogs who thrust their snouts into their country's affairs!

It is understood that the recent toning down of the harshness in *Pravda* and other Russian papers is due to the representation made in Moscow by our Ambassador.

It remains to be seen how long the Chinese will keep up this massive barrage of vituperation and warning. This has become a major aspect of the relations between India and China and has shown how frail and unreliable the famed Panchsheel has been.

India is now caught on the horns of a dilemma whether to continue friendly relations in trust or to seek a closer alignment with the Western Powers; New Delhi is vacillating.

But it should be remembered that India's interest in Tibet is more political than cultural, in spite of Nehru's statement.

India's interest stems for the fact of security. Old Tibet was an unarmed nation and its buffer status prevented Russia and China from penetrating its territory and building military installations there. This was a factor for peace and security for India. But today this position has changed. China has built military roads and aerodromes. Her planes are within an hour's flying distance from Delhi and the other cities of the Gangetic Valley. This necessitates vast expenditure on our part on similar military roads and installations on our side of the border and the stationing of troops near the various passes in the Himalayas. For the first time in history, India has lost her Himalayan shield.

The expansionist nature of China so strikingly revealed in this Tibetan suppression is a warning that we rely on mere Panchasheela at our peril. *We need not repudiate it in public in so many words but we should keep our powder dry and look around for supporters in case of conflict. This is but the sheerest prudence.*

Pak Diplomacy in Relation to Tibetan Trouble

Pakistani leaders seem to hope for a windfall from the suffering of India consequent on the Tibetan trouble.

Mr. Qadir, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had let out on his way from a SEATO meeting that the Tibetan imbroglio might lead to a change of policy on the part of India. He meant that India might lean towards the West and so come closer to Pakistan.

The hopes of the Pakistanis seem to be that India might be persuaded to yield to them in the matter of Kashmir and the Canal Waters for the sake of a military rapprochement *vis a vis* China. They say that neither India nor Pakistan could defend themselves against China should a show-down occur. But if there is a military alliance between India and Pakistan, the two together will be better equipped to meet the Red Menace.

It is clear that this is but a ruse to cash in on the moment of depression and doubt that India may be having at present in regard to her security. The right

answer to it is to contrive that the Western Powers guarantee the defence of India or agree to come to the aid of India in case of attack by the Chinese. Mere agreement with Pakistan is of no use, even if such an agreement with such a neighbour could be relied upon. Such reliance goes against all history and Pakistani psychology.

But Pandit Nehru is one who learns nothing and forgets nothing. He has rejected such an alliance with Pakistan in return of concessions in Kashmir and Canal waters.

He has asked the wrong question—Against whom is the alliance to be forged? Is the model that of Baghdad Pact or SEATO?

Now this is a wrong-headed question. The alliance need not be against anyone in particular. *It might be for Defence against aggression.* Pandit Nehru has a wholly distorted notion of pacts. There are pacts and pacts. Isolation in such a time as the present when the world is divided without remainder into two and only two power blocs. It is profound unwisdom to remain without allies.

Moral Judgment

While adhering to Panchsheela, the question has been raised whether we ought to silence our moral judgment on vital issues when the freedom of whole peoples is suppressed by one of the two Big Power blocs. It may offend the wrongdoer like Russia in Hungary in 1956 and China today in Tibet.

Of course, like the Swiss and Swedish, we could interpret our neutrality as obliging us to keep *silent* and refrain from even moral judgment.

But unfortunately India under Nehru has built a tradition of posing as the voice of the world's conscience. Nehru's delay and hesitation in condemning Russian invasion of Hungary on 4 November was criticised by the whole world. India's condemnation of the Anglo-French-Israeli combine was spontaneous, immediate and violent. India's expression of sympathy with the Algerian rebels has also been frequent and uncompromising, ignoring the affront it gives to the proud French.

The French writer Albert Camus declared in relation to the Hungarian crisis when the Western champions of liberty refrained from going to the aid of Hungary in her dire need "that though we might be powerless to do anything, we can at least refuse to accept and condone what has happened. We can keep our hearts and minds alive to it, we can refuse to countenance falsehood and keep faith with innocence even after murder."

Jai Prakash Narain in India has made a similar statement. Courage to tell the truth should be preserved even at cost of injuring friendship with the guilty Power.

But such condemnations do hurt the Power concerned. It waits for an opportunity to take revenge!

Mr. Surawardy when he was Prime Minister of Pakistan seems to have suggested a Deal with China dividing Kashmir. The Kashmir Valley proper, he wanted for Pakistan. He suggested that Ladakh in virtue of its Tibetan culture should go to China and that India might retain Jammu! It may be assumed

that China will not forget this idea. It is significant in this context that latterly Chinese maps of the Sino-Indian border areas include Ladakh in China!

Readiness to judge the Great Powers should therefore be fortified by adequate military alliances—in our case with the Western Powers.

The Communist Party of India

Once again as on the Hungarian issue, the Indian Communist Party has shown itself in its true colours. In regard to Tibet, the CPI has acted like China's mouthpiece. In a statement, it supports and congratulates the Chinese Government for meeting the difficult situation in Tibet, (it adds the characteristic falsehood) with the "utmost regard for human considerations, of Tibetan autonomy and the unity of the Chinese nation!"

The statement takes the Jana Sangh and the PSP to task for raising the Tibet issue and for whipping up anti-Chinese feeling.

It is silent on its own behaviour in whipping up anti-American feeling on every occasion with or without provocation.

It is clear that the CPI is a limb of international communism. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, it is gratifying to note, said in one of her speeches in her Kerala tour of early May that the CPI takes orders from foreign Powers. If so, why does she not move to have it banned? How can democracy and nationalism tolerate such an extra-territorialist group to function as a full-fledged parliamentary party in the country?

In Kerala Mrs. Indira Gandhi also let out that "what she had heard of the CPI in that State was enough to frighten herd"

In the Arab World, President Nasser has continued to make grave and uncompromising charges against the local communist party and against international communism as well.

He has declared that they interfere in the internal affairs of the Arab world.

Nasser is incensed with the Russian support to Abdul Kassem. After all the Russians have always aimed at penetrating into Iraq and Iran and making of them spheres of her influence. Russia entered into a pact before the war for this purpose in which the area of the Persian Gulf generally was claimed for Russia's sphere of influence. Now that Kassem has allowed communists to help him mobilise support against Nasserises in Iraq, Khrushchev is trying to cash in on it. Four ministers in Kassem's cabinet are communist.

A cartoon in an American magazine shows the birds Khrushchev and Nasser sitting on the same Iraqi egg and asks what the egg will be—communist or Arab Nasserite?

Nasser in his irritation with Khrushchev went so far as to mention Lenin's dismissal of the Constituent Assembly in the October Revolution. The claim of Russia to be democratic is bogus!

Humpty-Dumpty Nehru's Fall

By M. N. THOLAL

—:o:—

PRIME Minister Nehru's statement in Parliament on April 27 last deserves the most careful analysis as it reveals the absurdity of our foreign policy and the pitfalls that policy is digging for the nation. The necessity for such analysis is all the greater if there is no awareness on the part of our policy-makers of the pitfalls they are unconsciously digging for the country. "The matter," as he said, "is too serious to be dealt with in a trivial or excited way," and yet even a cursory perusal of his statement cannot but leave the impression on an unbiassed mind that his manner of dealing with the matter was trivial—as usual. I proceed to show how.

Mr. Nehru re-iterated what he said sometime ago that "our broad policy was governed by these factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet." Obviously, the first of these factors is of paramount importance for any patriot, and even our desire to maintain friendly relations with China as well as our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet, if they are to have any validity, must not in any way interfere with the preservation of the security and integrity of India, and as soon as they begin doing so, must be brushed aside as irrelevant and unpatriotic.

DEFIANCE OF HIS OWN PRINCIPLES

Recent facts, however, unfortunately prove that the preservation of the security and integrity of India has not been the paramount factor broadly governing our foreign policy. If that had been the case Tibet would not have been handed over to China in the manner it was. Mr. Nehru has always been an enemy of colonialism. He has always upheld the right of people to determine their own future. He concedes rightly enough that the people of Tibet do not belong to the Chinese stock. Indeed, he has in his statement of April 27, gone so far as to concede that "the distance between the two is great and there appears to be hardly any meeting point." Under the circumstances Mr. Nehru's performance as the best man in the marriage of China with Tibet was devoid of all the principles he has held dear (or at least professed to hold dear) all his life. I have always wondered how Mr. Nehru's principles—which he is never tired of adumbrating—disappear whenever there is an occasion for translating them into action. Surely even the British expansionism which he condemns so unreservedly in his statement of April 27 could not have justified the Chinese expansionism which he underwrote by passing Tibet on to China. He seems to think that that was the only rejoinder he could make to offset British expansionism. If that is so, all that need be said is that he has no principles of any kind.

"We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet," says Mr. Nehru, "We have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China, but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet and we are greatly distressed at their hapless

plight." All these are contradictory sentiments suggesting that hypocrisy has a considerable part to play in their manufacture. They show that our Prime Minister is a bundle of contradictory sentiments which he has never succeeded in harmonising for his own spiritual welfare. The contradiction involved becomes apparent when he says:

"We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances which themselves have given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease."

He really cannot say after this—even granting the apparent soundness of his advice—that he has "no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet". If he had *no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet*, he should have kept quiet.

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO INTERFERE

The fact of the matter is that we Indians have a right to interfere in Tibet because China used our good offices to establish a foothold there with the help of the Dalai Lama. It is now clear that the Chinese assurances regarding the autonomy of the Tibet region were no more than the usual trick of the Communist trade and that double-crossing us and the Dalai Lama was not far from the Chinese mind when Chou En-lai assured Mr. Nehru that even the reforms which the Chinese would like to come in progressively in Tibet "they proposed to postpone for a considerable time." Surely such double-crossing and breach of faith as China has exemplified, deserve, according to all standards of morality, much stronger language than Mr. Nehru has chosen to use in the treatment of the greatest tragedy of Asia of recent times. Strong language aside, he is not even prepared to call a spade a spade.

The use of stronger language would have been justified on personal grounds too, for the Chinese have not hesitated to invent fantastic theories to justify their action in Tibet. One of these, to quote Mr. Nehru, "is the charge of keeping the Dalai Lama under duress." When such charges are made against one's country the use of soft language is apt to be mistaken for an indirect admission of the truth of the accusation, and surely a display of anger in retort to a deliberate lie would not have taken away from the morality of the tone of the Prime Minister's statement of April 27. He generally allows his moral fervour to develop at the expense of the British. Referring to the British policy of expansion into Tibet—which is now a matter of past history—he says: "That was in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans," but regarding the Chinese expansion into Tibet—which is currently making our blood boil—he has nothing to say beyond expressing the hope that the "present fighting and killing will cease" and that the autonomy of the Tibetan region will be preserved. Indeed, even

after the gruesome tragedy enacted in Tibet by the Chinese Army, Mr. Nehru has the hardihood to say of Tibetans: "Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. *Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely they cannot be denied.*"

The obvious fear of China and the Communist bloc which grips Mr. Nehru's mind bodes ill for the country. Right at the time when the Tibetans' worst fears have been justified, Mr. Nehru says, "Their fears may have been unjustified" If Mr. Nehru thinks that this manner of putting the Tibetan's case is going to please the Tibetans or any right-minded person on earth, all that need be said is that he is jolly well mistaken. But it is intended obviously to please the aggressor in Tibet, whose fear is writ large all over the statement of April 27. (Incidentally, Mr. Nehru has furnished another instance of his bias in favour of the Communists—the first was furnished during the rape of Hungary—though the rape of Tibet affects India much more vitally than any other country in the world.) Does Mr. Nehru think that this indirect revelation of fear—and regard for a country at a time of such blatant aggression by her can only be classified under fear—is going to do his country any good.

FRIENDSHIP TO CONTINUE!

