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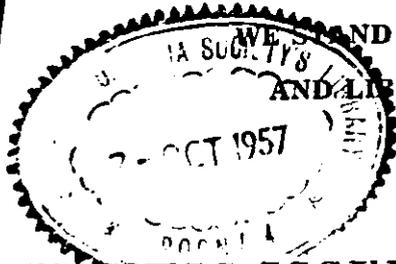
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IN THIS ISSUE

India's Foreign Policy

Thus Spake Nehru
At Jammu

*Razvi Snaps His Fingers
At New Delhi*

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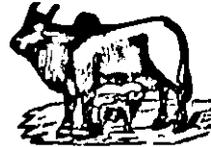
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Editorial

GOA AS FOREIGN BASE

BOTH the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister have referred publicly to news reports (or canards) that Goa is to be developed by NATO as a military base as part of the Western defences against communism. They have conceded that they had no official information but have thought it expedient to register India's protest against such a move. There is nothing wrong in such statements, for they may have the effect of forestalling possible moves, and warning the Powers concerned. The Indian authorities have been quite explicit in declaring that such a use of Goa would be regarded by India as a hostile act. It is to be hoped that they will use diplomatic channels to apprise the foreign Powers about India's objection to the rumoured course on their part.

While supporting the Government of India in their vigilant attitude in this respect, thoughtful citizens cannot but raise a number of relevant questions for clarification by the authorities. In the first place, the public is puzzled as to why India should have acquiesced, though after an initial protest, in the annexation of Tibet by Red China in flagrant disregard not only of existing treaty obligations with India, but also of the expressed objections and opposition of the Tibetan Government and people. Tibet was a buffer State for so long as a result of the vigilance of the British, and the treaties they had negotiated from time to time throughout last century, and the early decades of this century. But all this heritage of the past in diplomacy and politics is jettisoned in silence by the first free Government of India. The trans-Himalayan regions have lost their inoffensive, non-military character after Red China's occupation in 1951. Extensive roads and ominous aerodromes have appeared on the other side of the mountains, with military outposts at all strategic points, such as negotiable passes all along the border from the top of Kashmir to the Assam bend and down to the top of Burma. Insecurity threatens India for the first time in her long history from the North and North-East, since both Russia and the addition of India to the communist fold is part of their openly expressed world strategy from before the days of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Insecurity Increased

The insecurity has been increased by the creation of Pakistan with its Western and Eastern wings. The gateways of India are now in hostile hands with immensely powerful aggressive States just behind. Those who do not realise the baleful meaning of this situation only betray their ignorance and innocence of military matters, an ignorance and innocence quite culpable in the intelligentsia in general, and the political part of it as organised in parties, in particular.

Now this new threat of Goa being made a NATO

base is the inevitable reaction of the Western Powers to the political and economic policies pursued so fanatically by our Government, despite of fact and history. The recent appearance of Soviet Russia as a Power to be reckoned with, in the Arab lands (for instance in Egypt and Syria and Jordan), is only in pursuance of her historic ambition to have a say in the Persian Gulf. This was part of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement prior to the last World War. It should not be difficult for us to understand the desire of the NATO Powers to have a base in the Arabian sea as a counter-check to Russian penetration. It might be useful in case of war. The right way to safeguard Indian interest is not to keep silent in regard to the penetration of international communism from West Asia to Burma, and to thwart Western moves to develop a resistance to it to safeguard, not only their own freedom but that of the area. The right way to respond to this rumour is to assure the Western Powers that India will never let Goa fall into the sphere of influence of communism.

Indian neutrality in effect offers support to the communist bloc. Recently Mr. Krishna Menon has abandoned the word neutrality to describe the Indian standpoint in world policy but reserves the right to interfere in world affairs. If so, other Powers too have the right to interfere in all things everywhere!

No intensity of verbal denunciation that India will never let the NATO use Goa as a base, and that any such move on their part will be regarded as an unfriendly and hostile act is of any use in the absence of *quid pro quo*. We cannot have something for nothing in international relations, any more than we can in economic affairs.

The Realistic Attitude

Western Powers are encouraging Portugal in holding on to Goa because of their understandable fear of India's neutrality. The way to persuade them to concede India's claim to Goa is not to condemn them in public in language little different from that of international communism, language breathing hatred and bitter antagonism. We are displaying in this attitude to the West nothing of the imaginative sympathy and appreciation of freedom and spiritual insight, that should characterise the upholders of lofty international and national morality that we claim to be. The right way to isolate Portugal in Goa is to let Western Powers realise that Goa in Indian hands will not, along with the rest of India, play into Russian hands in any future war and that India's neutrality will mean what it says and that India will make all preparations to defend her neutrality, for even neutrality has to be defended! Witness Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway in the last war! Switzerland was free from Nazi attentions because the Swiss were armed to the teeth and more Panzer divisions would be pinned down in the mountains and valleys of their country than could be af-

forded by Hitler! Mere verbal flourishes of neutrality are entirely without efficacy in international relations.

INDIA'S ONLY ENEMY

There have been some remarkable confessions by high authorities regarding the attitude of Pakistan vis a vis this country. Mr. Krishna Menon is reported to have said in Bombay that the only aggressor that India need consider is Pakistan. It is difficult to know whether to cry or laugh at this statement. Citizens are bound to ask him and his chief, whether they discovered this open secret only now, when Pakistan's threats can no longer be ignored. Cautious observers have been pointing out this danger from Pakistan from the very inception of that Islamic State, carved out of our flesh. They now have a right to ask why it was ignored so long. What have the Indian policy makers to say about their abuse of critics as "communalist," "reactionary," "obscurantist" and the other amiable terms in their Congress armoury? Now that they have been found to be signally wrong, how is responsibility for the unpreparedness of the country to meet the Pakistani military menace to be brought home to them? Are they to be trusted to continue in power, and bungle the war of defence, too? Their judgement has been proved faulty and their policy is in ruins. They acted on the assumption that doing good to Pakistan at the cost of Indian treasure and substance would win them over, defying all the canons of commonsense and the lessons of history.

Mr. Menon has let fall the remark that the scale of Pakistan's military armour is tremendous and that as against India's old armour of the second World War, Pakistan has the latest weapons from America—tanks, aircraft etc. And if India is defeated (God forbid) the responsibility lies squarely and inescapably on our sole policy-maker and his assistants. This is not defeatist but responsible democratic criticism, urging that the authorities should have a more realistic appreciation of the military psychology of possible aggressors.

This behaviour of Indian authorities has displayed the worst symptoms of sentimental pacifism falsely claiming to be derived from Indian political wisdom and the nature of our people.

NEHRU'S "DISCOVERY" OF PAKISTAN!

In his speeches in Srinagar, during his recent visit to Kashmir, the Prime Minister allowed himself a little historical speculation, regarding the unaccountable hostility of Pakistani leaders. He remarked truly that they had carried over the mentality of the Muslim League of pre-independence days, the mentality of creating artificial trouble, inveterate hatred and irreconcilable separatism. A number of questions arise in this regard. The Prime Minister should be asked whether it is or it is not true that it was the weak-kneed policy of appeasement, adopted towards the League that finally resulted in the Partition of the country? Also, why was it that leaders like him, who were stout champions of national unity and of the one-nation theory (that is, Muslim and Hindus being one nation, though the authentic Muslim lead-

ers had repudiated this single-nation theory) yielded suddenly and unaccountably to the cry of Pakistan? They yielded to bloodshed and immovable hostility. The Leaguers won by this policy on account of the weakness of Indian leaders, weakness in strength of national patriotism and weakness for immediate power. And after this the Leaguers, demand for an independent State of their own, was satisfied so easily, it is natural for them to persist in the same policy to extract further gifts from Bharat. The Indian leaders are responsible for the dire results of a threatening Pakistan to-day, brought on by their short-sightedness and failure to understand their opponents.

IN SORROW AND NOT IN ANGER

And all those party politicians, in and outside Congress and Parliament, who support the Prime Minister's policies are equally responsible for any mishap that may come to the country if Pakistan begins bombing Indian cities and irrigation projects like the Bhakra and Nangal works. It is not primarily a question of what historians will write about their betrayal of the country, that trusted them NOT wisely but TOO well. It is a question of what the people will suffer immediately and the set-back that they will have in independence and honour. We do not write this with any pleasure but out of grief and disappointment, hoping, that even yet, the leaders will open their eyes.

Having diagnosed the Pakistani mentality as a continuation of the League psychology, it is hoped that the Prime Minister will exercise his historical imagination a little further, and speculate on the sources of the League or Aligarh mentality. It will take him to the sources of Islamic fanaticism and closed outlook fed by Islamic scriptures and Islamic history. He will have to consider whether these factors in the Muslim psychology will let Muslims form an integral part of any non-Muslim nationality unless by a miracle they educate themselves out of it.

Knowing so much about it all as he did, what justification did he have for pursuing the policy of appeasement to Muslim Leaguers and Pakistani leaders? He has set aside historical knowledge and contemporary experience in favour of a sentimental wishy-washy pro-Muslim and pro-Pakistan policy at the cost of military unpreparedness and financial loss to India.

CANAL WATERS AND INDIA'S FURTHER PAYMENTS

It appears that India has agreed to pay the further unconscionable sum of Rs. 170 crores to Pakistan (in addition to Rs. 60 crores already promised for canals) to build headworks and Dams also! This is really outrageous, if true. It is likely to be true. We know our gods only too well do disbelieve this report. At a time when Pakistan is armed to the teeth, with the latest American armour (converting the whole country into a vast armed camp, as Mr. Krishna Menon said) it is unaccountable how India can agree to pay such huge sums to the self-proclaimed enemy on the eve of attack. When Sardar Patel refused to pay Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan at the time of Pakistani

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

ATTENTION of the public has been drawn last month to the claims and shortcomings of our foreign policy by the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister. The chorus of praise and ecstatic approval of parliamentarians and others was broken rather sharply by Mr. A. D. Gorwala's critical speech on the subject in The Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. It must have occasioned a flutter in the dovecotes at New Delhi, for it was followed shortly after by defensive addresses by no less a person than Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and the versatile Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, now Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University. Professor Rao, well-known as a fellow-traveller, has for some years now functioned as a sort of non-official economist, a sort of Keynes to our Leftist Government. Politics and tact more than science and economics characterises the utterances of the professor. As for Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, he refused indignantly to take the public into his confidence in the matter of his being a fellow-traveller, when questioned by a shrewd but bold pressman. Mr. Menon and Professor Rao made bold attempts to defend our foreign policy as ideally suited to Indian conditions and tradition, and as the best in India's present and future interests.

Things are moving fast in international affairs, what with the Syrian coup and the Russian success in launching the international ballistic missile. It is very necessary that the Indian public in general should dispel the glamour hiding the real face of failure in our foreign policy and learn to employ valid criteria in judging it.