At a time when the situation demanded outright condemnation in words which might have gone ringing down the history of these times and echoed and re-echoed for years throughout the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, Mr. Nehru makes it plain that the endeavour "to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese state and people continues." "We have every desire," he says, "to maintain the friendship between India and China." But, he continues, "at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight." Unfortunately for us, a situation has arisen which has knocked off the basis of our friendship with China and for this situation the Chinese aggression in Tibet in violation of her treaty with Tibet is solely responsible. Our sympathy for the people of Tibet, on the other hand, is no mere ideological flourish but is also an offshoot of our own national interest. Our distress at the hapless plight of Tibet stems also from our instinct of self-preservation. If our sympathy with the people of Tibet is based on international morality and the Chinese violation of her pledge is an exhibition of brute force, then there is no moral sense in saying that "we have every desire to maintain friendship between India and China."

It is China which should have been saying so after committing an act of naked aggression which opens the road to aggression against India. It is we who should have been denouncing Chinese expansionism but it is China that is denouncing our "expansionism". China has gauged Nehru very well and is following the usual Communist maxim: "Attack is the best form of defence". And it is Mr. Nehru who is being apologetic, as if the Chinese charge of Indian aggression is true.

But there is a great reason behind the apologetic tone of our Prime Minister. And that reason has

nothing to do with the national interest. It is purely personal. The whole edifice of his neutralism, based as it was on a semblance of morality in the Communist camp, has toppled down. The ground on which he stood all these years is slipping away from beneath his feet and he is indirectly saying to the Chinese: For Heaven's sake, save me! Friendship cannot for long remain a one-way traffic, in the face of intimidation and threats of the might of 650 million people. Indeed, he finds himself in the same predicament as Humpty Dumpty.

Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty had a great fall.

Not all the King's horses, not all the King's men
Can put Humpty Dumpty together again!

But, Nehru will not confess defeat, for the national interest is never in his mind. With the whole world laughing in its sleeves, including the beloved USSR, he will go on hoping against hope and meet the fate of wishful thinkers, about whom Urdu's greatest poet, Ghalib, once wrote:

*Hum ko unse wafa ki hae ummeed
Jo nahin jante wafa kya hae!*

(We expect loyalty from those who do not know what loyalty is.)

THIS IS PUBLIC SECTOR

According to the information given by the Law Minister Shantilal Shah, Government of Bombay, 2482 persons were killed in 103,262 traffic accidents in Bombay State all caused by the State Transport Vehicles—Trucks and Buses. The number of those who have been run over by the State Buses, but escaped death is not however given. It will be interesting to collect figures of similar casualties in other provinces caused by State-owned transport buses and trucks.

BREADS AND CIRCUSES

Bombay Government's Law Minister Shantilal Shah, disclosed that an expenditure of Rs. 204277 was incurred in deputing 3383 policemen for safety arrangements for the annual Congress Tamasha this time held in Nagpur in January.

It is surprising, that this huge army of policemen were not able to restore order when disturbances broke out in one of the sessions, until some cinema actresses had to be brought to sidetrack the attention of the angry crowd and to keep the session going.

NEVER SAY DIE

Over 20,000 bags of cement, out of a total stock of about six lakhs, stocked in the godown in Raichur district of Mysore State were found missing, according to a report submitted to the Government.

Rats and white ants are known to play havoc with Government stocks including steel safes and Godrej almirahs. In spite of this the Government is determined to play stockist of all food grains in the country.

THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION

By H. A. VENKATA RAO

—:O:—

TODAY we are letting the elected government of the country have everything their own way and trespass beyond the limits of governmental action blithely, in sphere after sphere of citizens' legitimate activity. The only effective theories—(of State action, of the objectives of government policy, of the modes of private enterprise to be permitted to citizens, of the interpretation of the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights, the degree of official discretion in the execution of the Criminal and Penal Code circumscribing citizens' freedom etc.—) in actual practice are those enunciated by Ministers in justification of action already taken. The vast volume of experience and guidance available in the classics of democratic government crystallised out of Eur-american experience is largely ignored. The party in power is behaving as if the majority at the polls it has secured twice running (in the name of Gandhi and under the glamour of having been instrumental in securing national independence (a doubtful claim) confers on it the right and power to do *everything* without let or hindrance. It has assumed the notion of *Omni-competence* for government which is but another name for totalitarianism. The vast body of intellectuals (so-called) in the professional vocations, in journalism and in the teaching line are making no contribution worth the name to clarify the issues implicit in the relations between government and the citizen under modern conditions of extreme complexity of social organisation and under conditions natural to dependent nations for long under foreign rule, struggling to establish democratic usages institutions and precedents.

THE APATHY OF THE "INTELLECTUALS"

The trend all over the globe today is towards collectivism of which the chief ingredient is socialism (and communism). India under Nehru has definitely adopted this trend, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, and as if it were the most beneficent philosophy for the state and society to adopt.

The general public, without the stimulating influence of rational criticism and discussion of the principles involved (in club and office, platform and newspaper at least to the extent necessary), are not aware of the danger implicit in spontaneous and facile conformity to official views and ways. The present writer was amused and disturbed the other day when an old friend—a very intelligent and experienced teacher of long standing—said, as if it were the most natural thing in the world that "after all, our traditional ethics in the *sastras* and epics also taught socialism in practical effect—exhorting us to observe *dharma* or to do good to society. He equated the welfare state and socialism with moral tradition and behests to do good! No wonder that the ordinary man takes it for granted that the government is *Ma and Bap in one and is entitled to enter every sphere of private life in the name of doing public good!*

It is worthwhile reminding ourselves how large a field has already been pre-empted for state activity in the last few years.

QUICK AND RAPID INROADS

Even as early as 1948, the industrial policy statement clearly laid down that the State reserved to itself all key lines of economic production and management—steel and iron, shipping, transport, railways, air communications, banking, insurance, mines etc. In accordance with this policy, extended in the policy statement of 1956, which adumbrates openly and challengingly a full socialist organisation of public affairs covering the whole of the economy, leave by mercy, a certain limited sphere for private enterprise: which is also to function within the limits of overall State planning.

Next came the entry of the State into Trade—foreign and domestic—under the plea of dealing with totalitarian States. But today we find it spreading its tentacles in trade after trade such as cement and manganese and shoes and exhibiting the all too familiar phenomenon of overcharging, extravagance and waste. *The sin lies not so much in inefficiency of dealino as in depriving the public of their natural and traditional modes of earning their living.*

The socialist inspiration of the policy soon came to be a cover for the profit motive. Life insurance was annexed for the public sector with scarcely concealed motives of earning profit to feed the grandiose Five Year Plans!

The sudden and unprepared direction given by the Prime Minister, at a meeting of the National Development Council, to Chief Ministers of States to put in hand immediately a scheme of State Trading in Food Grains, covering the whole country from the Himalayas to the four seas is a peak example of the totalitarian manner in which our new democracy has started to function.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE FUEHRER

Next we see the startling suddenness in which seven provincial Banks are being taken over to Central Union Ownership. They were being controlled, along with all other banks, by the Reserve Bank without ownership but it was not deemed sufficient, apparently. Power lust on the part of Government is progressing with seven league boots in our midst!

The remaining private banks will, no doubt, be annexed before long in the same abrupt manner regardless of the criticism that may be expressed by industrial and commercial circles.

The growing intolerance towards the private sector shows itself frequently in the utterances of the Prime Minister who hints at forthcoming moves towards socialism as soon as the public seem to have digested one set of invasion of public rights.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastry warned industrialists the other day *not to agitate* for their so-called rights of private enterprise. He reminded them of the hostility of the general public towards them as a class! This is intimidation and indicates the rapid change of attitude in ministerial ranks towards totalitarian power which socialism confers on them by right of Marxist

theory and the model of Soviet Russia. The theory, under whose flag Soviet Russia has grown, so fast to the position of a world power rivalling the United States, cannot be wrong! This seem to be now the mood of the Congress chota bosses under their leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Prime Minister himself let out the thought that the co-operative method should be applied some day as part of socialism to big industry as well! The self-employing class investing capital of its own and affording employment to labour (of brawn and brain) is therefore to be jettisoned some day. It may come sooner than anticipated.

HOLDING THE CITIZENS TO RANSOME

Matching these incursions in industry and commerce, we have the daring and calamitous policy of throwing the entire field of agriculture throughout the vast country into the single mould of co-operative farming.

The socialist secret to this move is to capture the harvest from the hands of individual farmers. This will enable the State to give agriculturists the bare minimum of share in the crops and to maximise the share of the government, which will go to feed planning. This will facilitate the purchase of machinery and know-how from foreigners without vexatious foreign exchange complications. The system of co-operative farms (called collective farms or production co-operatives in communist countries) is meant to confer freedom of food and power on the government and not on the farmer. The motive is both economic and political. With the people's food in their hands, government will have the whip-hand on the lives and labour of the agricultural population. All independent farmers will have been reduced to the position of hired labourers—whose conditions of work and wages will be determined by the Government.

Socialism prides itself in liquidating feudalism. But it has the notorious distinction of putting in its place a new system of serfdom more onerous than the old one under the feudal barons!

The final goal of all these piecemeal moves in our country is becoming clear even to the densest intelligence, if only it is confronted with the facts. Moves are taking place simultaneously in so many fronts that the general public are not aware of the extent of the erosion of liberties that has already taken place.

REGIMENTING THE YOUTH

In the field of education, most States have introduced the entirely objectionable policy of monopolising text-book trade in all its aspects—getting authors to write, printers to print and booksellers to sell. The State has become the chief publisher or the only text-book publisher. We cannot object to the Communist Government of Kerala adopting the practice when Congress Governments themselves have set the unwholesome example.

The range of compulsion is being extended insidiously. Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastry is threatening exporters that if they do not export enough to earn the foreign exchange required for the Plans, he will introduce compulsion! Government, that is to say, will decree that a certain percentage of industrial production should be sold abroad, irrespective of profit or convenience to the producer.

Another field in which government are threatening compulsion is that of small loans to Government. If the middle-classes from whom this kind of loan is asked do not give enough voluntarily, it is said that Government will institute a system of forced savings!

We recall the announcement by Khrushchev last year (or the year before the last) that his government would not repay the loans deducted from the salaries of Soviet wage-earners for the last twenty years—neither principal nor interest! What guarantee is there, at the rate at which socialisation is being forced on the country, that before the term announced for repayment is reached, a similar repudiation will not be made by our Government as well? Socialism justifies such repudiation.

For the cold truth is that socialism claims full control over the labour of all citizens by right of Karl Marx's doctrine under the plea that it will lead them to the earthly paradise in the next generations.

The Ginger-Group is also whispering that it is high time to make a beginning with compulsory labour! Mr. Nanda has said that he has accepted in principle the idea of forcing the idle people in villages (why not in towns and cities, beginning with able-bodied beggars?) to work on public works such as roads and tanks for a minimum wage of 12 annas per day! It is clear that the socialist terminology of referring to human beings as labour commodity is having its natural fruits.

"MARX-IN-KHADI" SPEAKS OUT

The spirit of all these restrictions and invasions of citizens rights came out in a flash in a recent speech by the Prime Minister when he let out the idea that "regimentation of thought is necessary", in so many words. If the salt itself loseth its savour, wherewith will it be salted?—is the agonising cry with which thoughtful people heard of this unguarded sally of the Prime Minister—who is regarded fondly as the hope of democracy in all the East! It is clear to all except the wilfully blind that the Prime Minister has let his socialism overcome his democracy.

What then is the remedy? The remedy consists in a widespread realisation of the primary ideas of democracy as expressed in society and State. The first such idea refers to the limits of State action.

People should be taught the original function of the State—its differentia that separates it from other social institutions. The State should go back to its fundamental functions of maintaining law and order within society through the magistracy and the policy, of adjudging the quarrels and mutual invasion of rights by citizens, of keeping each vocation within its limits by preventing it from exploiting others, and of defence against foreign invaders.

The State may perform certain services requiring uniformity and monopoly such as posts and telegraphs, railways and ordnance.

The socialist idea of making the State sole trader, sole manufacturing, sole transporter, sole healer, sole educator, sole preacher of public morality, etc. etc. should be rendered unpopular as destroying individual liberty and democracy in due course. The theory of the omni-competence of the State implied in

socialism is accompanied by a number of other assumptions which are equally deleterious and false.

Marxism is committed to the idea of the State as but a system of force used by a class in support of its sole interests. It holds that the liberal democratic State is motivated by its interests in the capitalist class.

It holds that therefore there is no use in argument and persuasion with the holders of power even in a democracy! Bourgeois democracy cannot, it is said, by socialists, yield to the working class any essential right but would, rather give up the pretence of democracy and fight as a fascist State!

This conclusion is wrong. It is psychologically possible for a people to uphold the idea of the State as the agent of the *common good of the whole of society*. The State can be regarded as reconciler and regulator of all the conflicting interests of different classes.

For this purpose, absolute impartiality as between the interests of different pressure groups is necessary. The State should be the fountain of justice first and foremost. For this purpose, it should *not identify* itself with any particular class, whether of the rich or of the poor or of the middle-class. The State should be *above party and class, creed and community*.

It is necessary in our country today to clarify the true function of the State which are limited in aim. The freeing of the governmental apparatus from immersion in the defence of vested interests—whether of labour or of capital—is essential for the functioning of democracy and the guarantee of individual rights. It is only libertarian doctrine that upholds such a view of the State and Government. There is great need for convinced lovers of liberty to expound the faith that is in them with reference to the rapidly encroaching tentacles of governmental action and initiate a healthier stream of tendency. This is true service more important than any other so-called constructive work such as *bhoodan*.

IF INDIA TAKES TO HINDI, IT WILL BE A RULE BY ILLITERATES

Shri Rajaji said recently that, if Hindi became the national language we would all be ruled by illiterates. If you disagree with this observation, study the following Table. That the Hindi-speaking people have the lowest proportion of literacy will be evident from the Table given below:—

PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY IN INDIA

	Men	Women	Total
INDIA	24.87	7.87	16.61
Bombay State	31.70	10.99	21.65
Kerala State	50.37	31.65	40.88
West Bengal	34.23	12.21	24.02
Andhra Pradesh	19.67	6.84	13.12
Uttar Pradesh	17.38	3.56	10.80
Madhya Pradesh	16.22	3.22	9.83
Rajasthan	14.44	3.00	8.95
Bihar State	20.46	3.76	12.15

This information is official and taken from 'India 1957'

PLACE OF ENGLISH

Bombay Education Minister Hitendra Desai, replying to the debate on the Education grant, in the Bombay Assembly, stated that there was no unanimity in the Secondary Education Committee over the teaching of English in Secondary Schools. Members were divided on the question whether English should be taught from the VIII standard as in Old Bombay, or from the V as in Vidarbha and former Madhya Pradesh. The Committee has recommended teaching of English from the V standard "on an optional basis under certain conditions."

Evading the issues is no solution for them. Option given in Old Madhya Pradesh and present Vidarbha, to Secondary School students in respect of Mathematics, has resulted only in creating a large army of Matriculates who are not admitted to technical courses, and to whom clerical jobs are practically barred. The option has turned out to be option for ruining one's career.

If English has a place in our national life and administration, it is better that students are given adequate knowledge of the subject, without giving them option to go out of schools ill-equipped for life. Reference to All-India competitive results will show that Bombay despite all the praises showered on it for advancement, and Madhya Pradesh, figure very poorly in them.

The Education Minister rightly pointed out that the place of English in Education must depend upon All-India decisions. But so long as these decisions are not taken, the object of education in any State should be to ensure that its students are on level with those in other States.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Communists never practice what they preach; their true intentions are always hidden from what they profess.

One of the pronouncements of Lenin's dated 1923, inscribed in the Lenin's Museum runs as follows:—
"First we (the Communists) will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands".

Yet, we find Khrushchev shouting at the top of his voice that "we stand for World Peace", and (for consumption of the neutral, countries). "We believe in co-existence".

Truth is the first casualty in the communist schemata of world conquest. Communists have scant respect for promises, which has been abundantly spelled out. Lenin: "Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken." Stalin: "Good words are a mask for bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." Recently, Bulganin: "The Communist party never makes a compromise unless it is in its ultimate favour."

THAT SILLY QUESTION

By H. V. KAMATH

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NOT so very long ago, addressing a public meeting in Bombay, Prime Minister Nehru roundly berated those who raise the question: "After Nehru, what?" or "After Nehru, who?" He observed that such people were mostly those who were not working hard enough for the development of the country, when he himself is still with us, fit and strong. He felt that the question was a product of lazy or idle minds, and added that such questions did not behave people in a rising democracy. In spite of his admonition, however, the inane question continues to be asked: "After Nehru, what?" "After Nehru, who?"

To me it seems that the query emanates mostly from sycophants or cowards, from toadies or poltroons; and our country today, because of her dependence on foreigners for centuries has, among her teeming millions, a large number of such unenviable folk. Their attitude is reinforced by the Indian tradition of near-worshipping certain individuals, to such an extent that they tend to be regarded as indispensable, and their departure from the terrestrial scene cannot be contemplated without gnawing anxiety and fear. Acharya Kripalani once factiously referred to this matter in the Lok Sabha, and said that it was not surprising that in a country where people worshipped even trees and stones they should adore a nice man like Nehru! *Dr. Ambedkar, speaking in more serious vein in the valedictory session of the Constituent Assembly, in November 1949, warned that the tendency to hero-worship bordering on deification so prevalent in this country would spell danger to a living and vigorous democracy.*

I do not for a moment suggest that Jawaharlal Nehru has not played a vital, important and even essential role in India's history, before and after independence. But do those who torment themselves and trouble others with the question, "After Nehru, who or what?" pause to think how much anguish they must be thereby causing to a great man who has set his heart upon making India a mighty democratic republic, capable of looking after itself, and has sought to impart his passion to others? Surely Nehru is not the sort of person who exults in the thought, "After me, the Deluge", and those who think they will please him by asking, "After Nehru, what?" are sadly mistaken. I have no doubt whatever that he regards such persons as at least stupid or silly. He would, on the contrary, be delighted if people could confidently assure him: "Jawaharlalji, you have been fighting and striving for over four decades. "You have shown us the way. You may have made mistakes, even blunders, but you and we have learnt from such mistakes. We will put forth our best efforts for the country, just as you have done in your time. You have so helped us to grow that we should not feel helpless without you. Pandit Nehru is never tired of exhorting people to "walk erect, with heads held high," and to "stand on your own feet."

THE HOUR WOULD BRING FORTH THE MAN

It is said that the hour brings forth the man: call it god, Fate, Time-spirit or what you will. There are, to use the famous words of Lokmanya Tilak, "higher Powers that rule the destiny of men and things". Nehru, though an agnostic,—and in this respect very unlike Tilak, Gandhi and Subhas, must, I daresay, acknowledge, being the scientist that he is, that there are forces mightier than man, forces that control him, use him, at times even master him, forces that mould events and shape history. And what extensive happiness can a truly great man experience than that he is being used for a great cause or purpose by a Greater Power? I recall how Nehru once approvingly quoted Bernard Shaw to that effect in the Lok Sabha. A person cast in such a mould would indeed be irritated and annoyed by the question "What will happen after you?" O ye of little faith!

I have not heard of such a question being raised in other countries of the world, whether democratic or totalitarian. Did anybody in Britain, beleaguered and battered during World War II, bother to ask, "After Churchill, What?" As a matter of fact they overthrow the hero even before the war was over. Did anybody ask in the United States: "After Roosevelt, What?" or even a century ago: "After Lincoln, What?" Was the question ever raised in Russia, "After Lenin, who?" There the Fates so conspired that after his (Lenin's) passing, the expected successor Trotsky went down, and the comparatively, unknown Stalin emerged to the fore. Even in our country people did not raise the question, "After Mahatma Gandhi, What?" as often as they have been doing about Nehru. May be it was because we were then fighting for political freedom, while the responsibility for administration and defence of the country rested on the shoulders of foreigners. We have felt frightened and worried since that heavy burden was transferred to our own shoulders amid the horror of a bloody partition. Somehow we don't yet feel equal to the task, and in a crisis gripped world we feel unsafe and insecure. More so because the Administration of the country, during the first decade after Independence, has been marked by planned plunder, wanton waste and criminal corruption on an unprecedented scale. Besides, the temperamental, indecisive but attractive personality of Nehru, with his restless mind and tireless tongue, aggrandized by the adulation of a fawning multitude, has exerted such tremendous influence that our people's minds are filled with apprehension not so much for the future of democracy as for the future itself after Nehru!

NOT MATURE FOR DEMOCRACY

We still need decades of strenuous training before we can attain political maturity, and learn to appreciate and assess the necessity, the importance of great leaders, without regarding them as absolutely indispensable, and without getting frightened to death at the

prospect of their leaving the scene in accordance with God's will.

While our Premier does, doubtless, possess many shining qualities, his position, power and prestige are in considerable measure derived from the fact that Mahatma Gandhi publicly proclaimed him, in the early forties, as his "heir," as well as from the fact that his opulent father, Motilal Nehru, relieved him of all financial worry, and enabled him to become a 'whole-timer' in politics from his early youth. After India became politically free, the sudden disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose eliminated the only formidable rival that he ever had.

A GOAL-LESS SOCIETY

Strangely enough, the Mahatma's 'heir' is promoting perhaps unawares, a Godless state and a goal-less society in India. That is why the Plan and "Panchasheela" are going away. How can Nehru possibly forget that our political awakening was preceded by a spiritual renaissance, illumined by Ramakrishna and Dayananda, and nurtured by Vivekananda and Aurobindo? Any attempt to break away from the undying spiritual genius of India will damage the very fabric of our life and culture.

Today as he surveys the national landscape, Nehru cannot feel very happy. While our country has pursued global glamour with some degree of success the home fires are growing dimmer day by day. The Con-

gress party which he has led these many years is fast becoming a thing of shreds and patches in almost every State. The administrative machine is cracking in every other joint, and is unable to cope with the demands made upon it by the ruling party's insatiable appetite for economic as well as political power. The Prime Minister's proneness to shield wrong-doers for reasons divorced from public interest has led to a perceptible decline in public standards, and seriously injured the morale of the public services. His masterly inactivity in the face of Pakistan aggression, his 'volte face' over Goa, his vacillation over Hungary and Tibet have evoked adverse, even caustic comment at home and abroad. Nevertheless Nehru's greatest asset has been his 'mass appeal,' and it cannot be gainsaid that in our India today he still has this in fair measure.

Posterity is likely to ask: "Jawaharlal Nehru had so much power, yet he achieved so little. "Why"? We in our generation are confronted with "After Nehru, Who?" or "After Nehru, What?" It is a rapid question that deserves no answer. For Nehru himself has voiced his conviction that this great country will maintain its steady progress. And in a press conference sometime ago he himself gave an appropriate answer, in his characteristic style, albeit in another context: "What the future developments may be, depends upon the future, I cannot say"!

The Free Will and the Market Place

II*

By FRANK CHODOROV

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THE possibility of specialization as population increases is enhanced by another peculiarly human characteristic—the trading instinct. A trade is the giving up of something one has in order to acquire something he wants. The trader puts less worth on what he possesses than what he desires. This is what we call evaluation.

It is not necessary here to go into the theory, or theories, of value except to point out that evaluation is a psychological process. It springs from the human capacity to judge the intensity of various desires. The fisherman has more fish than he cares to eat but would like to add potatoes to his menu; he puts a lower value on fish than on potatoes; the farmer is in the opposite position, his barn being full of potatoes and his plate devoid of fish. If an exchange can be effected, both will profit, both will acquire an added satisfaction. In every trade—provided neither force nor fraud is involved—seller and buyer both profit.