Apologists of Nehru

Before mentioning such criteria, it is as well to dispose of the special pleading and sophistry of Professor Rao. Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao repudiated Mr. Gorwala's analysis depicting catastrophic failure and asserted vehemently that India's policy has been a great success. His reason for such a claim was that the voice of India was respectfully listened to, even by Britain and the U.S.A. on the one side, and Soviet Russia and Red China on the other. He, of course, instanced India's participation in the Korean war negotiations, in the Indo-China settlement and in the Anglo-Egyptian embroglio. Even granting that Indian participation in these negotiations had some beneficent effect, the question at issue is: Whether this policy of ours brought any dividends to us by way of promoting our national interest? If the great Powers of both the blocs listen to us respectfully and so may be presumed to be disposed in our favour, we have to ask, as Mr. Gorwala asked, why we did not get any vote in our favour in the Security Council when the Anglo-American members took sides with Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute, and even suggested that a UN Military Force be sent to Kashmir in abrogation of India's sovereignty. There cannot be a greater act

of hostility to the national sovereignty of a country than this of superseding its armed forces in its own territory! This was obviated not by the prestige that India has with the Great Powers but by the veto of Soviet Russia, who did not want Western forces near her southern border. This is no consideration shown by Russia to India's friendship but an action dictated by her own self-interest. The voting was 10:0 against India!

How Professor Rao and Mr. Krishna Menon can get around this vote and still persist in the illusion that India enjoys international prestige is baffling. Unless they mean the mere fact that Indian envoys and representatives are accorded interviews by world statesmen (and appreciative statements by them regarding India's progress since independence) is thought to be sufficient evidence of success and prestige! This is empty, formal and ceremonial, quite devoid of substance and reminds us of the ingenuous declaration of Ramsay MacDonald at the first Round Table Conference in London that India has already attained Dominion Status since her representatives sat at the same table at such gatherings, with British statesmen!

The "Fruits" of Our Foreign Policy

To put away such childish things and to turn to more substantial aspects of the question, we have to survey India's achievements in regard to the fate of Indians and people of Indian origin in Ceylon, Burma, South Africa, Kenya and other places—as a first step in a real assessment. Mr. Gorwala referred to these areas of the world in support of the opponent's point of view. In Ceylon, some eight lakhs of persons of Indian origin, who were born in Ceylon and have lived there ever since, are being declared stateless persons! This is unjust in the extreme and flagrantly contradictory to Universal Human Rights. The Ceylonese should be made ashamed of themselves for this inhuman policy of theirs. But India has had no regard to the sufferings and human rights of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.

Even so in regard to South Africa, India should have made continuous studies of the position of Indians there in area after area available to the Indian public and world public opinion and secured the sympathy of the world for the cause of persons of Indian origin. So also in Burma and other areas, persons of Indian origin have suffered without the support of their mother country. Indian embassies abroad seem to behave too often to Indian travellers and local residents like the unfeeling officials of a foreign government!

Indian prestige anywhere in the world has not operated in favour of Indians abroad. Yet apologists like Professor Rao are not wanting to ask us to be content with interviews and flattering statements or compliments from the representatives of the Great Powers!

In Korea and Indo-China, India seemed to have some success because the Powers had made up their mind to come to a settlement and India's mediation was made use of to save their faces!

Our Double-Standard

If India had influence with Russia, her advice or intervention should have brought some relief to the poor but gallant Hungarians in their life-and-death struggle for throwing off the Russian yoke in last October's war of independence. India, urged by critics, within and without the national boundary, recognised the moral justification of the Hungarian cause and disapproved of the presence and action of Russian troops in Hungary, but stultified this gesture by recognising the Kadar regime and blocking further action by the UNO. Recently again, she has taken the ambiguous position neither wholly within nor wholly without the threshold! She has fallen between two stools! She has lost the moral advantage of siding the Right and gained the doubtful reputation of siding the Russian cause. India has abstained in the voting in the UNO on the Resolution to continue action to persuade Russia to get off the back of the poor Hungarians. This is moral cowardice, a pitiful attempt to eat the cake and have it too. Is this a shining example of international prestige? Either we have to proceed by diplomatic tact or by way of principle, whatever the consequences. India has adopted tact in relation to Russia and China and principle in relation to the West, a clear case of double standards which cannot be explained away. It cannot be claimed that this double standard has worked.

The most recent instance of this double standard is our condemnation of Britain in Oman and the USA in the Middle East while refusing to condemn Russia in Hungary and Syria. The inevitable fruit of this double policy is all too plain. Britain played with Indian hopes for a loan during Nehru's visit to London in connection with the Conference of Commonwealth Ministers and dashed them to the ground soon after his return. This does not look like being a success, unless Professor Rao would have us be content with the prestige of Nehru dining with the Queen! And T. T. Krishnamachari is to make an attempt to woo American assistance to the tune of 600 million dollars during his visit this month (September). But his effort is damaged even before it begins by the statements of Nehru and Menon that India can and will get on somehow without Western Aid, if it is not forthcoming! We have not toned down our strident utterances about Western imperialism even when we are approaching the USA and Britain for assistance! We have chosen this moment for pressing Red China's case for admission to the UNO, knowing full well the strength of American public opinion against it. This is not wisdom. There is here a crass refusal to take into account the susceptibilities of the other side in regard to the Western Powers. But we are all tact and softness and defensive apology in relation to the Russian camp! We ignore their oceans of blood and police terrorism at home and their brazen infiltration and subversion of peaceful States far beyond their borders everywhere in the world.

Our Name is in the Mud

The Prime Minister revived the hopes of thinkers anxious for a lead above the battle of the blocs towards world justice in terms of human values by his bold references to the Hungarian Struggle for freedom (when sojourning in Scandinavian countries in June) as a national uprising put down by Russian armed intervention. But he dashed those hopes very soon by the uncalled for and unfounded remark that Hungary and the other Eastern European States under the control of Soviet Russia are not colonies but fully self-governing national States enjoying national sovereignty! This is special pleading and stretches formality in favour of Russia. But in regard to British and French imperialism, he has no such qualms, though the chances of their shedding imperialism are far greater than those of the Russian leaders. From the standpoint of world morality, too, India's name is in the mud today. Professor Rao has to exercise a good deal more of his ingenious talent for sophistry before he can convince fair-minded and informed persons of the validity of his claim that India enjoys international prestige enough to count as success for her foreign policy.

In the ultimate analysis, we have to recognise clearly that we have to deal with two Wests. One is the West of freedom, of science, of organised reason, of humanist art, of rational philosophy undistorted by theology and special pleading, of respect for fact and experience, of respect for law and order, for adventure and heroic achievement, the West of constitutional conventions in favour of democracy and the dignity of the common man, of sympathy with the common man and zeal for social justice. This is the West of Plato and Aristotle, of Galileo and Copernicus, of Newton and Darwin, of Milton and Shakespeare of Cromwell and Bentham, Mill and Morley and Gladstone and Attlee. The other is the West of imperialists and power-mad officials and ruthless exploiters of backward races and labour in their own countries. The West of power and imperialism is now incarnated more thoroughly in Soviet Russia and is corrupting China and the East with the same lust for power.

We have to make a choice. Both sides have both good and evil in them, more good in the liberal than in the communist West. There is no middle position possible, for Russian claims extend to the whole world. To resist a world claim, we have to develop a world movement. Hence the ubiquity of American action throughout the World. It is called forth by the prior infiltration of Soviet Russia. India has taken the wrong road in treating both the Wests on the same moral footing. We can survive only with the survival of the liberal West. We obtained freedom with the help of the liberal West and can retain it only with its co-operation. From this point of view, Indian foreign policy has taken a fatal turning, and is taking India deeper and deeper into the Russian camp.

Calling for "serious thinking" and re-examination as to the direction in which they were drifting, Dr. Mudaliar, in an obvious reference to the President's remarks at Trivandrum recently said: "I for one frankly, explicitly and clearly do not believe in co-existence within the national sphere."

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THE HINDU WAY OF LIFE

By Lal

The following article points out what is wrongly termed the "Hindu Way of Life" but should be really styled the Gandhian Way of Life. Intelligent Indians will entirely agree with the author that Gandhi with his loin cloth and fasts made it impossible to speak out the truth during his life-time and the same process is continued by Nehru with the stress on personality cult.

Who will dispute the author's statement that charkha and non-violence laid the axe at national unity and democracy.

I have been fairly intimate with a person who undisputably represented the Hindu way of life—I mean Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—and I have had my grouse against him on that score. I shall relate it here and leave the reader to judge whether I was wrong or right.

What Encouraged Communal Riots

When after the failure of the Khilafat movement Muslims started playing the bully and their attitude gave rise to communal rioting, Pandit Malaviya forgot—and very rightly too—his lifelong allegiance to the Congress and joined the Hindu Sabha and organised Hindu Sangathan. He went his own way without attacking Congress leaders, and his agonised heart found expression in a very important pronouncement he made in Delhi in the year 1925. From Birla House in Sabzimandi one afternoon came an urgent telephone message on behalf of Malaviyaji in the editorial office of the "Hindustan Times". He was going to make a very important speech that evening, and will I be so good as to attend the meeting and report the speech myself? The question was a command and I obeyed.

At that meeting Malaviyaji—the mild and gentle Malaviya—threw down the gauntlet to the Muslims of India. He said in effect: "You are eighty millions. Granted. But we are two hundred and eighty millions. And even if one Hindu life is lost for every Muslim life lost, Muslims will be finished in this country by the time the Hindus are two hundred millions." The speech occupied a page of the Hindustan Times and was reproduced all over India, but only those who knew Malaviyaji could have imagined the restless nights he must have passed before throwing down such a challenge.

But Malaviyaji was attacking the effect and not the cause. How could the effect be obliterated unless the cause was dealt with? And what was the cause? Non-violence in thought, word and deed. Gandhiji roused Muslim fanaticism by his Khilafat agitation and his constant reminder to Muslims that they were eighty millions. The Moplah rebellion followed in which fanatical Muslims played havoc with Hindu life

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Concluding, Dr. Mudaliar said that the party in power should carefully consider whether they were following a socialist pattern of society or moving in the direction of a "Totalitarian and absolutist form of Government."

and property. Communal riots, started by Muslims all over the country, had the same aim in view. But Gandhiji's non-violence immobilised a very large section of politically conscious Hindus all over the country. Thus the ground was prepared for Muslim fanaticism to have full play.

Where Malaviyaji Failed?

Malaviyaji criticised the results of Gandhiji's actions, but he did not criticise or condemn Gandhiji's actions. Why? It was not a personal affair. The future of the country was at stake. The national movement itself came to a standstill as a result of the communal riots. There was one man in the country who could have prevented those riots by condemning Gandhiji's actions and his non-violence. That man was Madan Mohan Malaviya. His case was clear enough. The moment Muslims realised that Hindus would unitedly hit back every time the former started rioting, they would have desisted. But he did not do so. Why?

Because of his affection for Gandhiji. Because of his innate courtesy, gentility, nobility of heart. The distinguished journalist, to whom I have referred above, would call it the Hindu way, perhaps. But what was the result? The communal rioting which could have been prevented by a straightforward onslaught on Gandhism was not prevented, and it continued merrily to the detriment of the country's cause.

A National Not A Communal Question

It was not a communal question at all. It was a national question. The remedy appeared communal, but it was not. In fact it was the only remedy and it was not resorted to. It was not resorted to even after the notorious Kanpur riot of 1931, which made the situation perfectly clear.

When a bully knows he will get a thrashing every time he starts bullying he stops bullying. This fear of getting a thrashing could have come only from a united Hindu family. Non-violence divided it and became the *raison d'être* of communal rioting. Many Congressmen saw this, but were mum, for to blurt out the truth was to invite the wrath of the Mahatma.

A man of Malaviyaji's stature had only to say publicly that non-violence is tommy rot and the people would have applauded him to the echo, for, after all, no one really believed in it.