Only man is a trader. No other creature is capable of estimating the intensity of its desire and of giving up what it has in order to get something it wants. Man alone has the gift of free will. To be sure, he may go wrong in his estimate and may make a trade that is to his disadvantage. In his moral lift, too, he may err. But when he makes the wrong moral choice

we hold that he should suffer the consequences, and hope that he will learn from the unpleasant experience.

So it must be in his search for a more abundant life. If in his search for a good life the human must be allowed to make use of his free will, why should he not be accorded the same right in the search for a more abundant life? Many of the persons who would abolish free choice in the market place logically conclude that man is not endowed with free will, that free will is a fiction, that man is merely a product of his environment. This premise ineluctably leads them to the denial of the soul and, of course, the denial of God.

Those who rail against the market place as if it were a den of iniquity or against its techniques as being founded in man's inhumanity, overlook the function of the market place in bringing people into closer contact with one another. Remember, the market place makes specialization possible, but specialization makes men interdependent. The first pioneer somehow or other made his cabin; but his son, having accustomed himself to hiring a professional carpenter, can hardly put up a single shelf in a cabin. And today, if some catastrophe should cut off Madison from the surrounding farms, the citizens of the city would starve. If the market place were abolished, people would still pass the time of day or exchange recipes or bits of news: but they would no longer be

*This is the second and final part of the article. The first part appeared in our issue of April 15, 1959.

dependent on one another, and their self-sufficiency would tend to break down their society. For that reason we can say that society and the market place are two sides of the same coin. If God intended man to be a social animal, he intended him to have a market place.

TRADERS SERVE ONE ANOTHER

But, let me return to our imaginary experiment. We found that as the pioneer colony grew in numbers, a tendency toward specialization arose. It was found that by this division of labour more could be produced. But this profusion from specialization would serve no purpose unless some way were found to distribute it. The way is to trade. The shoe-maker, for instance, makes a lot of shoes of various sizes, but he is not interested in shoes per se; after all, he can wear but one pair and of one particular size. He makes the other shoes because other people want them and will give him in exchange the things he wants; bread, raiment, books what not—the things in which his interest would naturally lie. He makes shoes in order to serve himself, but in order to serve himself, he has to serve others. He has to render a social service in order to pursue his own search for a more abundant life.

In our lexicon we refer to a business undertaking by the Government as a social service; but this is a misnomer, because, we can never be certain that the service rendered by the Government business is acceptable to society. Society is compelled to accept these services, or to pay for them even if unwanted. The element of force is never absent from a Government managed business. On the other hand, the private entrepreneur cannot exist unless society voluntarily accepts what he has to offer; he must render a social service or go out of business.

Let us suppose that this shoemaker is especially efficient, that many people in the community like his service, and therefore trade with him. He acquires what we call a profit. Has he done so at the expense of his customers? Do they lose because he has a profit? Or do they not gain in proportion to the profits he makes? They patronize him because the shoes he offers are better than they could make themselves or could get elsewhere and for that reason they are quite willing to trade with him. They want what they get more than they want what they give up and therefore profit even as he profits.

If he goes wrong in his estimate of their requirements, if he makes the wrong sizes, or styles that are not wanted, or uses inferior materials, people will not patronize him and he will suffer a loss. He will have no wage return for the labor he puts in and no return for the capital—the hides and machinery—which he uses in making his unwanted product. The best he can do under the circumstances, in order to recoup some of his investment, is to hold a bargain basement sale. That is the co-relative of profits—losses.

No entrepreneur is wise enough to predetermine the exact needs or desires of the community he hopes to serve and his errors of judgment always come home to plague him. But, the point to keep in mind is that when an entrepreneur profits, he does so because he has served his community well; and when he losses,

the community does not gain. A business that fails does not prosper society.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE FUNCTION

The market place not only facilitates the distribution of abundances—including the abundances that nature has spread all over the globe, like the coal of Pennsylvania for the citrus fruit of Florida, or the oil of Iran for the coffee of Brazil—but it also directs the energies of all the specialists who make up society. This it does through the instrumentality of its price indicator. On this instrument are recorded in unmistakable terms just what the various members of the society want, and how much they want it. If the hand on this indicator goes up, if higher prices are bid for a certain commodity, the producers are advised that there is a demand for this commodity in excess of the supply, and they then know how best to invest their labors for their own profits and for the profit of society. A lower price, on the other hand, tells them that there is a superfluity of a certain commodity, and they know that to make more of it would entail a loss because Society has a sufficiency.

The price indicator is an automatic device for recording the freely expressed wishes of the community members, the tally of their dollar ballots for this or that satisfaction, the spontaneous and noncoercive regulator of productive effort. One who chooses to tamper with this delicate instrument does so at the risk of producing a scarcity of the things wanted or an overabundance of unwanted things; for he disturbs the national order.

BENEFICIARIES OF COMPETITION

One more social function of the market place needs mentioning. It is the determinant of productive efficiency, provided, of course, it is permitted to operate according to the unimpeded motive power of free will. In the primitive economy we have been examining, one shoemaker can take care of the shoe needs of the community. Under these conditions the efficiency of that server is determined by his skill, his industry and his whim. He alone can fix the standard of the service he renders his customers, or the prices he charges. Assuming that they can go nowhere else for shoes, their only recourse if they do not like his services or his prices is either to go without or to make their own footwear.

As the community grows in size, another shoe specialist will show up to share the trade with the first one. With the appearance of a second shoemaker, the standard of efficiency is no longer determined by one producer. It is determined by the rivalry between them for the trade of the community. One offers to fix shoes "while you wait", the other lowers his prices, and the first one comes back with a larger assortment of sizes or styles. This is competition.

Now the beneficiaries of the improved services resulting from competition are the members of society. The more competition and the keener the competition, the greater the fund of satisfactions in the market place. Oddly enough, the competitors do not suffer because the abundance resulting from their improved efficiency attracts more shoe customers; "competition" the old adage holds "is good for business".

If, perchance, one of the competitors cannot keep up with the improving standard of performance, he may find himself out of business; but the increased productive activity resulting from the competition means that there are more productive jobs to be filled, and in all likelihood, he can earn more as a foreman for one of the competitors, than he could as an entrepreneur. Even those physically unable to care for themselves and dependent on others are benefitted by competition; when there is an abundance in the market place, charity can be more liberal.

IMMUTABLE LAWS PREVAIL

I am not attempting here a complete course in economics. What I have tried to show is that in economics, as in other disciplines, there are inflexible principles, inevitable consequences, immutable laws written into the nature of things. Exercising his free will, man can attempt to defy the law of gravitation by jumping off a high place; but the law operates without regard for his conceit; and he ends up with a broken neck.

So, if the first pioneer had set up with force of arms a claim to everything produced in the Madison

area, other pioneers would not have come near and the community known as Madison would never have been born. Or, if he could have collected tribute, also by force of arms, from every producer in the area, he would have driven prospective specialists to places where private property was respected. If the first show-maker had established himself, with the help of law, as a monopolised, barring competition, the shoes that Madisonians wore would have been of poor quality, scarce and costly; the same result would have followed any legal scheme to subsidise his inefficiency at the expense of tax payers. If early Madisonians had decreed to abolish the market place with its price indicator, specialisation and exchange would have been thwarted and the economy of Madison would have been characterised by scarcity.

The laws of economics, like other natural laws, are self-enforcing and carry built-in sanctions. If these laws are either unknown or not heeded, the inevitable eventual penalty will be an economy of scarcity, a poor uncoordinated society, why? Because, the laws of nature are expressions of the will of God. You cannot monkey with them without suffering the consequences.

—Courtesy: "Freeman"

THE RATIONALIST VIEW

DALAI LAMA--A HEADACHE TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY

By S. RAMANATHAN *Secretary, Indian Rationalist Association*

THE agitation carried on in India in favour of the Dalai Lama and his followers is altogether improper and violates the principle of separation of religion from politics incorporated in our Constitution. The Dalai Lama is not only a foreign potentate but is also the head of a Church. While the people of India sympathise with his personal difficulties and would certainly extend to him their traditional hospitality granting him the asylum he seeks for in our country, they are nevertheless embarrassed by the political implications of his statement at Tezpur which certainly create a head-ache for our Ministry of External Affairs.

A MYTH

The cultural affinity between India and Tibet is altogether a myth. It may be that Tibetan Buddhists consider the Buddhist shrines in India as sacred. But none in India has any religious affinity or connection with places in Tibet. The religion which the Dalai Lama heads is not the religion as expounded by Buddha, but is an interpretation of the Buddhist doctrine which is accepted only by the Tibetan Buddhists who number about one million out of the four hundred and odd millions of Buddhists in the world. Buddha abandoned his throne and gave up all temporal power in order to spread his message, while Lamaism grabs at temporal power in order to strengthen its spiritual hold on the people. Buddha did not believe in the doctrine of re-incarnation. *Anitya*, *Anatman* and *Nirvana* are the three corner stones of Buddha's teachings. Buddha did not believe in the soul much less in its survival and re-incarnation into another body after death. But the Institution of the Dalai Lama is built up around a theory that the soul of the Dalai Lama at the moment of his death re-incar-

nates into the body of a human child which is born exactly at the moment of the Dalai Lama's death and starts another period of existence in the world for the dead Dalai Lama.

Besides this particular child must be born in a particular region in Tibet. This is an ingenious device invented by a crafty Dalai Lama called Nag-Wan in the 15th Century A.D. to secure stability for succession to the headship of his sect against electioneering intrigues. No wonder this exclusive cult is accepted only by so few of the followers of Buddha, the vast majority of whom follow more liberal interpretations of Buddha's teachings.

RATIONALISM AND BUDDHISM

The most advanced school of Buddhism is developed in Japan and is known as Zen Buddhism which is quite modern and follows a philosophy of Realism. It is allied to the Existentialism of Jean Paul Sartre. The vast body of Buddhists in India are Rationalists and follow the liberal spirit of Buddha who was after all a reformer of Hinduism, never intended to start a new religion and attempted to save the people of India from the crude formalism and superstitions in which they were immersed. The liberal view of Buddhism prevalent in India was expounded by the late Prof. Lakshmi Narasu in his book on "the Essence of Buddhism". It was this interpretation that was accepted by Dr. Ambedkar when he started the mass movement of Hindu untouchables to embrace the Buddhist religion. The people of India, and especially our Buddhist countrymen, cannot associate themselves with the narrow sectarianism which the Dalai Lama represents, nor do they sympathise with or support the Dalai Lama's efforts to assert his spiritual and temporal authority.

FROM LHASA TO DELHI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITAM

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L ENIN had said: "The way from Moscow to Paris lies, through Peking and Calcutta". The unscrupulous, ruthless rape of Tibet by Communist China has brought the red star to the very doorsteps of India. That peaceful, unarmed and mystical tableland, the "roof of the world," is stripped naked of her freedom, honour and life overnight through sheer might of the Chinese Reds. Dalai Lama, the Pope of Buddhism is now a political refugee in our country. What next?

RED PRETENSIONS EXPOSED

Those who for purely humanitarian motives looked to Socialism as the redeemer of the exploited and "have-nots" are now to revise their attitude to the entire leftist political ideology. Communism was always associated with hatred and violence. Time was when it was preached from the housetops that class hatred and violence was restricted to Russia, and that China had a peaceful garb around her communism. When the Chinese Reds advanced into Korea and halted the American army, Asian nationalists thought that it was purely a defensive war to save the honour and integrity of an Asian country from the Yanks. But now, with the rape of Tibet, all masks of Red China are removed. We are face to face with a naked, cruel and the most outright aggression on a military weak and spiritually peaceful country. We have to open our eyes now.

India's defensive power is in no way a match to the Chinese war machine. Like Tibet we have remained a super-religious country with a high pitch of idealism and transcendental talks, but in economy, social uplift, military defensive powers we have remained in the background. Now comes the time when Nehru has to say "Amen" to the policy of our next-door military giant that is China. Already Nehru has "amen-ed" China by saying that Tibet "is an internal problem of China". Racially, culturally and politically China and Tibet are different. Neighbourhood does not mean domestication. If the Chinese move into Assam, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, sweeping downwards will Nehru still say that all these are the domestic issues of China?

FOR THESE SMALL MERCIES, THANKS

We, however, give credit to Nehru for having voiced the feelings of India towards the respectable personality of Dalai Lama. All parties and factions within the country, except the Communists in the Lok Sabha, expressed concern and grief at the fate of Dalai Lama and the recent happenings in Tibet. But feelings and emotions pass away with time, Time that is a healer of wounds and sorrows.

What next? What about the open road from Lhasa to Delhi? Will the Chinese Reds halt in Tibet? Or will they continue their advance into Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam and then to the heart of New Delhi? These are the anxious questions that naturally rise in the heart of every loyal nationalist Indian. If the Reds force their way into India, where are our defen-

sive forces? The Chinese have a totally mobilized army with several millions under arms, drawn from the immense man power that is theirs. But ours is a paid army, still modelled to the old British pattern. We take credit on the peace mission of our armed forces in Korea, Indo-China and elsewhere. But, what in time of war? Specially with the Red China? And American-armed Pakistan?

Perhaps the answer to these questions may be "top-secrets" known to our Defence Ministry or top-leaders. *But in a democracy, the people have a right to know the facts and figures to ease their conscience and hope for a future for them and their progeny.*

With the total conquest of Tibet by China the road from Lhasa to Delhi is opened. There is no more any buffer state in between. We are now faced with the problem of survival and territorial integrity of that India that is left over after that cruel vivisection of our own indivisible Bharat into India and Pakistan. Past is past; yet the past is an index to the future. All of us have to wake up and work hard to maintain freedom and integrity in our country.

DON'T EXCHANGE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM TO THE DEMAGOGUES

No matter what you do for a living, whether you have your own business or work for others, Government influence on your work is something that you ought to understand and which you cannot afford to ignore. Work is primarily a means to an end—the earning and accumulation of money to enable you to live and do the things you want to do.

You will work better with incentives, and when it is obvious that your firm is doing well—because that will mean better pay. There should be an atmosphere of freedom and opportunity for individuals—individuals working as a team, profiting as a team.

So where does the Government come in, and why does it matter to you? Because you don't want to be over-taxed and penalised when you do well—you don't work to make money for the state. You won't want the Government taking over your firm, and showing you how to do your job. What do civil servants know about it? They aren't builders, steel workers, insurance agents—these are your jobs, not of the Government.

If you lose your freedom to profit from hard work and thrift to a Government which may squander the proceeds of your success, it will be your fault. It'll be because you have forfeited your rights and been talked into giving up freedom in exchange for an organised standardised ant-like society.

Hold fast to your freedom. Beware of do-gooders. Don't yield in to the temptations of demagogues who will rob you of your individual freedom in the name of socialism, welfare state and a thousand other chimera.

The Impact Of The Plan On The Common Man

THE Ministry of Finance of the Government of India has published a brochure entitled "Economic Survey" 1958-59, which gives index numbers of wholesale prices. We quote a few items below:—

Food articles	May 1955	January 1959
Cereals	67	105
Wheat	58	125
Jowar	52	107
Bajra	67	132
Pulses	48	117
Gram	38	121
Edible oils	76	119
Mustard oil	91	139
Sugar and gur	82	127
Fuel, power etc.	96	115

The working class consumer price index for all India, covering all items, has jumped from 96 in 1955 to 123 in October 1958.

No comment is called for. While India's top leaders are engaged in national debate on the benefits of land ceilings, co-operatives and State trading in foodgrains, the man in the street is finding it increasingly difficult to make both ends meet.

Why, inspite of a bounteous harvest, are prices of necessities of life soaring continuously? The answer is very simple. Even before the end of the second five year plan, our rulers have printed notes worth Rs. 1,138 crores. The effect of inflation has just become perceptible, but this is only the beginning. This year, the purchasing power of the rupee will go down to 3 annas.

TWELVE YEARS OF CONGRESS RULE

The opposition to the Prime Minister in the country today is not based on differences of opinion over service co-operatives. It is based on distrust of the Congress as a ruling party and the growing public comprehension of the immorality, dishonesty, corruption and hypocrisy of the Congress leaders. Indulging in a very pleasing valuation of himself at press conference, Mr. Nehru said: "I am not a politician out for a job. I am a man out to do something in India to change the peasant and the agricultural economy of this country in the few years left to me." Words like these might have made a great impression at one time. But now they simply fall flat and serve only to emphasise the widening gap between the professions and the practices of the ruling Congress leaders. Adverting to this phenomenon, a writer in the *Manchester Guardian* sums up the tragedy of post Gandhian Indian independence thus:—

"After twelve years in office they (the Congress leaders) are Mahatma's disciples no longer; they are professional politicians. Office is no purgatory. Congressmen fight for power in Bihar and Mysore over caste, in the Punjab over religion, in Bombay over language, elsewhere over leadership—yet they talk as if they were monks forced into office for duty. Mr. Nehru himself sets the bad example. Everybody knows that power is his oxygen, yet he will talk as if it were a hair cut."

When Mr. Nehru says "I believe with passion in the progress of India" the words cut no ice as they

carry the familiar ring of similar language uttered from many platforms by other deities in the Congress Pantheon.

The main objection to the Nagpur resolutions lies in their expropriatory character and the over-bureaucratisation of the agricultural economy which they foreshadow. Land is not a form of property which is obtained by favour. It represents an investment from the savings of people. The right to its undisturbed possession and enjoyment is in no way different morally from the right to other forms of property, such as houses, industrial shares, gold and silver and cash. To dispossess even to a limited extent the owners of land by means of legislation is to introduce in legislation a form of force and violence which cannot be held within defined bounds as the Congress Popes fondly imagine it can be. It will make greed more rewarding than work, let loose uncontrollable insecurity on every kind of property and fill the nation's economy in every nook and corner of it with unsettlement, hatred, fierce resentments and the spirit of Pindaris and Thugs. Internal dissension has already broken out in the Congress with the Secretary himself raising the standard of revolt, and dissension accompanied by civil war and violence will be the fate of the country if the depredatory plan of the Nagpur resolutions, in patent violation of the protective sections of the Constitution itself, are not abandoned in time.

PLANNING IN HASTE

The "serious difficulties" which according to Jain, many State-Government have found in the present scheme for State trading in foodgrains can well be imagined. They have not prevented light-hearted Ministerial affirmation that the Union Government is "completely earnest" about State trading "and we are going to pursue it to the end." What that terrible end will be is the principal cause for worry. The way retail trading is conducted by State agencies is a poor advertisement for a similar and still less well prepared mad plunge into wholesale transactions. A good crop has not shielded the consumer from shortage and dearness in the open market and stone chips as well as shortage from the controlled. State trading during the war acquired a reputation for malpractices and corruption.

There is no reason to think that things will be any different now. So long, the Welfare State has been understood by the common man as one that goes on increasing the burden of taxation every year. Now, he will realize that the Welfare State also aims at making everybody (except the rulers) unhappy by creating an artificial food shortage *vis-a-vis* a bumper harvest. In Patna, the price of coarse rice has been going up at the rate of about one rupee per maund every week. If the price of rice be Rs. 22.8 in March, it will certainly rise to 30 or 35 in October next.

MUDDLE-HEADED THINKING

P RIME Minister Nehru while inaugurating the 19th session of the All-India Manufacturer's Organisation in Bombay declared himself against concentration of power in the hands of private industry. He said that concentration of power in big industries of the public sector was also dangerous but "not to the same extent." He further said that there was also a danger in decentralisation for if carried beyond a certain limit, it would reduce the state into a weak power. What do all these things mean? If concentration of power in the hands of private industry is harmful, one wonders why it is not harmful "to the same extent" in big industries of the public sector. The Prime Minister himself said that his objection to concentration of power stemmed from the consideration that man could enjoy freedom only when power was decentralised. If that is so, concentration of power in all cases must be equally dangerous and any distinction about the degree of danger is arbitrary. Moreover, a decentralised society will necessarily make the State an institution with very limited power. But Mr. Nehru is perhaps eager to maintain omnipotence of the State in the society because he is not prepared to make the State weak. His activities also lend countenance to the belief that he is not genuinely opposed to the doctrine of State omnipotence. He has made the State virtually an all-powerful institution having authority in all spheres of life—economic, political, cultural, educational and what not. Under his leadership all powers are now concentrated in the hands of few persons of the Union Government because India is federation more in name than in fact. When he therefore talks of decentralisation it hardly carries conviction. One suspects that either he does not know his own mind, or he is deliberately indulging in double talk.

COMMUNISM AND "CO-EXISTENCE"

A RAB nationalists like nationalists every where else, have realised that it is impossible to have a compromise between Communism and Nationalism.

Communism is both national and international, but in a long run, internationalism over-takes and suppresses the former. This truth has been sought to be established in a 60 page pamphlet issued by the U.A. R.S' Information Department.

The pamphlet declared there was a link between communist activities in Iraq and Tibet as part of an "international design to strike at the independence of peaceful peoples and demolish bastions of positive neutrality and non-alignment."

"Nehru and Nasser led the Bandung movement many years ago. Communist newspapers were then praising Nehru as a man of peace. Now that Nehru has damaged the bass of Western Imperialism in Asia, Moscow imagines that he has lost his utility.

"Thus the idea of planting a Communist base in India has emerged and local Communists are being

provided with money to spread propaganda against Nehru."

Besides the pamphlet emphasises a well known fact that the Indian Communists are foreign agents. The Communists after their brutality in subduing Tibet intend to subvert Nepal and Bhutan.

"The Red dagger that is stabbing Iraq is the same as the one stabbing Tibet...it is as if international Communism wants to strike at positive neutrality and non-alignment.

In Tibet lamas were massacred by the thousand, monasteries were desecrated and family life was destroyed. "Tibetan children will belong to the State and there will be no special wife or son for any man." Mr. Khrushchev had earlier established "co-existence in Hungary between tanks and the corpses they crushed and between cannon and the houses they destroyed."

A PLAIN ANSWER ON BERLIN

The correct response to the Berlin challenge is : a) to maintain access to Berlin by whatever diplomatic or military means are necessary; b) to demand the solution of the Berlin crisis through free, internationally supervised elections in all Germany, East and West, and in all captive nations of East Europe. A massive, systematic campaign in the sense of this double response should be the persisting business of the NATO allies.

But this still leaves a practical gap. To Khrushchev's threat to isolate Berlin, the West needs a direct, immediate and commensurate counter. This is ready at hand, if we choose to use it.

Let the NATO powers jointly and severally proclaim : On the day that the Kremlin or its East German puppet imposes any block on access to Berlin, we shall institute a total embargo on all transactions, economic, fiscal and cultural, between our nations and the Soviet Empire. All trade will cease; all contracts be suspended, all monetary balances blocked, all visas cancelled, all interconnecting air and rail transport cut.

What Khrushchev threatens amounts to an embargo of exactly this sort on Berlin. Our reply would be in kind, would be manifestly just, and would be in terms that Khrushchev could neither ignore nor postpone.

If both threats were carried out, Khrushchev would stand to lose from the Western-imposed embargo far more than he could win from his embargo on Berlin. We may therefore expect that, once he became convinced of the seriousness of a NATO intention along these lines, he would hold up any bridge-cutting action over Berlin. For the first time it might become possible for the West to enter into a negotiation with Moscow on terms that did not guarantee in advance a pro-Soviet outcome.

—From National Review.

What Future Holds For Spain ?