If Malaviyaji had gone for the Mahatma and his

non-violence he would have prevented the national calamity that followed. He did not, and we know the result. Was not Malaviyaji following the Hindu way, the gentle way of the people of whom a poet sang:

The mild and gentle Hindu;
For his clothes he makes his skin do?

The Basis Of Democracy

The fact of the matter is that Gandhiji made it impossible for truth to be spoken in India—by putting on the loin cloth and his frequent fasts which won over the Hindus—although they had nothing whatsoever to do with the freedom struggle. For our freedom we wanted just one thing—national unity—but his charkha and non-violence laid the axe at that unity.

Democracy demands continuous debate—free, unfettered debate—because it is by debate, to which thousands contribute, that the truth comes out. But we found an “apostle of truth” and rejected the democratic method and reaped the consequences. Dictatorship is almost always followed by disaster. Napoleon, Hitler and Mussolini, and our own Gandhi are historic examples. And now we have Pandit Nehru leading us on, surely and steadily, towards another disaster. And no less a man than the President of the Congress has told us: “If you love Nehruji, do not criticise him.” No wonder another term of presidentship is being forecast for him.

The journalist, to whom I have referred, does not seem to swear by democracy. For he says: “When Motilalji got Lalaji opposed in Punjab, Malaviyaji thundered: This is the last nail in the coffin of the Congress.” That sums up Malaviyaji as well as Motilal Nehru. The latter, for all his masterfulness, was a true democrat. The manner in which he encouraged youngsters to talk to him on equal terms was something extraordinary in Indian politics, while for Malaviyaji respect for fellow leaders was not to be surmounted even by his burning patriotism.

There is no better opportunity for educating the electorate than the general elections and there is no reason why great leaders should not be opposed. Not to oppose them is to betray democracy which demands continuous debate. If Motilal Nehru suffered a rout, it was because his own leader had queered the pitch for him and driven the last nail in the coffin of Indian nationalism. Gandhiji sowed the wind. We are reaping the whirlwind, and we shall go on doing so for God knows how long, for there seems no end to the problems he created.

Had Motilal Nehru been in Malaviyaji's place—I knew both intimately—I have not the least doubt in my mind that he would have put everybody in his place. But he was not Malaviya-minded. I put Malaviyaji's case to him one day. He did not take a second to retort: “A drop in the ocean,” he said. “Are we going to allow ourselves to be sidetracked by communal rioting which may well be the work of agents provocateur?”

If Gandhiji had opposed his Swaraj Party, the result would have been a sight for the gods. But he did not. He knew what would be the result of his opposition. Had not Motilal Nehru given the Mahatma an inkling of his mind when he almost publicly said to him in

Bombay, where he had gone to see him in connection with his new party: “I must say Mahatmaji is a bit of a dandy!” The reference was to his spick-and-span attire and was a gentle reminder that he was dealing with a tough fellow.

WHERE IS THE GOVT. DRIFTING TO ?

Dr. Mudaliar's Plain Speaking

DR. A Ramaswamy Mudaliar said (in Rajya Sabha) that when he looked at the measures like the Wealth tax and Expenditure tax he wondered where they were drifting and in what direction they were moving. Frankly, measures like these in the hands of his friends, the Communists, would bring about the equality, of which they dreamed, in no time. It should be realised that these were financial measures aimed at bringing about equality. If equality was to be achieved, then it was better to bring forward, just as they had done in the case of land, measures fixing a ceiling on wealth.

All Things To All Men

Dr. Mudaliar said that the beautiful phrase, “Socialist Pattern of Society”, whoever had evolved it, seemed to mean anything and everything to every Minister. What exactly did it mean and what was sought to be achieved? Did it mean merely levelling up the incomes of people and assuring them of a certain minimum of decent standards of living or something else? The wealth tax in effect would amount to the payment of a death duty every year by a person who had wealth. He was reminded of the adage that cowards die many times.

FREE JOY RIDES TO CONGRESS HENCHMEN AT TAX PAYERS' COST

SHRI Premji Bhai Assar, (Jana Sangha) tabled a number of questions in regard to the financial assistance given by the Government to the Bharat Sewak Samaj. In reply, Shri S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister for planning, said that on the recommendations of the Co-ordination Committee for Public co-operation, the Government had given the Samaj Rs. 4,80,000. Answering Shri Assar's supplementaries, the Minister said that he was not aware as to the amount raised by the Bharat Sewak Samaj from private sources.

In reply to another question, Dr. Keskar told Shri Assar that a grant of Rs. 2.69 lakhs had been made to the BSS for publicity work on the Five Year Plan.

The Deputy Minister for Railways, Shri Shah Nawaz, informed Shri Assar that apart from the Members of the Parliament and officials of the Railways, 38 complimentary Railway passes had been granted by the Railway Board to various persons and organisations. The details furnished mentioned associations to whom either one or two passes have been granted. The National Federation of Indian Railwaymen and the Bharat Sewak Samaj had been given 12 and 10 passes respectively. Besides three individuals (not specified in what capacity) also enjoy this privilege. These are Shri Pyarelal, Shri Kaka Kalelkar and Shri S. Guruswamy. —Organiser

Razvi Hits The Headlines--And Snaps His Fingers At New Delhi

By "Vigilant"

TO those who have watched the steady and continuous deterioration in the standards of the daily press it was not surprising that Kassim Razvi, the convicted criminal, should receive headlines in the country's national press, soon after his release from the Yerrowada Jail. Throughout the week, right from the day he left the jail at Poona to his reaching Hyderabad, and from his arrival in Bombay to his final departure for Pakistan, Razvi had had a good press. This fact would have been dismissed as a type of yellow journalism by us but the question does not rest there. The different statements that Razvi has issued from time to time, and the way that he has been allowed by the Congress Government to get away with them raise very important questions of policy—how far can an Indian traitor go in his defiance of law and Constitution of the country if he happens to belong to a minority community, and specially if he happens to be a Muslim? That is the point that we want to stress and not whether Razvi preferred to stay in India or preferred to take refuge in the "land of promise" that is Pakistan to many Indian Muslims.

Unrepentant

The very first statement that he issued as the jail doors closed behind him, was that he was not sorry for what he did and given an opportunity he would repeat what had done before. And he added that he had no regrets for what he did. It may be good for Razvi to conveniently forget what he did but the Indian public and the Indian Government cannot afford to do so. For what was Razvi convicted and sentenced for? He was tried on the specific charges of murder and dacoities as the leader of the hated organisation known as the Razakars which he had raised in Hyderabad—a body of terrorist and armed fanatic Islamic hooligans. The acts of depredations, loot, arson and rape that this body indulged in Hyderabad and the surrounding territory are facts of current history. In the normal course of things, when the Indian Government decided to take "Police Action" in Hyderabad, and occupied it, Razvi, when caught by the Indian Military authorities, should have faced a military court-martial and paid the penalty with his life. Yes, that was the correct and normal way, since he was not a member of the regular military establishment of the Nizam, and since the Nizam conveniently denied his open association with the Razakars.

But then appeasement is writ large on the doings of the Indian Government, the more so when the guilty persons are of a minority community and specially Muslims. And so Razvi was fortunate enough to face a criminal case, which meant a seven years

hard life in jail. Even in jail, if reports that are current, have any truth, Razvi, to all intents and purposes an ordinary criminal, was treated in the jail as a special class prisoner and was spared the rigours of a hard sentence. And naturally when he came out of the jail he had the hardihood to say that he had no regrets for his past! His actual words are "I would do the same, even if I had a thousand lives." Here is fanaticism running riot and an unrepentant fanatic let loose on the world.

Joining Fellow Criminals

This statement of his alone was a sufficient justification for the application of the Preventive Detention Act, if any justification for that Act was necessary. But the authorities have allowed him to escape scot-free to Pakistan, with a halo of martyrdom in the cause of Islam, where no doubt his Islamic fanaticism would have ample scope to develop and to fructify. Pakistan has come to be the asylum for many of the criminal elements from India, from the notorious dacoit Bhupat to a scores of other Indian dacoits operating on the borders of Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Punjab. Razvi is the latest addition to the band of criminals fleeing from India.

This hizraat of Razvi from Hyderabad to Karachi in the normal course of things should not have attracted any newspaper comments but for his statements that he would do a thousand times what he had done before, that he was clear in his conscience, that he was not yet reconciled to the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union. These statements should not have escaped the attention of the Indian authorities and should have called for immediate and appropriate action against Razvi. That the Indian authorities have failed to do so is no wonder to those who have watched the "secularist" progress of the Indian Government.

New Delhi Complacent

That though Razvi has left the shores of India he has been careful enough to revive his notorious organisation—Ittehad-ul-Museelmin—the parent body of which the Razakars were the "killtural" wing. Intelligent persons in the country would fail to understand how a notorious convict and an anti-social and anti-national person could be allowed to revive a banned organisation, appoint a successor and naturally guide the work of the organisation from Karachi. But that Razvi has been allowed to do all these things before his departure from India shows how complacent are the authorities at New Delhi. One has only to refer to the replies that Mrs. Laxmi Menon, Deputy Central Minister gave in Parliament when question regarding Razvi were raised there. She affirmed that Razvi's
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THUS SPAKE NEHRU AT JAMMU

By B. S. Sanyal

NEHRU addressed a meeting of the National Conference at Jammu.

1. 'We are prepared to face any situation in Kashmir squarely and boldly. If armed forces invade, we shall face them with our army.'

It is heartening to note that Nehru has at last realized that he had not so far faced the situation squarely and boldly. But then, even now, if armed forces invade, how does he hope to face them? Is he hoping that because America has made it clear that if Pakistan uses American big arms, she will come to the rescue of India? Or, that Zhukov will join the fray?

2. 'Whenever there was disunity, India fell a prey to others'.

The present schism in the body and soul of India—the Partition and the enormous growth in pro-communist mentality—has been the doing of Mr. Nehru. If India falls, all historians, who will flee India and manage to survive, will lay the blame at his doors.

3. 'Mixing religion and politics is always dangerous'.

The Muslims have been doing it. Communism being a pucca social religion, communists have been doing it. We are threatened by both. The only way to save Indian culture and democracy is a military alliance with U.S.A. Nehru's secular sermons will not deter the Muslims and the Communists from destroying Indian Culture and Democracy.

4. 'But, when our own men do undesirable things, it pains us.'

Nehru is one such man.

QUITE SO MR. NEHRU

5. 'What right has Pakistan to be in this State? What right has she to have her troops in Kashmir?'

Exactly. Only, he should add: 'What right has USSR to be in Hungary? What right has she to have her troops in Hungary?' Let Nehru say this, and Kashmir will remain ours and the Five Year Plans will be carried through without the demolition of the market economy.

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influence in Hyderabad was negligible when the warm reception that Razvi received there is a matter of actual fact. Her answer that it is difficult to say whether his presence in India or in Pakistan was going to do more mischief may be a matter of opinion, but it is an undeniable fact that if he was not allowed to leave India he could ALWAYS be called to order, and made to pay for his crimes. Today he can do a lot of mischief, both in Hyderabad and in India, and yet escape the consequences of his action. In a way it seems to have put a premium on the commission of crimes by proxy. Razvi has hit the headlines in the country and snapped his fingers at New Delhi.

6. 'This attitude of Pakistan surprised India and pained her.'

Say 'me' instead of 'India'. The attitude of Nehru to Pakistan which can make him put it this way; his hostile attitude to U.S.A. and his servile attitude to Moscow surprised us and pained us all the while.