By T. L. Kantam

A STORY popular in Spain runs as follows: When King Ferdinand III died, being a Saint, he went to Heaven, where the Virgin told him to ask any favours for beloved Spain. The monarch petitioned for oil, wine and corn—conceded; for sunny skies, brave men and pretty women—allowed; for cigars, relics, garlic and bulls—by all means; for a good government—“Nay, nay” said the Virgin “that can never be granted; for were it bestowed, not an angel would remain a day longer in Heaven.”

Once one of the world's greatest powers, with the colonies extending over the whole of Central and South America and including Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the Kingdom of Spain (for it is still nominally a monarchy) now consists of only the mainland and a few scattered African possessions.

CATHOLIC MOORS

The people who inhabit Spain are the product of a number of successive invasions. For six hundred years, from the 2nd Century B.C. to the 4th Century A.D., Spain was part of the Roman Empire. The effect of this occupation was that Latin became the language of the Peninsula and the people became highly Romanized.

Shortly after the beginning of the eighth century, the Moors obtained a footing and gradually extended their rule over the whole of Spain. In the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, Cordoba, the capital, became the centre of culture and the wealthiest city in Europe. It was not until 1492 that the last Moorish stronghold, the Kingdom of Granada fell to the forces of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The influence of eight hundred years of Moorish occupation is to be seen everywhere in Spain, in music, in architecture and in the blood and character of the people. As John Gunther says “What is a Spaniard, if not a Catholic Moor?”

RISE AND FALL OF SPANISH EMPIRE

It was in the year 1492 that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world for the Spanish Crown which financed his expedition. Within fifty years thereafter, Spanish *conquistadores* had established the rule of Spain over what is now Central and South America.

Charles V (1516-1555) became King of Spain and also Holy Roman Emperor but it was during the reign of his son Philip II that Spain reached the zenith of its power. Her decline began in 1588 with the defeat of her “Invincible” Armada by Britain.

The line of Spanish Hapsburgs ended in 1700 and the War of the Spanish Succession followed. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Spain was forced to accept a Bourbon King, the Duke of Anjou. Then while the Spaniards were resisting Napoleon's efforts to establish a Bonaparte line in Spain, most of the colonies in America revolted and became independent. As the

result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

FIRST DICTATORSHIP

The miserable handling of the revolt of the Riff tribesmen in Spanish Morocco, coupled with the general political unrest in Spain itself led to General Miguel Primo de Rivera's *coup d'etat* in 1923 and the establishment, with royal assent of a military dictatorship. With the help of France, the Moroccan revolt was crushed in 1926.

INSPIRINGLY DEMOCRATIC DOCUMENT

Primo de Rivera resigned early in 1930. The municipal elections of 12 April 1931 were so overwhelmingly in favour of the Republican that the King, Alfonso XIII, decided on voluntary exile to avoid civil war. On April 14, the Republic was proclaimed.

The parliamentary elections held two months later, gave the largest single block of votes to the Socialists. The Cortes (Parliament) laboured five months over the drafting of the republican constitution, an inspiringly democratic document. It provided for equality of all before the law, renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, no official religion, abolition of titles of nobility, universal franchise, free and compulsory primary education, removal of the privileges and allowances of many religious orders and separation of Church from State. The Constitution was approved on December 9, 1931.

Manuel Azna, leader of the Socialist and left-wing Republican Coalition, became the Prime Minister. Under his leadership progressive steps were taken in many directions but delay in implementing the land reforms, the anti-church measures and the handling of opposition demonstrations and revolts resulted in a loss of popular support. Violence and bloodshed by one side met with reprisals from the other. The unrest was fomented by armed militant groups and organisations such as the Fascist Falange Espanola, founded by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former dictator. The revenge murder of Jose Sotelo, powerful Monarchist Rightist leader on July 13, 1936 is credited with precipitating a revolt headed by the army, which obviously had been planned for some time.

CIVIL WAR

Francisco Franco, Chief of Staff under the Centre-right regime, who had been sent to the Canary Islands as Governor by the Republican government to remove him from politics, fled to Morocco and on July 17, 1936 headed a successful revolt against the government. Quickly moving across Spain he took Algeciras, Cadiz and Seville. Garrisons revolted all over Spain on July 18 but the surprised and stubborn resistance of the Government's improvised militia prevented a *coup*.

Evidence indicates that foreign intervention in this revolt that became a civil war was an accomplished

fact by August 1936. While Russian workers sent some money but were not enthusiastic in going to the help of the Loyalists, as the government forces were called. Italian and German planes were in action with the Nationalists. In November as international brigade, composed of volunteers from many countries, joined the Loyalists in time to save Madrid. By the spring of 1937 an estimated 70,000 Italian troops and several thousand German troops and technicians were fighting with the Nationalists. On March 28, 1939, Nationalist forces occupied Madrid and the long and bitter civil war, which cost more than a million lives, came to a close.

THE "CAUDILLO".

On August 4, 1939, the Falange Espanola, which is the only party that Franco has authorised, recognised him as Chief of State, Commander-in-Chief, Prime Minister and the "Caudillo" (Leader) of the Spanish Empire. By 1941 Franco had restored to the Church most of its former powers. In a move to embrace as wide a Rightist front as possible, he mentioned the Law of Succession of June 7, 1947, which was ratified by a national referendum on July 6. This law describes Spain as a Monarchy "Traditional, Catholic, social and representative", in which Franco, Chief of State, is to be succeeded by a person of royal descent.

"NATIONAL MOVEMENT"

When Franco came to power in 1939, he set up the "National movement on the lines of the Fascist and Nazi one-party regime. Franco is Chief of State, Prime Minister and the active source of power. He has a cabinet composed of military men and civilians to help him in his executive work and a Cortes (Parliament) of 500 and odd members, re-established in 1942 as "the superior organ of participation of the Spanish people in the task of the State". Its principal function is "the preparation and elaboration of the laws", without prejudice to Franco's veto power. There is no provision for the introduction of legislation by any of the members. Only the party is allowed, still called the "National Movement" and bearing the lengthy title of "Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de las JONS (Juntas Ofensivas Nacionales-Sindicalistas)".

Two other institutions in Spain deserve our special notice. They are the National Syndicates and the State Corporations. These have been copied from originals in Italy, Germany and Portugal. The National Syndicates are two kinds, those which represent the basic industries and those which represent smaller groups of labour and industry in the provinces. They are a kind of labour-management organisation, "trusted by neither side, but used at times by both". Franco appoints their chiefs. Cynics say that the complex structure of the National Syndicates averts labour-management disputes "by keeping everyone so busy operating its mechanisms that they have no time or energy to spend on more basic woes". Strikes, though illegal, are fairly common.

The National Corporations are autonomous bodies, whose function is to give private industry state aid and encouragement. There are said to be 900 of these, ten of which are big. Many of them have been openly accused of throwing away huge sums of money on grandiose schemes and buildings of little practical value.

VALLEY OF THE FALLEN

The most conspicuous of such is the colossal monument which was dedicated on 1 April 1959 (the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War) as a memorial to the million war dead, in the Valley of the Fallen which is situated 40 miles North of Madrid in the Guadarrama Mountains.

Speaking on the occasion, the 66-year old Generalissimo urged national reconciliation but he feared that reconciliation was unlikely as "anti-Spanish forces" were attempting "to poison and stimulate anew the innate curiosity and ambitions of the young." He was no doubt, alluding to the strikes, boycotts and revolts, with students in the vanguard which have become regular features of his twenty-year old rule.

The root cause of the present trouble is the great economic and financial crisis facing the country due to the cumulative effect of political corruption and administrative incompetence. Bankers, economists and industrialists admit that the country's economic situation cannot be improved under the present administration.

CAT AND MOUSE GAME

The Caudillo has been playing a cat-and-mouse game with the Monarchists from the beginning. Two years after the establishment of the Franco regime, King Alfonso XIII renounced his claims to the throne in favour of his son Don Juan, who thus became Pretender and heir to the throne of Spain.

As the result of discussions between the Pretender and Franco in August 1948, the former agreed to send his son Juan Carlos, then ten years old, to be educated in Spain. While Franco has pledged himself in the Law of Succession to restore the monarchy, he has consistently refused even to signify candidate he intends to name,—the 45-year old father Don Juan is in exile in Portugal or his 20-year old son who is undergoing military training in Spain. The Monarchists are therefore bitter and resentful against Franco.

There is also a growing tendency on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to disassociate themselves from the activities of the administration, while the Union Espanola, a movement led by professors, bankers and as has lately come to light some high-ranking army officers, has been meeting with the aim of uniting all non-Communist opposition round the person of Don Juan. Franco clearly showed that he has complete power to suppress such opposition when in May 1927 he arrested many prominent persons, mostly intellectuals. Franco is supreme. He is just as "immoveable, impenetrable and impassive as the sphinx".

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

And, yet, when writing about Spain, one has to make a reservation. It has often been pointed out that Franco is sitting on the top of a volcano. The outward appearance is one of tranquillity and apathy but under the surface in explosive brew is seething and boiling. The brave liberty-loving Spanish people have put up with the Dictator for twenty long years because of the harrowing memories of the fratricidal war of 1936-39. But the Spanish are a passionate and violent people when driven to desperation or when aroused by momentous issues.

No one can therefore predict what will happen.

ENGLISH AS THE LANGUAGE OF INDIA

Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution for including English among the languages listed in the Constitution is a modest demand.

The place of English in India for some years to come is certain: it happens to be the only language so far accepted by more or less everyone as being suitable for official purposes. At a time when the country is still raw from linguistic troubles and "regional patriotism", it seems only politic that English should continue to be used officially, along with Hindi. But it is hardly possible to keep English as the official—which in practice means national—medium forever. The number of Indians whose spoken-language is English is small. It is inevitable that, with time, a rational distribution should take place, and each language find an adjustment in proportion to the number of those who use it as well as to its literary effluence. Hindi must ultimately emerge as the all-India language—despite the unhelpful efforts of those who are in a hurry and would stretch it to make it grow.

However, the fact that English cannot remain India's official language does not mean that it is un-Indian, much less that it should be expelled from this country. It has been, in and of, India for about 200 years; and all that has happened and evoked emotional response from us in the last 200 years is no less a part of our tradition than what happened 2000 years ago. Some of our best writing has been done in English; through its study, indeed, we discovered that we were actually more than Punjabis, Bengalis, Maharashtrians etc.; that we were Indians. This point is touched upon for those who too hastily decry English as "foreign", and who are inordinately happy at the in-

clusion of Sanskrit in the Constitution. Sanskrit is the source-language to a lesser or greater degree, of almost all languages in northern India, where it is not the source-language, in the south, it has contributed so considerably to the growth of the regional languages that it has almost changed their complexion. It is only fitting therefore that Sanskrit should have a place in the Constitution, even though it be listed as being the spoken-language of no more than about 550 persons. But our regard for and our sense of debt to Sanskrit need not make us blind to realism or detract from our sense of debt to English. When the inclusion of English in the Constitution is urged, there does not arise any competition or rivalry between English and Hindi—just as, say, the inclusion of Bengali or Marathi or Punjabi does not endanger the position of Hindi.

Apart from others, there is the consideration of a community's rights and freedom. There are over 1,100,000 Anglo-Indians in the country, and the number of people who claim English as their spoken language is somewhat greater: The Anglo-Indians are as good citizens as any others of this country, and it does not seem very just to deny them a place in the Indian sun. It is probably true, as has been remarked by antagonists of English sometimes, that there are scheduled and unscheduled Indian tribes whose numbers are far larger than that of the Anglo-Indians, and whose languages are not included in the Constitution. But their positions, in respect of tradition and association, are by no means similar, and to bring them up for illustration would be to quibble. Let us not allow an immodest sense of nationalism to distort our perspective.

Congress Needs Creative Leadership

By K. KUMARA SEKHAR

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SOCIALISM is there, where it was. But the surprise of today is that Mr. Nehru should make it the cause of the Indian National Congress. His aim today seems to be to indoctrinate the nation with the tenets of that ideology. If the Congress shut its eyes to Marxian principles all these years, surely it was not because it was ignorant of them so far. Actually Gandhi and others wanted to practice a unique way of life, which though it may appear to incorporate some of the principles of socialism, is something far from it. Those who understand this faith of Gandhi and the older Congress leaders, only in terms of these few incorporated socialistic principles, are better fit to join the ranks of the socialists than the Congress.

A BUNDLE OF CONTRADICTIONS

Only recently, he was wise enough to class himself among the "moderates" and addressed "thinking businessmen" probably for the first time, with respect and with the aim of co-operation. But in his autobiography we read that he was against moderates. And true to this trait perhaps, he has gone astray again, to stand firm by the collectivistic principle of co-operative farming. It shows that he is a communist at

heart. Ignoring entirely the presence of administrative machinery or sentiments in favour of such a reform, he becomes more than ever fanatical in his statements, as the goal of changing "the economic structure after changing the political structure" recedes from the vision of the people. May be it is part of his insight into the affairs of the country, but it is not of the people; and this difference in thinking between him and the people disqualifies him from being the Premier of the country. Those who changed the political structure never wanted to tamper with the economic structure. But Mr. Nehru, not satisfied with the former wants to meddle with the latter. The political structure concerns the nation as a whole. But any attempt to change the economic structure would entail an internal struggle amongst the people, between the "halves" and the "have-nots". If the Government is wise it will settle it without taking resources to any major change in the economic structure. Changing the economic structure is one thing which was already discussed soon after independence. In those years Mr. Nehru was wary enough to dismiss such extremist delusions. Changing the economic structure may sound like a revolutionary step but it may not bring any economic

benefits. If these benefits can be got without changing the structure, no such attempt would be justified.

If Mr. Nehru were creative leader he would not lean on the works of Marx or the tenets of socialism to guide his country to her historical destiny, the more so when the Marxist prophesy has gone wrong in communist nations, Mr. Nehru is definitely taking the country to wrong path by submitting to the logic of communism. Once a man is indoctrinated with communist ideals it is difficult to convince him on his fallacy. The only persuasion adopted then, is to point out the ruthless acts of communist dictators. But this does not directly speak against communism, and so the man is often left unconvinced as to why he should not humble the rich in order to satisfy the poor. This seems emotionally correct, and frequently gets the approval of the gullible public. But the creative leader, who actually immerses himself in the dynamics of actual production, would cease to think in the narrow categories of rich and poor. It is in the course of the analysis of the progress of production that we discover how flexible are these statuses, and how the wealth of individuals is made or unmade.

HAS COME OUT AS AN OPEN COMMUNIST

Mr. Nehru probably thinks that he has now ceased to talk, and has begun to act. He may think that he has become now a really serious politician, with serious aims for the country. But actually, he has become more blunt in his pronouncements, and there is no longer the cloak of decency to cover his essentially communist ambitions. By citing Gandhi's words, he seeks today to make communism an acceptable proposition to the Indian people. He tries to invest it with the authority that it lacks. He wants to give it a moral cast and presentable appearances, and to disguise its bloody features: to ascribe and find Gandhian virtues in socialist methods is surely an ill mannered attempt to wrong both. Probably he feels moral comfort for the luxuries he enjoys in the capital, by denouncing capitalism. Probably his fear and hatred of American military might makes him hate it.

Mr. Nehru might even tell the common man, to convince him on the sins of the investing class, that poverty can be abolished by the merely distributing the wealth of the rich among the poor. But economists have calculated and found that no such deal would improve matters. Marx himself realized that it is production that has to do it. The only difference he maintained was that human capital and not monetary capital, is to be reckoning factor in production. This is but to enlarge production using all available man power, even ignoring the deficiencies of monetary capital. Hence Marxism is attractive to backward countries where there is shortage of monetary capital but not human capital. In the forward countries, with the substitution of the machine for man power and with the enlargement of capital, production rather overdoes itself.

Some of the Indian businessmen are wide awake today to the interests of their class. So Nehru is compelled to reckon with the free enterprise movement. He may call them "vested interests", but they are also the interests of the people as distinguishable from the

interests of politicians. It is a way of life which cannot be altered for certain fanatical interests. As Nasser said, the Russian cultivate friendship with Asian neutrals only to fight the West, and after their capitulation, prefer the communists to the neutrals. Similarly Nehru seems to have played up neutralism only till he has loosened our bonds with the West. Now he does not hesitate to declare his preference for socialism to the prudent middle-of-the-road policies. Mr. Nehru is angry that the people in the cities have taken up the question of cooperative farming for discussion and criticisms, when he expected them to be indifferent to it. He thought he could quietly carry out his plans in the villages which cannot put up any strong resistance. But the urban populations have expressed their sympathy for the peasants, who are more anxious about their land than higher profits which Nehru assures them. If perfect and peak production were the only motive, perhaps all farms would have to be turned over to certain agricultural experts. But would this scheme be acceptable to any of us? We may accept advice from an expert, but would we for any reason place our land in his hands.

NEHRU IS ADDING TO THE PROBLEMS

Mr. Nehru errs in trying to create additional problems in economic structure, when we have already enough problems of production and economic functioning. Governments have to concentrate more than ever on the functional aspects. To try to alter the basic pattern is essentially a matter for revolutions. Mr. Nehru cannot steer his government into a revolution, nor should he make way for any revolution, by neglecting the functional aspect of Government. He can try to make his Government function better, but to complain on the system, prevalent, after beginning to function is to throw obstacles in its way.

At first Mr. Nehru declared China to be a barometer to our progress, but later abandoned this because of obvious failure. Of course, no normal state can compete with an abnormal state, because it is not going to try its abnormal methods or face those risks. But this also goes to show that Mr. Nehru has neither the understanding nor effective control over the functional aspect of government; he complains and throws the blame on its structural aspect. With the present apparatus, and with himself at the helm, he did not succeed in solving the food problem or the needs of industry or the problem of unemployment. He did not know how to run things in a successful way. But instead of acknowledging incompetency on his own part and his colleagues, he is eager to question the potentialities of the present system of Government.

What we want is not efficiency that gets the label of efficiency but the results of it. Mr. Nehru's speeches on inefficiency might strike some as a whip lash, but is the pace really quickened and altered for the better? Mr. Nehru is himself witness to the functional lethargy of his Government.

What the country requires is progress, without the Government running into conflict with either the workers or the industrialists. While Mr. Nehru's Government is careful to avoid the former it thinks it can

afford the latter. What the Congress needs is creative leadership and what the Government needs is effective functioning. Mr. Nehru has voluntarily renounced to lead the Congress in any creative manner. He has sought the position of Government, but without any success in its functional aspect. The more Mr. Nehru identifies his position with the tenets of socialism, he is not making himself more clear to the nation but only abdicating the responsibilities of creative leadership. When Mr. Nehru talks the language of socialism he ceases to be a creative leader. When Nehru informed his party that he was feeling "stale" he should have been allowed to quit. But by pressing him to carry on it has compelled him to seek the shelter of one of these "isms". Here is a sign of exhausted leadership.

Mr. Nehru underestimates the potentialities of national feeling in the reconstruction of the country. Socialism is the resort of a national leader who has failed to rouse national enthusiasm. If Mr. Nehru has found national feeling to have cooled down in India I think there is something that he can do about it; or even if he can do nothing about it, it is not proper that he should hasten to provide a bitter substitute in its place. He keeps dwelling on the "sputnik age" and "atomic age" to catch up with recent science. Actually his mind is still obsessed with what he himself once called "the out of date ideas of 1840". It must be possible for the creative man to improve upon them. But Mr. Nehru has failed to do so.

NEWS DIGEST

NOT A RUPEE PAID BY PAK TO INDIA OUT OF THE PARTITION DEBT OF RS. 300 CRORES

New Delhi: That Pakistan owed India Rs. 300 crores as Partition Debt but so far not a rupee has she cared to return to India. This was disclosed in Parliament by the Union Finance Minister Morarjibhai Desai. Mr. Desai further stated that the Government of India is in correspondence with the Pak Finance Minister in the matter and he hoped at an early date there is the likelihood of the meeting of the two Finance Ministers over the matter.

In addition to this Partition Debt there are a number of outstanding dues that Pakistan has not cared to meet so far, such as the bills for the supply of coal, electricity and canal water dues. The settlement of the evacuees' properties claim against Pakistan is still hanging fire.

INDIAN ARMY OFFICERS HELD BY CHINA

Srinagar: Six Indian Officers are being held prisoners on the Indo-China border, according to reliable information reaching here.

These Officers were ski-ing in Ladakh near the border when the Chinese Army officers took them into custody, claiming that territory belonged to China while Indian maps showed it as a part of India.

Reliable sources say that these Army officers include a Major, a Captain and four non-commissioned officers.

The Government of India, it is understood, has already written to the Chinese Government asking for their release pending the settlement of the dispute regarding the territory. A reply from Peking is still awaited.

This is the second team of Indian officers to be taken into custody by the Chinese. The first team of 10 officers were held at the U. P. border with China. They were blindfolded and left at the border, following a request for their release by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. During their detention in China they were kept in separate cells and interrogated.

It is a patent fact that quite a big portion of Ladakh is claimed by China as a part of her country. Some portions in Ladakh, formerly occupied by the Indian Army, were seized by the Chinese Army, when the Indian Army moved downwards following heavy snow-falls early this year.

—Flame

PAK CUTS OFF WATER SUPPLY TO KASHMIR VILLAGE

Srinagar: The Pakistani military authorities have stopped the water supply of a canal flowing into the village of Siddhpur, near the cease-fire line in Tithwal.

About 500 villagers, whose main occupation is agriculture, have addressed a petition to the Indian Army authorities to come to their rescue.

NEHRU'S ADMISSION—PANCHASHEELA HAS LOST ITS LUSTRE

New Delhi: Nehru declared today that India would continue to hold to the principles of "panchashheela" and non-alignment despite the developments in Tibet but admitted that the "panchashheela" "has suffered considerably in people's minds".

Continuing he confessed to a feeling of "hurt" and "shock" at the fact that Peking should make such serious charges against India in a most irresponsible way.

NEHRU AGAINST COMMON DEFENCE ARRANGEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN

New Delhi: Regarding the suggestion of common defence arrangements with Pakistan, Nehru said, "I am all for settling all our troubles with Pakistan. We have tried for that all these years. But I cannot understand when people say, 'Let us have a common defence policy'. Against whom I ask them. Are we going to become members of the Baghdad, SEATO or some other alliance?"

Nehru ended by saying, "We don't want to have a common defence policy, which will always some kind of military alliance. The whole policy we pursue is opposed to this conception."

RED AGENTS FILTERING INTO INDIA AS TIBETIAN REFUGEES

New Delhi: The Government of India has decided to screen every Tibetan refugee, before granting him asylum in India, it is reliably learnt here.

This step has been taken to prevent, so far as possible the entry of communist agents or others who might embarrass both the Government of India and the Dalai Lama.

The Government of India has also decided that Tibetan refugees should on no account be rehabilitated anywhere near the Indo-Tibetian border.

These measures were almost inevitable in view of the well-organised Chinese spy-ring, which came to light when the New China News Agency recently broke the well-guarded secret about the Dalai Lama's arrival in India.

Courtesy: "Current"

RIFT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan has received favoured treatment from America before. It was through his hands that Lend-Lease aid to Russia was funneled during World War Two—after he had captivated Harry Hopkins.....Arab Communists, drive by Damascus, have taken the precaution against any determined anti-Communist drive by Nasser, of dividing their Lebanese and Syrian centers.....In Moscow, reportedly, Chinese Communists are being ostracized from restaurants and places of amusement. The Soviet man in the street apparently resents Mao's ideological pretensions.

BOOK REVIEWS

NATURAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Natural Economic Order by Silvio Gesell,
Translated by Philip Pye, Peter Owen Co. Ltd.
30 sh.