7. 'We do not want to interfere in anybody's affairs nor will we tolerate interference from any quarter in our affairs.'

How will he realize the second part of the resolve if there be invasion by Pakistan or Communists?

NEHRU HAS TO THANK HIMSELF

8. 'Last time when the Security Council discussed the issue, certain nations amazingly enough did not support India.'

None but Mr. Nehru is to blame for that. He has consistently followed a pro-Soviet foreign policy (Zhdanov's 'co-existence' imported to India and given the label 'Panchashila'), a pro-Soviet defence policy, or rather absence of defence policy, (he had shown all our military positions to Zhukov), and a consistently pro-communist State-planning.

9. 'Freedom has only opened the doors of progress. We have embarked on a gigantic task of building a prosperous India.'

Our Freedom did open the doors of progress. But Nehru closed them with a bang.

When Nehru visited Eisenhower, Eisenhower had offered him a blank cheque for the reconstruction of Indian economy, and that too, without any political strings attached to it. The only condition to be fulfilled was that India should remain Indian, that is, non-Communist in character. India had never been asked by America to become American. Nehru, however, during his talk with Ike acted as Chou En Lai's courier and canvassed for the recognition of Communist China. This has become history.

U.S.A. is still ready to help Nehru, out of the tight corner, because she still wants to help the Indian people to become prosperous by remaining a democratic Indian State, and she still thinks that India need not fall into the Communist trap to lose her age-old identity in chasing the mirage of 'prosperity' by way of State monopoly. But Nehru thinks otherwise. At least V. K. Krishna Menon does. He has, on the eve of T.T.K.'s trip to U.S.A., tried to sabotage T.T.K.'s efforts to get the American loan. And Nehru has not asked Menon to shut up.

IMPOSING COMMUNISM ON INDIA

Those who have taken the trouble of studying the recent history of Communism and the recent biography of Nehru do not therefore feel elated, and do not begin to hope for a change of foreign, defence and economic policies of the Government of India. With-

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Supplement Of The Research Department Of The R. L. Foundation

No. 8

Edited by B. S. Sanyal

The Basis For A New Political Party

By Chanakya

THERE is growing recognition of the need for a new political party. Elder statesmen like Sri C. Rajagopalachari and influential leaders like Sri Jayaprakash Narayan have voiced the feelings of many when they reiterated the need in recent weeks. Mr. M. R. Masani, Member of Parliament, has also raised the subject in his address to the Rotary Club of Delhi.

The basis for such a new party demands careful thought. The general dissatisfaction with the administrative deficiencies of the present Government formed by the Congress Party, such as corruption, wasteful expenditure, low level of integrity all round, is not enough to make an appealing manifesto. This is sound enough for a change in personnel in Congress ranks—a matter of internal reform. But the need is for a change in policy, and even in social philosophy. Sri C. Rajagopalachari referred to the "pains of change" suffered by large numbers of people as the motivation for a new party, a party of the Right, mobilising conservative sentiments as against the gathering momentum of the accepted Leftist trends. He seemed to accept the idea of a "welfare" state as inevitable. But there is need for a further clarification of the content, or substance of such a Rightist Conservative Party.

NEED FOR CLARITY

It all depends on what elements in tradition are held up as worthy of conservation or preservation. Property, obviously, is one such element. The new party of such a persuasion will have to make out a case for property as a permanent part of the social landscape, property, both as individual ownership of consumption goods and of the means of production or productive capital. Here it will come up against the universal trend of modern times against capitalism. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan has committed himself to the socialist or communist thesis of the universalisation of public ownership of all property, land or industrial capital. He thinks that no social progress is possible unless such abolition of individual ownership of property is achieved.

Also, conservatism implies respect for religious institutions and old usages in regard to marriage and morals, caste and rank and all the consequences, flowing from a class society with its polarisation of classes as upper and lower. The conservatives will have to evolve a social scheme, clarifying what values of the past, they will defend as part of democratic values, and have to make them as appealing as possible from

a rational point of view. This is by no means an easy task.

WORDS HAVE LOST THEIR MEANING

Mr. Masani has indicated the democratic way of life and mixed economy as the social and economic planks of the programme of the new party. Here again we need constructive thinking as to the substance of the democratic way of life. For the socialists and communists, too, claim to be democrats. The Congress Party's socialistic pattern of society claims democracy as its integral framework and spirit. Its manifesto breathes the spirit of democratic socialism, and the programmes of the Congress Government like the Five Year Plan are discussed and passed in Parliament. Every notable measure of change is made through amendments to the Constitution in due form, and lesser changes are initiated in the ordinary course of business in Parliament. Also, communists, too, claim that their people's government is more truly democratic than those of capitalist regimes!

Further, welfare is accepted to be the goal and method of socialist and communist governments. We have to ask how such welfare differs, or should differ, from that of true democratic forms of administration. Further, there are dangers in a mixed economy. The Government becomes the dominating partner in such an economy, as we see to our cost today. The inevitable trend of such a mixed economy is aggrandisement by the State until the private sector becomes negligible.

"MIXED ECONOMY" IS A MISNOMER

What is the principle of the mixture? If we accept the basis, as laid down in the Indian Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956, the basis and framework of the economy in heavy industry, transport and communications, essential consumer industries and even land will fall to the sphere of the State. Within such all-pervading contours, implying regulative legislation on all fronts, and price fixing on many essential goods, free market economy cannot survive to any effect.

VARIATION IN DEGREES ONLY

It is clear that a rational basis for a party needs to be sought on more radical lines than those contained in the suggestion on mentioned above. The situation, at present, is that all the three effective parties are parties of the Left, and ground themselves avowedly socialist premises. The Congress has gone Left with its Avadi resolution and its Five Year Plans. It is

committed to collectivism as its ruling philosophy, which means the addition of economic power to the political and coercive power of the State—a concentration far more dangerous to liberty than the concentration of economic power in the hands of capitalist classes. The Praja Socialist Party distinguishes itself from the Congress Party by a more rigorous and consistent and dynamic programme of socialisation and the liquidation of private property. The Communists have the same programme with less attachment to democratic procedure, and less scruples about compensation to dispossessed owners. They have a full-orbed programme of cultural control in defence of their view of life and society, summed up in their scriptures of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Khrushchevism or Maoism. The minds and hearts of citizens are also collectivised in their dispensation.

Thus the differences between the principal parties wielding influence today are but differences of degree and tempo and not of direction. There is a difference of quality in the accent on violence or non-violence, democracy or dictatorship. But the substance of social structure is identical in all three. The Jana Sangha and Hindu Mahasabha have a different outlook. The Hindu Sabha has suffered virtual extinction in the recent election, and Jana Sangha has shown little capacity to mobilise the support of politically awakened classes and to win the followers of Leftism into their persuasion.

In these circumstances, a small group of thinkers, led by Mr. R. B. Lotvala, are putting the principles of libertarianism in the forefront of publicity through their magazine—Indian Libertarian and through reprints and sales of literature, chiefly of American and British libertarian thinkers. This group is applying libertarian ideas to Indian conditions and claims that their outlook forms effective basis for an alternative party without giving hostages to Leftism while including in a reasonable way the values of democracy, economic rights for all and social justice. Their ideas relate to free economy, free society and national sentiment within the limits of humanism.

INROADS OF COLLECTIVISM

They hold that there is no use in trying to build on Leftism, trying to set limits to its omnivorous collectivism through "mixed" economy. A new party will, therefore, do well to plant itself four-square on the ground of free economy. Free economy will mean first of all freedom from monopoly. The evil of capitalism does not stem primarily from the private ownership of capital or means of production but from the tendency for large owners, whether individuals or companies, to develop unfair, exclusive, restrictive practices preventing lesser owners from having a fair deal and opportunity to share the market. The Government should maintain the conditions of fair competition and free market through suitable legislation. There should be scope for the entry of new enterprisers and consumers should get the benefit of fair competition. The consumer should be sovereign. Monopoly is unfair, not only to lesser businessmen and new entrants, but also and primarily to the consumer, who is defrauded of the cheaper price and

better quality that would ensue through fair competition.

LAND REFORMS

Even with regard to land, libertarians push the abhorrence of monopoly so far as to condemn all property in land as a monopoly. They follow in this respect the recommendations of Henry George. Henry George held that land being a gift of nature should not be exclusively annexed by private owners, with full rights of property in alienation or disposal. The community, as a whole, should be the sole owner with rights of changing the right of use from holder to holder, on suitable conditions of time, interval, and payment of rent. In fact, this theory holds that all rent should go to the Government as the representative of the community (Whether municipal or provincial). Georgists hold further that the unearned income according to the holder of land property, whether urban or agricultural, is the result of social development to which he is NOT entitled. The community should tax such unearned income almost wholly, leaving some share to the holder, on account of the improvements he may have effected to the land, as source of income. Thus all holders of land will be tenants of the community holding rights of USE on terms to be settled from time to time. Of course, the period of settlement should be sufficiently long to create a feeling of stability, so that the holder can have assurance of obtaining the fruits of his labour. Georgists hold that such taxation of unearned value will amount to such huge sums that a single tax is enough for all purposes of Government.

CONFIRMITY WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE

Even if a single tax is not accepted, the idea of the community as the sole disposer of land, with no absolute rights of property vested in the individual holder, is in line with current socialist thought without going the full length of the abolition of landed property. Social ownership in the ultimate sense is quite compatible with individualist use, and need not entail the collectivisation of property in land, as in the Russian and Chinese land reforms. From this point of view, libertarianism would support the abolition of all intermediaries between the community and the individual user: What remains to be settled now in India are the terms of tenancy providing for reasonable security and fixed rates of return to the State. New entrants can be allotted land as holders change to other occupations or leave for urban industrial occupations. Or change can be enforced if the holder is not making a good use of the land and society is deprived of its produce.

This will force land values down and prevent them from rising steadily generation by generation. And as rents will remain low, the trend toward high interests and low wages, that are so distressing a feature of modern development, will be checked. If urban housing and site rents remain low, there will be more for the share of workers, and interest on money capital will remain low. Profits will be possible with less outlay in interest and rent. It is high rent, due to monopoly in land, that forces high interest and depresses wages and profits. This would make a low

level of taxation possible, leaving the incentive for further production unimpaired. The case of urban house and land rents today which are soaring on account of speculation (and monopoly holding) enforces the view of the role of free economy in land. This is sharply different, both from capitalism and from socialism, while preserving the values of both, and avoiding the dangers of the two systems.

The Jana Sangha has adopted this view of agricultural land but they have yet to apply this principle to industrial and urban land property.

Wanted A Clear Conception

The new party should have an equally clear programme, different radically from socialism, in regard to the role of private enterprise. Free economy should be unequivocally adopted as the basis of the new party, without giving hostages to communism by way of "mixed" economy. The new party should stress the danger of the confusion of functions as between the State and economic groups.

Apart from the grim failure of State economy in Soviet countries, in terms of happiness of the common man, (which should be publicised more than it is in terms of careful documentation), the deliverance of experience and logic with regard to the consequences of merging economic with State coercive power, should be stressed by the advocates of free economy. Free economy, in this context, is totally opposed to socialism and communism. Socialism, though democratic in claim, is but the thin end of the wedge that will in time open the floodgates to communism, based on totalitarian power, spelling the eclipse of all civil liberties.

The dynamics of socialism will lead it inevitably to totalitarianism in course of time.

Limited Government

The functions of the Government should be limited to the basic spheres of law and order and justice and perhaps to posts and telegraphs and communications. Railways in some countries have been socialised and it may be difficult to re-transfer them to private hand. The State can maintain rules of justice and fair competition loading the dice against cartels without running commerce and industry itself. The State should NOT become the sole trader and producer and transporter and employer. This will concentrate all social power in all realms of life (including the cultural and personal and spiritual) in the hands of a single governing group. It will naturally abolish all other parties, and become a single party totalitarian power-holding group, self-elected and self-perpetuated. Free economy and free society are, therefore, logically correlated.

Another great evil of socialism or communism is the corruption of the fountain of justice. If the State is the sole employer and educator and trader, justice between State and citizen is tainted at the source, for the State will then be a party to the dispute. So also disputes between man and man will be influenced by State agencies for they will impinge in some way on the relation between this State and the individual. The independence of the judiciary will not be possible in a socialist or communist State. So, too, will the fundamental rights of democracy suffer attrition in a State.

Of course, the advocates of free economy have to show how on their plan, the great needs of social security, and social justice and equality of opportunity will be met satisfactorily. They will have to evolve a satisfactory scheme of social insurance on the basis of voluntary agencies, and private insurance companies, to which employers and workers will contribute in agreed proportions. Perhaps as a preliminary measure, old age pensions and minimum wages may be admitted by libertarians to be merged in self-help institutions in due course.

Educational Autonomy

In education too equality of opportunity should be provided on a free basis. Teachers and groups of teachers can be encouraged to start schools and colleges and carry out their own methods of education without control by the State. The Congress Government is assuming more and more of control over education. This is a danger to liberty. The Education Act of the Communist Government of Kerala is only an application of Congress principles. Autonomy to teachers in schools and colleges and universities should be an objective of a free society. It is significant that while R. L. Foundation Research Department mentions several departments for the regulation of State affairs, it does not mention any on education.

Thus libertarianism, in its major theories of free economy and free land and co-operative banking at cost, and in other ways offers a comprehensive social outlook, capable of yielding the planks of a practical political programme, able to meet the needs of the times for a new party, contrary to and more beneficent than current forms of socialism and communism.

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possible the functional integration.

Meanwhile, pending full disclosure of the existing positive and creative relationships, the men of the market, as individuals, still corrupt their operations with a modicum of force and fraud, while special interests and organised groups invoke governmental power and privilege to the detriment of the public prosperity and against the welfare of all—The Altar itself is invaded and preempted by the powers of the Citadel: and the trafficking of the Market is perverted to corrupt, degrade, and enslave the intellectual, artistic and spiritual services that in the institutions of the Altar are born and belong. The rude technique of the Citadel, of government, is physical and mechanical. It is not properly applicable to society itself or to any of its parts any more than the mechanical parts of one's body should strike the other parts down: but only to those persons whose acts are presently inimical to it either from within or by forcible aggression from without. When the Citadel impinges on the Market, it injures the system of production and exchange on which both subsist. Thus an increasing tyranny over the Market destroys the very fountain-head of freedom. Little by little, men are more and more enslaved to the State. As freedom to exchange is progressively infringed, production necessarily declines, until even the Citadel itself at last finds no means of support. Barbarism returns and society must begin anew empirically to evolve.

CITADEL, MARKET AND ALTAR

We give here the gist of an important book on Free Economy written in allegorical language, entitled "CITADEL, MARKET and ALTAR.

We strongly recommend the reader to read the book written by Spencer Heath published by The Science of Society Foundation, Inc. U.S.A. Price is \$6.00 It contains some ingenious, original ideas in support of Free Economy based on Libertarian principles.

Orders for this book can be booked with the Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road (West), Bombay 4.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISM like its constituent individuals, also has three great and fundamental institutions, the separate functions of which are COERCION, CO-OPERATION and CONSECRATION. Their symbols are: CITADEL, MARKET and ALTAR — a department of physical force, a department of services measured and exchanged, and a department of free and spontaneous life of the individuals. These three correspond with what in lower forms of organisation are mass, motion and time-substance, power and duration. The Citadel repels assault from without, subversion from within. The Market is an outgrowth of the Citadel: the Altar arises from the interaction of Citadel and Market. In point of function, the Market supplies all service energy to the Citadel. By its ministrations to basic necessities and needs, it releases free and spontaneous energies of men to the practice of the intellectual, the aesthetic and creative arts—all those sports and recreations of body and mind towards which they freely incline and aspire.

Like all the creations of nature, man is himself constituted of the energy that for a certain duration is relatively stabilized in his structure and form. This stability is maintained by the reciprocal action of his organized parts in receiving, transferring and transforming, directly and indirectly by absorption and nutrition, the unstructured (unstabilised) energy that into him constantly flows.

The three basic structures of the individual man are: the mechanical, consisting of the skeleton, muscles, tissues, etc. the chemical, including the nutritional, circulatory, reproductive and internal glandular tracts, and the quasi-electrical or neural system of energy transfers, with its necessary structural parts. His biological existence and continuance as an individual depends on a high differentiation of these structural systems. This makes possible the reciprocal relations wherein they have their functional unity. The first transmits and transforms mechanical energy: the second transmits and transforms the energies, chiefly solar, chemically constructed in foods, providing all metabolism and cell proliferation, both genetic and somatic: the third employs and transmits those subtle unstructured kinds of energy that are manifested as currents or waves.

The nutritional and nervous systems are dependent on the muscular and mechanical for their ponderable means of operations: the mechanical and neural depend for their subsistence upon the nutritional, and the mechanical and nutritional depend upon the neural for their functional co-ordination. The successful organism has highly differentiated mechanical, chemical and electrical structures with correspondingly co-ordinated functions and powers.

There is a resemblance and a like division in the body, the population, of a societal life form. It has one structure and department that deals primarily with physical, mechanical and compulsive force. This embraces the entire government and political organisation of which the Citadel is taken as the appropriate symbol.

It has a second great structure or system that maintains the social body in the bonds of service and free exchange. It provides for the physical needs and satisfactions, a high level of subsistence as to material things and all the measurable values of commerce and exchange, resulting in great amelioration and progressive re-creation of the physical world. This is the contractual system of free engagements and accord the social metabolism under division of labour and exchange takes place, so far as private or public violence does not prevent or destroy. This social metabolism consists of service reciprocally exchanged — the anabolism of maintenance and production and the catabolism of consumption or of depreciation — all effectuated by the measured and balanced exchanges of the market. The chosen symbol of this great department of subsistence, nutrition and assimilation is the Market or the Market Place.

The third great structure and system of society has to do with those transfers and transformations of subtler and less ponderable energies without which the social life-form would remain insensible of its own life and incapable of any rational development and growth. This embraces all matters of intellect and imagination, of religion, recreation, and the arts—all those manifestations of vital energy that the efficient technology of the Market liberates to the free and optional disposal of the unforced individual will. The accepted symbol here is the Altar, representing all things of the mental, the spiritual, the spontaneous, creative and transcendent life.

These three great and all-inclusive departments of a social organism co-exist in interpenetrate, and actually constitute it at all stages of its formation and growth. They are composed basically of individuals, but also of the sub-organisations or institutions of many kinds into which individuals are functionally grouped in various kinds of which many individuals act in specialized capacities at the same or at different times. The more differentiation there is among and between the social structurers of the Citadel, the Market and the Altar, the more co-operative they may be and the more creative and enduring the society becomes. As in all other organisms, all organisations unity and continuity depend on the coordination of diverse parts; structural differentiation alone makes

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New Delhi Brickbats For Krishnamachari

By J. K. Dhairyawan

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IT has been the major grievance of democrats and free enterprisers in India that the Indian Government has chosen to follow a policy that, in the long run, can only antagonise USA and the Free World in general. How far things have gone from bad to worse is evident from the deterioration that this country's economy has undergone. The economy has had to face the worst crises in the history—a severe inflationary tendency at home, food prices going up, and the depletion of sterling balances and foreign exchange. All these things are the direct result of the second Five Year Plan, which has become a sort of the "secular" god of the New Delhi Government.

A Welcome Move

It is in the light of this that we welcome the Indo-U.S. Pact on guarantees of U.S. investments in India recently signed by our Ambassador Mr. G. L. Mehta at Washington. The worst economic superstition has been the State's paternal desire to "protect" the home industries. The sooner this superstition is given up the nearer we are to prosperity. Perhaps the Indo-U.S. Pact is the first step towards a better understanding of the nation's immediate needs and Washington's awareness of the same.

Yet what use can such acts serve, when side by side our national policies continue to be anti-American and Government spokesmen hurry up post-haste to placate the communist bloc of countries?

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari showed an awareness of this when he gave an interview to an American paper. Said he: "We have to be strong enough to defend New Delhi. And it is not just Pakistan. A country is friendly today. Perhaps not friendly to-morrow. Take Dange (the communist leader). May be some day he will say 'We are ready for a revolution'. And maybe then Soviet Union or China will like to help him. We could then turn to friends for help, but we have to be able to hold on, say for a month, until help comes."

Every intelligent Indian will agree with Mr. Krishnamachari. He is right. India must take help from USA. This is precisely what this journal has been advocating all along and if Mr. Krishnamachari has realised it, it is all the more welcome. If India is to remain free, democratic and with a certain amount of economic prosperity, the first thing we have to do is to seek aid from U.S.A. economic and military. It is only by such means that a prosperous, democratic and free India could be built up.

Why This Hurried Denial?

But it seems that there are others in the Cabinet who do not share Mr. Krishnamachari's views. Take for example our Prime Minister and his guide, friend and philosopher, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon. Both go on firing broadsides against U.S.A. and the Free World without any provocation and without any justification. The latest example is furnished by the New Delhi criticism of Mr. Krishnamachari's interview. The

funniest part of it is that Mr. Krishnamachari is in U.S.A. for negotiating financial aid for India. Mr. Krishnamachari has not denied the truth of the interview. And yet the New Delhi correspondent of the "Times of India" sent a message which is front-paged in the paper. It starts with, "Political circles are puzzled with certain remarks attributed to Mr. Krishnamachari in the course of an interview with the New York Times last week." And then this message tries to put the "correct" line of the New Delhi authorities in the matter. It says, "the statement as reported, does not certainly represent the views of the Government of India which is on the friendliest terms with both the Soviet Union and China, and does not even remotely fear an attack from either. Nor is it India's policy to secure Western economic assistance on the basis of alleged need to strengthen the country against a possible attack from these quarters."

It is a fact known even to the veriest tyro in journalism, that when a message begins with such frills as "political circles" or "informed quarters" or "people in the know of things" etc, state as follows, it is surely an inspired official handout, which the scribe has faithfully transmitted to his paper. And this message from New Delhi in the Times of India is of that nature.

Poor Mr. Krishnamachari has been doing his best to impress public opinion in America for financial aid to India that is urgently needed. Our Ambassador in U.S.A. is equally working towards that end, and here are the authorities at New Delhi pouring cold water on those efforts, and throwing brickbats at Mr. Krishnamachari. It would be a miracle, if after this performance of New Delhi, Mr. Krishnamachari succeeds in his mission to USA.

CONGRESS MLA WITH PAKISTAN FLAG, BOMBS AND GUNS

The papers have reported that Bengali Muslim MLA was arrested for having a Pakistani flag and some small arms and bombs in his house. It is something that he has been arrested. The public should watch further developments and the punishment meted out to such treacherous conduct or conduct symptomatic of treachery.