THE 1958 edition of Silvio Gesell's "The Natural Economic Order" has been slightly revised from the limited 1929 edition. For instance, the elimination of the sub-title which read, "A plan to secure an uninterrupted exchange of the products of labour, free from bureaucratic interference, usury and exploitation".

In the preface Gesell writes, "Its ideal is the ideal of the personality responsible for itself alone and liberated from the control of others—the ideal of Schiller, Stirner, Nietzsche and Landauer".

In the introduction Gesell writes that the abolition of unearned income is the immediate economic aim of socialist movements, but that he knew of only one socialist—Pierre Joseph Proudhon—who did not propose the nationalisation or socialisation of production to secure this aim.

Gesell, born of a German father and a French mother, does not appear to have been influenced by the many experiments and years of effort of the

American individualist anarchists. And yet the theme of his book could be summed up in this one oft-quoted paragraph from Benjamin Tucker's address at Chicago in 1899:

"Free access to the world of matter, abolishing land monopoly; free access to the world of mind, abolishing idea monopoly; free access to an untaxed and unprivileged market, abolishing tariff monopoly and money monopoly—secure these, and the rest shall be added unto you. For liberty is the remedy of every social evil, and to Anarchy the world must look at last for any enduring guarantee of social order."

Although the 1929 edition was dedicated "to the memory of Moses Spartacus—Henry George—and all those who have striven to create an adequate economic basis for peace and goodwill among men and nations", Gesell did not advocate the Henry George "Single Tax" as a means of abolishing the land monopoly. He proposed the expropriation of land with full compensation to landowners by means of payment with parity flexible interest bonds. Land parcels would be leased to the highest bidders and as interest on the bonds decreased year by year through the adoption of an unhoardable money system, the rental income would eventually be sufficient to redeem the bonds, and henceforth Gesell suggested that the income could be used "to pay mothers' a national rent for their services in rearing their children, a rent equivalent to the use of soil by primitive woman. It is proposed to pay these mothers' rents from rent on land, in opposition to the proposal of Henry George by which rent on land would be used for the remission of taxation".

Gesell held that with the introduction of Free-Land and Free-Money "officials, the State itself and all other tutelage" would be superfluous, therefore taxes would not be reequired and "all rent on land will flow into the wage fund" which fund could be used as payments to mothers.

And yet he recognized that there must be some authority to control the issue of his "Free-Money". This would be a paper currency the face value of which would depreciate one-tenth of one per cent. each week. This depreciation would be restored by the affixation or imprinting of demurrage stamps. This form of negative interest would eventually do away with all interest on both money and real capital, prices would be stabilized, and unemployment abolished. Although Gesell proposed that a "National Currency Office" would issue and withdraw currency as required, and this would eliminate the use of bank credit and its transfer by the means of bank cheques, many of the "Free Economists", as his supporters are called, feel that this would be "throwing the baby out with the bath water". Demurrage could be easily applied to all cheques and bank accounts aside from savings bank accounts.

No doubt all readers of the "Natural Economic Order" will agree with Oscar Sachse who wrote in "The Socialisation of Banking", 1933, "In Gesell's book there are a number of other points which might be criticised, but on the whole I think it must be one of the most original works on economics that has ever been published."

—L. A. Gale.

EX-MARXIST LOOKS AT MARXISM

DIAMAT AS PHILOSOPHY OF NATURE, By P. Spratt, Published, By the Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4. Pp. 122.

This is a book written by ex-Marxist, Spratt, one of the pioneers of the communist movement in Great Britain. He came to India in the 'twenties to organise the communist movement. He was involved in the Meerut Conspiracy case. Later, he broke from the CPI and from Marxism as a philosophy. He has now settled down at Bangalore as an editor of an English weekly.

Spratt has mobilised his vast knowledge of the communist movement to repudiate the fundamental tenets of dialectical materialism (Diamat) as the philosophy of Marxism. To Spratt as is the case with numerous anti-Marxists today, the "philosophy" of the Soviet regime under Stalin is but a logical culmination of, and not a deviation from then Marxian approach to world problems. He ignores the existence of powerful schools of Marxist thought who repudiate the practices of Stalinism as negation of Marxism but relies on the stray statements of the present-day empirical followers of Marx to denounce the edifice of a new philosophical outlook, which according to his own admission or "is still helping to entice young men into the communist fold."

Spratt approaches dialectical materialism as an idealist, for he thinks that "materialism is not a plausible theory." He is also convinced that Diamat must be rejected because it does not "conform to reason and fact." Although the author claims that "he does not profess any theory and does not try to establish one," he has been more than unfair to Marx while reproducing the views of the philosopher as opposed to the "idealist" philosophers of his period.

The book is bound to rouse a great deal of interest among students of philosophy, Marxists and non-Marxists alike, at a time when there is a total absence of discussion on current philosophical and other problems in India. Spratt is no doubt a fascinating writer, whatever his views.

"K"

OPEN LETTER TO DR. BORSODI

Mr. S. Ramanathan, Secretary, Rationalist Association of India, has addressed this Open Letter to Dr. Ralph Borsodi:—

Dear Mr. Borsodi,

Please permit me to reply to two points raised in your letter of January 24th. In regard to others there may be slight misunderstandings, but there are really large areas of agreement. The two points which are controversial relate to (1) the leadership of the "elite" and (2) the family as the primary unit of society.

I take it that in drafting the Libertarian Manifesto you are drawing up the blue prints for the launching of a modern version of the anarchist movement as defined by Bakunin who was the greatest historical rival of Karl Marx.

As you have rightly pointed out, we must avoid the twin dangers of laissez-faire Capitalism on the one hand and totalitarian Communism on the other. There is an attempt in America to embellish Capitalism by calling it by the new name of Libertarianism. I presume that you disapprove of this move.

The family as the unit of society is in my opinion inconsistent with the principles of Libertarianism which guarantee the maximum possible liberty to the individual. Here are the words of Bakunin: (Page 326 and 327—*The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, edited by G. P. Maximoff).

*"Free Marriage Union:—*We are convinced that in recognising the freedom of either party to the marriage to part from the other whenever he or she wishes to, without having to ask anyone's permission for it—and that likewise in denying the necessity of needing any permission to unite in marriage and rejecting in general the interference of any authority with that union—we make them more closely united to each other.

*The Upbringing of Children:—*With the abolition of marriage there comes to the fore the question of upbringing of children. Their upkeep from the time of their mother's pregnancy until their maturity, their training and education, equal for all—industrial and intellectual training combining preparation for both manual and mental labor—must be mainly the concern of the free society."

The individual should be the unit in a Libertarian Society. The family idea is to-day being exploited by all the religions and especially by the Catholic Church. Libertarians, who are rationalists, cannot approve of this reactionary idea. It may be that the Marxists and the Communists condemned the family to start with, but in Stalin's days they exploited the emotional features of the family system to the maximum extent, as is evidenced by the enormous amount of Soviet literature that has been put out in support of the worship of mother, father, brothers, sisters, and all other family relations. The Libertarian ideal is unqualified liberty for the individual. This liberty should not be curtailed in the interest of the State, the community, the caste, the tribe, the kindred, the family etc. There is no reason whatever why the husband and the wife should be forced to live together after they have ceased to love each other. Why should they not be at liberty to seek other mates, if they so desire? Why should children in a rational society come in the way of the happiness of their parents? Looked at from the point of view of the children, why should growing children at impressionable ages be forced to live with parents who do not harmonise with each other and whose home life is full of bickerings which are bound to have unhealthy effects on the children? There should be independent arrangements made available for the children to grow up in healthy surroundings. Even as children have to be put together in

schools for their education, they have to be put together for healthy growing up. The schooling must begin at the very birth or as soon as possible thereafter. This idea is entirely consistent with libertarianism and with rationalism while the opposite idea of family worship is religious reaction which leads to economic and social exploitation.

I grant that marital relationship should not be lightly set aside and every effort should be made to enable the couple to hold together for as long as possible. But since Libertarians do not believe that marriages are made in heaven, or sacrosanct they should have no scruples to annul marriages which have grown unpleasant for the parties concerned.

Coming to the second point, leadership by the "elite" is not a new idea. Every movement, social, economic, political or religious, has been ushered in by some "elite" or other throughout the history of the world. Of course, you have said that your "elite" will not be a hereditary order and will exercise no power. But which is the elite in the world which has not said the same thing? Every religious order is pledged to poverty and the practice of austerity in extreme forms, sometimes extending even to celibacy. But they all have degenerated into theocratic tyrannies. We have the classic instance in India of the Brahmins who started as the "elite". They commanded no political power, they exercised only influence to which the people voluntarily submitted. They charged no fees, collected no taxes and depended for their livelihood upon voluntary gifts. Originally they were not a hereditary class, although they ultimately became one. But the elite gradually grew into a ruling class whose stranglehold upon the masses has not relaxed yet in spite of many foreign invasions. Mahatma Gandhi did not intend that his followers should assume political power. But who can deny that the khadi clad gentry in India to-day form the ruling class? Every regime is started on its career by a leadership of "elite" pledged to service, sacrifice and poverty. But inevitably it transforms itself into a tyranny. There is no safeguard which human ingenuity can devise which can prevent this natural process. There is no alternative to this dangerous rule by the "elite" except democracy which, in spite of its many imperfections, derives its sanction from the innate good sense of the people at large to displace a corrupt leadership by throwing up a new leadership to take its place. The ultimate responsibility must rest with the people in general and not with a select few.

Madras,

S. RAMANATHAN

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—:o:—

The following new books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Atom and its Energy: *Das Gupta*. India Wins Freedom: Autobiographic Narrative: *Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam*.

Diamat as Philosophy of Nature: *Spratt, P.* Theory of Monopolistic Competition: *Chamberlin, Edward Hastings*.

Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-1918: *Zeman, Z.A.B. (Ed.)*

Great Powers; Essays in Twentieth Century Politics: *Beloff, Max*.

Can People Learn to Learn?: *Chisholm Brock*. Hegel, A Re-Examination: *Findlay, J. N.*

Hinduism. Its Meaning for the Liberation of the Spirit: *Nikhilananda, Swami*.

Commonsense and Nuclear Warfare: *Russell, Bertrand*.

Portrait of Mr. W. H.: *Wild, Oscar*.

Muqaddimah; Introduction to History Vol. I: *Khaldun, Ibn*.

Muqaddimah; Introduction to History Vol. II: *Khaldun, Ibn*.

Muqaddimah; Introduction to History Vol. III: *Khaldun, Ibn*.

Poverty of Historicism: *Popper, Karl R.*

Refresher Course in Indian Economics: *Dewett, Kewalkrishna and Varma J.D.*

Mental Powers: *Moorty A. S.*

Liberty or Equality; Challenge of our Time: *Kuchnelt-Leddihn, Erik Von*.

Public Utilities in American Capitalism: *Glaeser, Martin G.*

Economic Surveys in under-Developed Countries; Study in Methodology: *Mukherjee P. K.*

Cricket Typhoon: *Miller, Keith and Whittington R. S.*

Introduction to Keynesian Economics: *Seth, M. L.*

Public Administration in Theory and Practice: *Sharma, M. P.*

Foreign Policy of India: *Lok Sabha Secretariat*.

Taxation of Agricultured Land in under-developed Economics: *Wald, Haskell P.*

Economic Arithmetic: *Marris, Robin*.

Problems of Unemployment in India: *Gupta, Motilal*.

Schumpeter's Theory of Capitalist Development: *Khan, Mohd. Shabbar*.

Modern Economic Development of Great Powers: *Nagesh Rao, S.*

Import Trade Control Policy; Licensing Period; April-Sept. 1959: *India, Govt. of*.

Principles and Practice of Public Administration: *Ruthnaswamy, M.*

Untouchable: *Anand, Mulk Raj*.

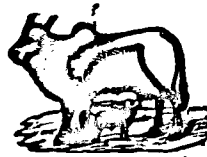
Productivity Pattern for Hungry and Unemployed Millions: *Kamat, R. G.*

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