From time to time we hear that Pakistanis are overstaying in Delhi, Hyderabad and other parts of the country and go underground when the police go after them. What is meant by going underground? It implies that there are families in India willing to hide Pakistanis from the police. When they are traced, what attitude does the Indian police and magistracy take to these hosts, who sheltered wanted aliens? Are we stultifying ourselves by the fear that to take due action against such elements is to offend the susceptibilities of honest Muslim citizens? To think so is to refuse to teach patriotism to them.

(Continued from page 4)

invasion of Kashmir, saying truly that it would come back to us in the form of bullets and bombs, Mahatma Gandhi went on a fast on behalf of Pakistan. And today the ruler of India agrees to pay Rs. 170 crores to Pakistan knowing full well that she might attack us any time! He said in Kashmir that we shall reply to armies with armies. Brave enough and good, so far as declarations go. But what are we to say of the mentality that prompts him to pay Pakistan sums as unconscionably as Rs. 170 crores. What if they come back to us in the shape of shot and shell?

American Military Officers in Gilgit.

A refugee from Gilgit coming into Kashmir seems to have spread the news that for some time now, American military officers are touring in the Gilgit and other northern areas in Pakistan-held Kashmir, helping to erect aerodromes and other military installations. He is reported to have said that the local Muslim population is resisting this incursion but is being ruthlessly put down.

We do not know whether this is true or merely a canard of international communism to alarm India and intensify anti-American feelings in India. The American Embassy in Delhi referred this question to Karachi and obtained a complete denial from the American embassy there. We need to wait awhile therefore before commenting on this rumour.

But meanwhile we might say what our attitude should be from the standpoint of India's national interest, even if this turns out to be true.

We should remind ourselves that Russia has a border touching Pakistan's and India has a border touching Tibet in the North and Northwest. And Russia and China have been building military roads and other installations for years on their side of the border. We should ask ourselves what protest we have made against these activities of Russia and China in militarising our borders? We have kept silent and our authorities have not taken us into their confidence and want all of us to be silent about it! If so, and if America should persuade Pakistan to let her build defence in her part of the border, we should ask ourselves whether our defences are thereby weakened. They are weakened only on the atrocious theory that it is America and the free world that are our enemies and that Russia and China are our friends whose installations near our border do not threaten us. A strange neutrality indeed! The country as a whole should realise these extraordinary developments of our foreign policy.

The Prime Minister made certain strange revelations while in Kashmir. He said that he did not visit Kashmir during the last four years for pain of the action against Sheikh Abdullah! Now if public duty required that India's Prime Minister should visit Kashmir to acquaint himself with the situation there at first hand in the interests of high policy and reasons of state, he should have done so without yielding to the debilitating pain flowing from the fate of his personal friend. It is wrong that personal feelings should dictate action or default while in the service of the State. The Prime Minister is too much addicted to the personal point of view in his policies and actions. It is time that high placed persons near him told him

that this is unseemly and wrong and that people have begun to be critical of it.

Of every important problem, the Prime Minister puts his judgement in terms of personal feeling "I do not like this or I like this." This may suffice in private conversation with intimates but out of form and propriety in public statements. The country is too great to be vastly concerned with the personal likes and dislikes of any one man however great and important he may be for a time in the conduct of public affairs.

Seikh Abdullah resiled from the position of Indian patriot and leader. He forgot the gratitude he owed to India, and the pledge he had taken to confirm Kashmir's accession to India. He conspired with foreign Powers to achieve an independent position to himself in Kashmir. This was sheer treachery and he had to be put aside. Nehru fortunately concedes that the action against him was necessitated by Abdullah's behaviour. He concedes that in the unsettled circumstances of Kashmir, there was no alternative detaining him in jail. But without mentioning any reasons for thinking that Abdullah has changed again into a loyal citizen of India, the Prime Minister suggests that he should be released because forsooth, his continued incarceration pains him personally! This is strange logic and strange patriotism! If the released rebel makes matters worse, and consorts with the Plebiscite Front and other groups to detach the loyalty of Kashmiris from India, the Prime Minister will have to be held personally responsible. He was wrong about the character of his friend but his opponents of the Praja Parishad and Jana Sangha were right. It was the fight of the latter for integration with India and expose of the treachery of the Prime Minister's friend that forced Bakshi and the Ruler Karan Singh to arrest him and put him behind the bars. The Prime Minister's judgement of friends and enemies has proved wrong—not for the first time.

WHEN STATE TAKES TO TRADING

WHEN today there is a mad rush for nationalisation in India of what is known as "private sector" and the taking away of many concerns under the wing of the Government the following example from the USA is typical of what Government control of trading and business concerns lead to.

Here is a report of the Federal Barge Lines. Under Government ownership, the operations of the company cost the U.S. tax-payers about 10 million dollars during the time from 1938 to 1952. The Company was in the red every year.

It was sold to an independent private corporation in 1953 for 9 million dollars.

Now it makes a profit and pays taxes. It moved about 3.5 million tons of freight last year. To meet an expanding demand the barge line has added some 60 barges and two new tow boats. Under private ownership the company operated more economically, and therefore more efficiently. Example: Personnel under Government ownership in 1946 was 3,300. Under private ownership production increased more than 100 per cent with a personnel of only 600. This is the difference all the way through between Government operated and "Private" enterprise.

—Answer, (California, USA)

MR. NEHRU AND HIS CRITICS

By B. S. Sanyal

MR. Nehru in his Delhi University speech referred to the critics of his policies—foreign, defense and economic,—as irresponsible and destructive. Worse than that, he says that they are creating confusion in the minds of the people. He has not taken the trouble of giving his reasons. Except, of course, pointing out the tremendous urge of the people for material welfare. As if, his critics do not wish the material prosperity of the Indian people.

Mr. Nehru seems to have missed the real point of the contention of his critics. The end is more or less the same: the Indian people must catch up with the advanced peoples of the world. The difference arises mainly in recommending the means to be adopted.

Why does Mr. Nehru believe that a pro-Soviet foreign policy, creation of a power-vacuum, state-planning, and bringing in communism by the partial application of the democratic method, are the best means of bringing prosperity to the Indian people? He has never cared to give good reasons for these. He has relied on the support of majority in the legislature, and the amount of blind admiration for him in the minds of the people at large.

Where Nehru Goes Off the Tangent

The democratic method of government cannot be reduced to the single application of it in the legislature, in the form of the rule of majority. All relevant criticisms by single individuals, representing none but themselves, must also be taken into account. During the British Rule, all departments of the government used to take notice of all relevant criticisms by individual citizens, great or small, and tried to meet them either by cogent counter-arguments, or by accepting them and changing government policies accordingly. The democratic method of government is the method of government by discussion, but it is not simply discussion in the meetings of the ruling party on party platforms, or discussions in the sittings of the legislature. It includes discussions going on in the Fourth Estate, and in the organized meetings of citizens. In other words, it is government by public opinion.

There is quite a good case against all his major policies. We should rather say that all his major policies are self-stultifying if not entirely destructive. Between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., which is more dangerous to our independence? Certainly, U.S.S.R. Between them, which can help us more in gaining prosperity? Certainly, U.S.A. Between Free Enterprise and State Planning, which can bring about welfare of the people? Free Enterprise, to be sure.

Mr. Nehru has been suffering from a fixation that the communist methods of state planning is the quickest way to prosperity. This reminds us of Belzeub's driving the special train of fashionable pilgrims along the Celestial Railroad. He has been suffering from a queer bias against Free Economy and Trade. Well, if he cannot rely on the people working out their prosperity, how can we rely on him? Besides, may he

not make the government help the people in all possible ways other than doing things on their behalf?

Are These Critics Irresponsible?

It is in this context that we welcome the grand symposium on the Welfare State. The venue was the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. It was a treat for the libertarians. Mr. K. M. Munshi has fired his first broadside against the Nehru experiment in Welfare State. We congratulate him as a fellow libertarian.

Each of the speakers, eminent in his own sphere, had to give his conception of the Welfare State. Three distinct views emerged. There was however a ground of unanimity. All except one agreed on one point: the present experiment in welfare state would not lead to welfare.

The exception is Mr. K. K. Shah, President of Bombay P.C.C. He conceives of the Welfare State in terms of the marxist cliché: 'from each (which he pronounced as 'itch') according to his ability and to each according to his need.' His conception and his delivery are symptomatic of the present degeneration of Congress leadership. We may take his version as the official or Nehruite version of welfarism. The emphasis is on the State and not on welfare. Social Welfare is reduced to social justice. And if social justice demands more and more of state intervention, we must have it.

Mr. Shah did not make it clear if his expose implied his disapproval of the present experiment. *Prima facie*, it did not. We may therefore wonder why he is keen on having 'social justice.' He did not give his reasons. In other words, the reduction of 'social welfare' to 'social justice to be realised in and through the State' was not justified on grounds of logical reducibility of welfare to justice. Here was the representative man of the present age of Indian decadence, a typical member of the new ruling class. Others was my impression. It was not all wrong. Others felt like that.

Mr. A. D. Gorwala, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer and Sir B. Rama Rau subscribed to the usual text-book concept. They agree on a minimum standard of welfare which the welfare state ought to realize and maintain. They seem to agree on an efficient utilization of available resources, doing it within the available resources, and doing it by the method of persuasion and discussion. Their criticism of the present rulers is a criticism of the method and the means which they find uneconomic, unrealistic and only partly democratic.

Mr. Gorwala was justified in pointing out the discrepancy between the profession and practice of the new ruling class. He clarified the point by means of two neologisms—"facadism" and "gigantomania." Thereby he tried to do a little bit of internal criticism. Taking K. K. Shah's concept of the welfare state as valid, he pointed out that the means the rulers were employing could never realize the end. By implica-

tion therefore his exposition and criticism boil down to this:

- (i) The official aim may be couched in communistic lingo: the official practice however is typically bourgeois escapist.
- (ii) State intervention is the necessary method for a welfare state, but it must be economic, realistic and persuasive.

Nearer the Libertarian Views

Prof. B. R. Shenoy and Mr. K. M. Munshi represent the third view. Prof. Shenoy conceives of the welfare state as 'the minimum state which governs the least.' This is the individualist theory of state held by Hindu and neo-Hegelian social philosophers. Free economy as advocated by Ludwig von Mises is an integral part of it. Experiments in mixed economy, state-interventionism and welfare state inevitably lead to a totalitarian state. Already 2,00,000 of Bri-

tish citizens have immigrated from the British Welfare State.

Mr. Munshi seems to have taken courage in both hands and opened his first attack. He gave the political criticism proper. His talks have the artistic grace as well as the intellectual vigour. The wit, irony and sarcasm he brings to bear upon the wellknown facts about Nehru's Communistic disposition—carry conviction, draw applause and raise high hopes.

We Libertarians find ourselves more in agreement with Mr. Munshi and Prof. Shenoy than with the others. This does not detract from the value of their criticism of the Nehru experiment. It is heartening to note that the libertarian spirit is gathering momentum. It is no use questioning the sincerity of these leaders of thought and action. That all of them are veterans belie the statement of Mr. Nehru that his critics are irresponsible.

(Continued from page 10)

out such change there can be no prosperity. They may be convinced that Hinduism offers a more sound, social and cultural ideal than communism, that free enterprise presents a better method of working out prosperity, that the democratic method of discussion and legislation has always proved to be a better method of bringing about reforms, but Nehru and his admirers among both Communists and so-called non-communists believe otherwise. They believe in the Nehru method (i.e. the Crypto-Communist method) of doing things. And the Nehru method of doing things is simple. He has rejected even liberal Hinduism and Free Enterprise. He has accepted the Communist faith. But he makes a show of following the democratic method. It has come handy to him to impose communism on the innocent Indian people in the non-violent democratic way.

That he rejects non-traditional Hinduism and Free Enterprise shows that he has not examined his ideas of society and culture which he acquired in his adolescence. He identifies Liberal Hinduism with superstitions, and Free Enterprise with exploitation. He also thinks that Communism gives a better society

economy, state and culture. It does not matter that he is suffering from a fixation. So long as the enlightened Hindus and Free Enterprisers remain disunited and do not care to put up an organized resistance, he can afford to play the merry game of "doing good" to the Indian People under cover of the democratic method.

He has isolated the democratic method from the democratic ideal of individual freedom. And since the democratic method of discussion can always be worked upon only partly, it is easy for a man to use in Communism by the democratic method. If you restrict it to the legislature, and do not extend it to enlightened public opinion which is critical of the various policies of the Government, you can always undermine the democratic ideal by the democratic method.

Besides, it is easy to make out the proposition that if Nehru change his mind to-day about Communism and become anti-communist, the pro-Nehru sector (except the Communist) will also change their mind and become anti-communist.

We, therefore, claim that Nehru is the stumbling block to India's prosperity.

Semantic Trojan Horse Of Nehru Planning

A SYMPOSIUM was held at Bhavan's College in Bombay on Monday 16th September, when five distinguished leaders of public opinion expounded their own concepts of a Welfare State. The participants were Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, Sir B. Rama Rau, Mr. K. K. Shah, Mr. A. D. Gorwala and Prof. B. R. Shenoy. Mr. K. M. Munshi had organized the symposium and conducted the affair with his inimitable polish.

Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyer initiated the discussion. He said that a

Welfare State was bound up with democracy, a government by public opinion, which, in turn, rested upon mass education, mass suggestion and mass propaganda. How were the people in a large country to be educated to appreciate the fundamentals of a Welfare State? The three essentials which a Welfare State should provide were: public health, employment and education. If what had been achieved so far was any indication, the country had not moved far. In strong terms, he said that educa-

tion had been sorely hampered in India. University education was being almost starved.

DR. AIYER'S CONCEPTION OF WELFARE STATE

Dr. Aiyer took recourse to the story of "Alice In Wonderland" where you ran just to keep still. India, in spite of all the running she had been doing, was exactly where she had been. Dr. Aiyer's conception of a Welfare State was "indistinguishable from a perpetual effort to improve education,

health and employment". A new understanding of the fundamentals should be arrived at and concentration of effort should be on things that mattered and things which were most urgent, he added.

Mr. Rama Rau began by pointing out that the question of a Welfare State could not be discussed in the abstract. He alluded to the Greek City States, the concept of Rama Rajya and the Beveridge Plan presented to the people of Britain. He stressed the basic problem facing India which was providing the minimum requirements. Western standards could hardly act as proper measures. It was silly to think in terms of them. He favoured industrialization and greater production. He suggested also that it was possible to reconcile the necessities of a modern State with the Gandhian spirit of non-violence and plan of self-sufficient villages. He recommended the Japanese methods. Japan had clearly shown how a country such as ours could make rapid progress. He cautioned however the totalitarian turn that Japan had taken.

Mr. K. K. Shah said that the Congress stood for a Co-operative Commonwealth. He expressed his concept through the Marxian slogan: "To each according to his need; from each according to his ability". This, he insisted, was the spirit of a Welfare State. If you wanted social justice and equality, then you must be prepared to go the logical end, which meant casting aside of conventions.

GORWALLA ON TWO DISEASES THAT AFFLICT INDIA

Mr. A. D. Gorwalla, speaking after Mr. K. K. Shah, said that he could not see how the Congress had removed inequality in the last ten years. On the contrary, inequality was more conspicuous than ever. In India, said Mr. Gorwalla 25% of the people had not even the barest minimum. He pointed out that concentration of wealth could not be eliminated so long as large "strategic strongholds of capital" were in a few hands.

His own suggestions for the establishment of a Welfare State were: large industries and large financial institutions should not be in private hands; no family should have more than three children — this to be enforced not only by law but by persuasion; small-scale agriculture should be developed and there would be no free market in food grains.

Criticizing the Congress rule, Mr. Gorwalla said that this country suffers from two diseases: Facadism and Gigantomania. Facadism as what you did when you did just nothing. Most of the staff in the Delhi Secretariat finished their work at 4 p.m., but waited up to 6:30 and, even then, took a file with them to work at home. This was a face of being busy when, in reality, you were doing nothing. Gigantomania was another disease that this country was ridden with. Ashoka Hotel was an instance of Gigantomania. Other instances were the needless air-conditioned Governmental offices. These only created waste; and waste was the main expenditure of this country. Mr. Gorwalla also talked of cohesion which could only be arrived at by eliminating inequality. Mr.

Gorwalla's speech was deliciously outspoken.

Prof. B. R. Shenoy, Director of the School of Economics, University of Gujerat, was introduced by Mr. Munshi as "the first noted economist who had pointed out the dangers in the Second Five-Year Plan but which were disregarded in the beginning and have now proved prophetic."

HINDU STATE IS THE 'MINIMUM' STATE

Prof. Shenoy said that the traditional Hindu State is the "minimum State". The minimum State is not a police State. It guarantees the minimum standards of consumption. The minimum State depended upon a division of labour. There was a clear demarcation of vocations. It was not in the State to interfere in the economic affairs of the people. To-day there was a confusion of vocations. The communist ideologies and socialistic pattern of society were instances of a confusion of vocation. The Plan had been made something of a God. Thus free enterprise was a part of the minimum State. This State could alone guarantee individual freedom.

(Continued on page 17)

NEED OF LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT

PROF. VENKATA RAO'S LECTURE AT BANGALORE

Pro. M. A. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture on the Libertarian Movement at The Libertarian Social Institute, Reservoir Street, Basavangudi, Bangalore, on Sunday 8th September.

Since the French Revolution two streams of thought regarding social reconstruction have been dominant in the world. One is Marxism which has taken constitutional form in Soviet Russia, China and the East European States under Russian influence. The second is libertarian thought deriving largely from the work of Robert Owen, Proudhon St. Simon and Fourier in England and France and Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews in the U.S.A., stated Prof. Venkata Rao.

The learned Professor explained how the ideals of libertarianism, namely free economy and free society, and limited government need to be popularised to counteract the current trends towards totalitarianism and the eclipse of liberty. The liberty of the individual and his free progress through intelligent self-guidance and voluntary co-operation with others can be secure only by means of a decentralised economy, free from monopolies and government intervention. Democracy can be realised only through habits of rational co-operation.

It is the aim of the Institute to foster study circles and discussion groups to examine the ideals of free economy and free society.

Current Economic Trends

MR. de COSTA'S LECTURE

SPEAKING on "The Current Economic Situation" under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise, Mr. Eric da Costa, Editor, *The Eastern Economist*, New Delhi, expressed the view that the crisis on foreign exchange, which was severe was nevertheless manageable, if the correct policies were initiated without delay. In the first place, he thought that much more imaginative exploration of the Second Plan and its difficulties needed to be done within the United States and certain countries of Europe, notably the United Kingdom, Germany, and France. In a recent tour, Mr. E. da Costa said, he had found much misunderstanding about India's capacity to repay loans or deferred payments

GOVT. POLICIES DISCOURAGE FOREIGN INVESTORS

Secondly, there was, he thought, need of a special policy to encourage private foreign investment, particularly from the United States. Recent policies reflecting the vague but determined moves towards a socialistic pattern of society and, in particular, the Wealth Tax on

companies and the Expenditure tax on higher executive personnel, had had a very bearish effect. Thirdly, it would seem that confidence abroad in our capacity to hold internal prices had been somewhat undermined recently.

Mr. Eric da Costa said that our policy needed to have both a short-period and a long-period component. In the short period, one had necessarily to rely greatly on foreign supplies of agricultural produce under P.L. 480 which were our only defence against rising prices. In the longer period, we needed added productive incentives, both for agriculture and industry, which, he thought, necessarily involved some modification in current taxation.

Concluding, Mr. Eric da Costa expressed the view that modifications would have to be found within the broad political current prevailing. Neither the Forum of Free Enterprise nor any other association concerned with industrial values could advocate a course of reduced public expenditure permanently, although there was everything to be said for consolidation before further development expenditure was incurred.

increase in her war potential. Is it not in pursuit of the brown colonialism and neo-imperialist policy of the Indian Prime Minister?"

Mr. Noon asked why the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru did not let the people of Kashmir decide their future according to a plebiscite.

A. P. and The Times of India

BIG ARMS BUILD UP IN PAKISTAN

Chandigarh: Reports about recent rise to a feverish pitch in arms build up by U.S. in Pakistan, which have of late been trickling in across the border, have been confirmed by Reinhold Stephan of Dusseldroff, a West German traveller, arriving here from Pakistan.

This German traveller, who is on a study tour of the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent said, he had seen in north Pakistan large scale military activities and a large number of U.S. Military and Technical experts.

The German traveller said, he had seen rows and rows of tanks and other modern weapons. "I have seen the damned thing with my own eyes", he said. *He said that one senior Pakistani Military officer of the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel had told him that they were preparing for some sort of action*

—P.T.I.

WHEN SHEIKH ABDULLA WAS LURED BY PAKISTAN

Amballa: Syed Rashid Ahmed, Mhafiz of the Shah Abdulla shrine in Jadhri tehsil, told a congregation of Muslims that the people who recently came to Nahan from Pakistan had narrated harrowing tales of cruelty and barbaric treatment meted out to Muslims in Pakistani held territory of Kashmir. The condition of Muslims there was miserable.

He said that Pakistan by attacking Kashmir and looting the area had gone against Islamic teachings. The leaders of Pakistan had also lured Sheikh Abdulla, and had Bakshi Gulam Mohamed not acted

Indian News Parade

LOAN TO INDIA IS "AGGRESSION" AGAINST PAKISTAN!

UNITED NATIONS, September 21.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, said today that anybody who lends India money commits "an unfriendly act against Pakistan."

Mr. Noon issued this statement a day after the Indian Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari reached New York to confer with U.S. bankers on India's need for 1,400 million dollars in connection with her Five Year Plan.

"The Pakistan view" said Mr.

Noon "is that every country or individual who lends money to India for her Five Year Plan is helping India to divert her own resources to armaments aimed mainly against Pakistan and therefore actually committing an unfriendly act against Pakistan.

"Accordingly if the United States wants a billion and half dollars to go to India, we as friends and allies of the U.S. are at least entitled to ask if the U.S. will try to find out from India the reason for her great

boldly, the Muslims of the Valley who had joined India would have suffered like their brethren living in the Pak-held area.

PTI

KASHMIRIS CHALLENGE KARACHI TO SPEAK IN THEIR NAME

Srinagar: Five political parties in the Pakistan-held part of the Jammu and Kashmir State have challenged Pakistan's move to raise the Kashmir question in the UN Security Council "to seek the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir," when Pakistan itself had forced one puppet government after another on the people of the occupied area.

The parties demanded that the Pakistani Government should hold early elections for a legislative assembly in the occupied area of Kashmir. . . Even in the Maharaja's time, Kashmir had a sort of representative government. Two general elections have been held on the other side of the cease-fire line and even in the far flung territory of Ladhak.

-Times of India

FRESH HARDSHIPS ON HINDUS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Calcutta: Fresh measures have been imposed by the East Pakistan Government to deprive members of the minority community of their basic rights as Pakistani citizens.

The Government of India is not in favour of the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan now, and for nearly a year applications for immigration have been carefully screened by the Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. Already since partition more than 4.2 million Hindus have come to India from East Pakistan. The number of unauthorized persons is not known as there are no means of checking this type of immigration.

It is significant that there are 62,000 applications for entry into India covering 200,000 persons are now pending with the Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca.

A careful analysis of the continuing migration has been indicated is the continuous inculcation of the Islamic theory of State in the minds of the Hindus, and the consistent anti-Hindu policy followed by the Pakistani authorities.

It is pointed out that since the Nehru-Liaquat Pact which has been frequently violated by Pakistan, a million Muslims from West Bengal, Tripura and Assam, who migrated to Pakistan, have returned to India. Their properties have been restored to them and given rehabilitation promises. On the other hand no Hindu migrant who has crossed over India has returned back.

-Times of India

PAK ACTIVITIES IN KASHMIR

Baroda: Pandit Premnath Dogra, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Parishad, said that the fifth-column activities of Pakistani agents in Kashmir was assuming proportions.

Addressing a press conference Pandit Dogra said that the recent explosives in Kashmir and Jammu were a pointer to this danger. He said that the Government has also far failed to root out the menace. He demanded that the Indian Constitution be fully applied to Kashmir.

-PTI

PAK LEGATION IN LISBON

Karachi: Pakistan would strengthen her relation with Portugal by opening a legation shortly in Lisbon.

The opening of the legation would synchronise with the State visit of the Pakistani President Iskander Mirza which is scheduled early in November.

-PTI

FRUNING OF THE PLAN— WISDOM DAWNS TOO LATE

The "Finance Times" carried a Reuter message from New Delhi that the Prime Minister has inform-

ed the Cabinet in an austerity letter that India's second Plan may cost Rs. 12,000 millions more than estimated.

The report added that Mr. Nehru said that part of the programme would have to be temporarily shelved. Stating that due to rising prices the cost of the Plan may rise to Rs. 6,000 crores. The report stated Mr. Nehru as saying that it was manifestly impossible for the country to incur too huge an expenditure.

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Mr. K. M. Munshi rounded off the discussion by saying that the Indian Welfare State of the day had missed welfare altogether and was just a state. He warned of the totalitarian tendencies that had gripped this country. The pity is, he said, that the spirit of the Mahatma had completely gone. The Mahatma had been used to kill the Mahatma. *The governing ideologies today were communist and socialist. But the ultimate contradiction between democracy and communism remained.* The question was: What was it going to be—democracy or communism?

Co-operatives were nothing but a camouflaged collectivization. Pandit Nehru talked of democracy but his methods were clearly totalitarian. "We use," he said, "slogans" and thereby seek verbal united fronts. *Without our knowing it, the semantic Trojan horses carrying the Marxian dogma enter our mind and will. If we allow this process to continue, we do so at our peril.* Under the cover of the slogan of Welfare State, some men glibly speak the language of the democrat, but cheerfully walk in the foot-steps of the tyrant.

Mr. Munshi also alluded to the insidious atmosphere being created in which secularism is treated as synonymous to Godlessness. The Plan was the National God.

The house was packed and the meeting lasted for about three hours.

Letters

To The Editor

THE GRAND MOGHUL OF NEW DELHI

Dear Madam: When it is a common knowledge that our country is woefully deficient in medical men and when the ratio of Doctors to the population works out something like One Doctor to every 7000 persons, where is the need and necessity of having SIXTEEN DOCTORS for ONE PERSON—namely the President. Ghosts of the old Moghul days and the days of British imperialism indeed. Even during the British days there were never so many Doctors on the list of the mighty Viceroy. Congress simplicity in practice!

Citizen of Bharat that is
Bombay Free India

THE TWO KRISHNAS IN USA

Dear Madam: It is a curious coincidence that at present two Krishnas of Bharat are in USA on two different and divergent missions.—V. K. Krishna Menon and T. T. Krishnamachari.

While T. T. Krishnamachari has gone with the begging bowl, asking for loans for the implementation of the second Five Year Plan, Krishna Menon has gone on his usual mission—avowedly on behalf of India, but definitely for furthering the cause of Red China and Soviet Russia in the UNO, and indirectly to castigate and blame Western “imperialism”.

One wonders where these two Krishnas will land India into? If the past record of Krishna Menon is any criterion then it is well to surmise that ALL attempts of T. T. Krishnamachari to impress upon USA public opinion the need of a financial loan to us, could be scored out by the action and utterances of Krishna Menon. One Krishna wiping out the other Krishna. How this realism has not dawned on the

policy-makers at New Delhi is really surprising. If T. T. Krishnamachari was scheduled to go to USA then Krishna Menon should have been asked to stay in India. Kashmir question certainly would not have been ill-served by Krishna Menon's absence. But his presence at the time that T. T. Krishnamachari is in USA for negotiating a loan for India is certainly inauspicious. Inscrutable are the ways of secular gods of New Delhi.

Bangalore SUBBA RAO

FARM PROBLEM

Dear Madam: Herewith I am enclosing copies of my leaflet No. 15 “Maurading vs the Agrarian” just off the press. This deals with the Farm Problem in a way far more drastic, and entirely different, than it has ever been dealt with anywhere heretofore. Of course, it is too brief to cover all phases adequately, but it points up the Farm Problem in a way that it has never been pointed up before. Eight good, solid men aided me in the

preparation of this leaflet, by means of their criticisms, suggestions and final approval. Nevertheless I am still canvassing for criticism. If there are flaws or gaps or weaknesses in the brief analysis I am concerned with finding out about them. And any criticism from you folks will be deeply appreciated.

As I have intimated to you heretofore, these countless advocates of fictitious money, with nothing to redeem it from the producer who gives up hard-won production for it, are imbecilic in their understanding of money. They are helping to discredit all money-reform. They would do better to acknowledge, like our greatest men, that they DO NOT UNDERSTAND MONEY, and devote their surplus energy to investigation and study in an attempt to gain an understanding of the subject.

TOLLEY HARTWICK
901, Alice Street,
Miles City,
Montana, U.S.A.

Book Reviews

HUMAN ACTIONS — A BOOK WRITTEN IN GREAT TRADITIONS

HUMAN ACTION By von Mises,
Published by Yale University, USA.

HUMAN ACTION is the consummation of half a century of experience, study and rigorous thought. No living writer has a more thorough knowledge of the history and literature of economics than Mises, and yet no living writer has been put to more pains to take on solution, step by step, for himself. The result is a work of great originality written in a great tradition. Although it builds on what was sound in the classical economists and on the revolutionary revision of Menger, Bohm-Bawerk, Jevons, Clark and Wicksteed, it extends beyond any previous work the logical unity and precision of modern economic analysis.

I know of no other work, in fact,

which conveys to the reader so clear insight into the intimate and interconnectedness of all economic phenomena. It makes us recognise why it is impossible to study or understand “collective bargaining” or “labour problems” in isolation, or to understand wages apart from prices or from interest rates or from profits and losses, or to understand any of these apart from all the rest, or the price of, any one thing apart from the price of other things.

It makes us see why those who specialise merely in “monetary economics” or “agricultural economics” or “labour economics” or “business forecasting” so often go astray.

So far is Mises' approach from that of the specialist that he treats economics itself as merely part

(though the hitherto best elaborated part) of a more universal science, "praxiology," or "the science of every kind of human action." This is the key to his title and to his 889 comprehensive pages.

Mises is so concerned to lay the foundations of his work with unassailable solidity that he devotes the first 142 pages to a discussion of "epistemological" problems alone. This is apt to discourage all but the most serious students of the subject. Yet there is nothing pretentious or pedantic in Mises' writings. His sentences and vocabulary are as simple and clear as his profundity and closely woven logic will permit. Once his more abstract theoretical foundations have been laid his chapters are models of lucidity and vigour.

Outstanding among his many original contributions are his "circulation credit" theory of business cycles, which emphasises the harm of cheap money policies, and his demonstration that *partial socialism is parasitic on capitalism and that a complete socialism would not even know how to solve the problem of economic calculation.*

COUNTERWEIGHT TO "DAS KAPITAL"

This book is in fact the counterweight of Marx's *DAS KAPITAL*, of Lord Keynes's *GENERAL THEORY*, and of countless other books recommending socialisation, collectivist planning, credit expansion, and similar panaceas. Mises recognises inflationism under its most sophisticated disguises. He demonstrates repeatedly how statist interventions in the market economy bring about consequences which, even from the standpoint of those who originally advocated the interventions, are worse than the state of affairs they were designed to improve.

HUMAN ACTION, is in short, at once the most uncompromising and the most rigorously reasoned statement of the case for Capitalism, that has yet appeared. If any single book can turn the ideologi-

cal tide that has been running in recent years so heavily toward Statism, socialism, and totalitarianism, *HUMAN ACTION* is that book. It should become the leading text of everyone who believes in freedom, in individualism, and in the ability of a free-market economy not only to outdistance any government-planned system in the production of goods and services for the masses, but to promote and safeguard, as no collectivist tyranny can ever do, those intellectual, cultural, and moral values upon which all civilisation ultimately rests.

HENRY HAZLITT

Von Mises' *HUMAN ACTION* is available from the *Libertarian Social Institute*, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road (West), Bombay 4. Price Rs. 30/- Rs. 27/- for members of Libertarian Social Institute.

MAGAZINE OF CREATIVE CIVILIZATION

21 Century: No. 2—August 1957, Box 3015, G.P.O. Sydney, N.S.W. Australia.

A little magazine which claims to be the magazine of a creative civilisation. Creative is a big adject-

tive of which the proper noun word must be something sublime. The assortment of poems and essays breathe a note which reminds one of Antisthenes and Diogenes. Yet in the editor hope dominates contempt. His notes are critical of the attitudes of the contributors who are mostly poets. Our head thinks with him; our heart goes to the poets, though.

The editor possesses a healthy mind, too damn-full of sanity. Look into his cynicism about the cynical poets who assail him, of course, in the capacity of an editor.

"First, your indirect allusion, symbolism, 'imagery' leave us cold Secondly, your scrupulous avoidance of the 'trite' values of mankind is despicable. . . . Finally, . . . The world is full of beautiful writers. If only they had something to write about!"

He wants them to write simple, clear and literal semantics, about common human needs and problems, 'anyone can attach any adjective to any noun. . . . But what idea or image are you seeking to vivify? Friends, you will be lucky if you get one valuable thought in a lifetime.'

B.S.S.

A Competition For Our Readers

How and Why U. S. A. Became the Richest Country in the World

The 'Indian Libertarian' invites articles from the readers describing how U.S.A. attained the present state of prosperity and pre-eminence, specially mentioning the names of some of the architects who were responsible for it.

The article should not exceed two pages of the 'Indian Libertarian' and should be preferably typewritten and on one side of the paper.

This Competition is open till the 31st of October, 1957. Articles meant for this Competition should be accompanied with the cutting of this announcement.

The article adjudged as the best will be awarded a prize of Rs. 25/-. The decision of the Editor will be final.

All articles meant for this Competition should be addressed to:—

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