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EDITORIAL

NEHRU'S "LEARNED IGNORANCE"

THE astute Muslim League leader, the late Mr. Jinnah always held that Nehru was Gandhiji's spoilt child who never learnt or unlearnt anything. This characterisation of Mr. Nehru sounds so very true today, when we see the unseemly and unedifying way in which he treats non-Congress Parties and their respected leaders. Somehow or other Mr. Nehru has become obsessed with the idea that he has a holy mission to fulfil in India and the world. In his eyes he and his Congress Party are the only progressive forces in Indian politics and therefore he brooks no opposition from others. This intolerant attitude of Mr. Nehru has, till now, cost India a great deal and will cost her, one fears, much more in future.

Recently in one of his political prerogations at Cawnpore, in a moment of almost inspired and exalted mood so characteristic of dictators, he flamboyantly declared, "In some way I am the symbol of some thoughts, aims and goals of the nation," and warned the "Big monied people" not to donate to the Congress, if they did not believe 'in the aspirations and goals of the nation which he symbolised'. These words put one in mind of the French King Louis XIV who said, "I am the State." Even Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini could not improve upon this language of Mr. Nehru in its authoritarian tone and accent.

In effect, what Mr. Nehru, the Neutralist on the World stage, told the monied people at home that their neutrality towards the Indian Political Parties would not be tolerated and the Congress had an exclusive right on their pause. The rich would of course take a due warning and hint from these words. The news that some companies and firms had decided to distribute their favours among the various Political Parties including the Swatantra, upset and unnerved Mr. Nehru so much that he completely lost count of what he was saying and doing at the meeting.

If this is not Political Blackmail and Intimidation, one would like to know what else it is!

Carried away by his own oratory and his emotions gone astray, Mr. Nehru directed the most scurrilous attack on the Swatantra Party and its venerable leaders. He went on to say, "The Swatantra Party deserves to be put only on the shelf and later in a museum. Leave alone the Communist countries, this Party does not even know what is happening in capitalist countries like America and Britain." Evidently the Swatantra Party was on his brain throughout his speech.

This is not the first time that Mr. Nehru has thrown all decency to the winds in carrying on political controversies. For his uncharitable references to Gandhiji and his ideals in his Autobiography, he had to be roundly trounced by Gandhiji's Secretary the late Mahadevbhai Desai who thoroughly exposed Mr.

Nehru's loose style of writing, devoid of sustained dignity and restraint and his still looser thinking habits. In the same book Mr. Nehru expressed nothing but contempt and hatred for the Liberals who had grown grey in the service of the country and who on many occasions helped the Congress to get out of the meshes created by its own hasty, rash and ill-conceived policies. Now Mr. Nehru is out to pour his venom on his former senior colleague, Shri Rajagopalachari who saved the Congress from many a disaster in the post-freedom days, as in Bengal and Madras.

— Is this Modernism and Civilised conduct? If Swatantra is to be put on the shelf, is this brand of Nehru's progressivism to be paraded before the public?

As for keeping abreast of the latest trends in world Socialist and Capitalist thought, the Swatantra Party stalwarts need no lessons from Mr. Nehru. The Swatantrites, however, will readily give the palm to Nehru and his Fellow-travellers in the possession of special and expert knowledge of Communist methods of 'progress.' But regarding notable changes that have taken place in Socialist and Capitalist thinking in Europe and America, it is doubtful whether Nehru's knowledge has progressed beyond the stage it had reached in the thirties of this century when he wrote his amateurish book on Soviet Russia. It is not surprising therefore that Nehru should now find himself incapable of comprehending fully West Germany's achievement of "Prosperity Through Competition" under the able stewardship of Dr. Erhard the German Minister for Economic Affairs. He does not

seem to be aware of the changed attitude of the British Labour Party and German Socialists towards Nationalisation which is Mr. Nehru's pet panacea for all the ills that India is suffering from. It is clear that notwithstanding his frequent visits to America on his Peace Mission, Nehru has not, yet, understood the actual working of America's Democratic Capitalism with its accent on Free Enterprise and Free Economy. A superficial knowledge culled here and there in the hurly-burly of power-politics does not surely make one 'enlightened and progressive'. The sooner Nehru realises that ability to coin telling phrases and attractive slogans, does not make one a true benefactor of the people, the better for him and his unhappy countrymen groaning under the heel of his "Licence-Permit-Quota Socialist Pattern." His vituperations against Swatantrites are only a cover for his miserable lack of cogent arguments against them; his assumption of the role of a dictator is the measure of the weakness of his tottering leadership under the hammer-blows of the Swatantra; and his so-called Modernism, only another name for his neo-communism.

History abounds in many examples of kings and rulers who, like Nehru, were possessed of literary talents, were somewhat "learned" and yet not quite wise. James the First of England was one of them.

Mr. Nehru thinks that he is the symbol of the aims and aspirations of the nation. But his recent chatter-box performances at public meetings show that he only represents "The Learned Ignorance Of Congressdom".

LINGUISTIC STATES AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

All kinds of suggestions are being made on the issue of National Integration. Scrapping of linguistic States is one of them. If this step is intended to be taken only in the case of newly formed Linguistic States to the exclusion of old North Indian unilingual States, it is surely to be resisted by the South on the ground of gross discrimination. The reversal of this process of forming linguistic States will, it seems, create only more problems instead of solving any.

There is no denying the fact that the functioning of the unilingual States shows some tendencies which directly militate against National Unity, such as the desire of every State to be self-sufficient and independent of others in all spheres, economic educational and political. In this connection it may be pointed out that the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had suggested his own solution to remedy this evil in his statement before States Reorganisation Commission. He pleaded for the Linguistic States only as democratic homogenous social units, but with an All-India Language as the official language in all States. Such linguistic States, he observed, would be democratically functioning and nationally inclined, while linguistic States employing their respective regional language for official purposes would encourage fissi-

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parous tendencies and would tend to develop, in the end, into independent nations. The former, having an All-India link through a common official language, would have a fluid culture and afford ample scope for mutual give and take among themselves, in respect of educational facilities, social and cultural contacts and administrative service cadres and personnel. This looks like a practicable solution which meets the aspirations of those who stand for linguistic States, without endangering national unity.

Those who are serious and honest about National Integration and do not merely wish to indulge in a loose and idle talk must therefore vigorously agitate for the continuance of English as the official language in all the States and for its intensive study and cultivation right up from the stage of secondary education.

SUPPORT TIBET AT THE U. N.

The issue of China's brutal aggression on Tibet will come up for discussion and debate before the U. N. Assembly during its current Session. This will be a testing time for Indian Government's much vaunted anti-colonial policy. It is to be seen whether our Government will continue the same old policy of fear, doubt and hesitation where Communist countries are involved. The reason for this misgiving is Mr. Nehru's well-known reluctance to look upon Russian or Chinese expansionism as 'colonialism'. Apart from such ideological considerations, Tibetan question, it must be remembered, has a moral and humanitarian aspect. Merely for trying to assert their right to self-determination, Tibetans have been massacred; their home-steads have been destroyed; and they are now slaves in their own land. If India could protest vehemently against the atrocities of the Portuguese in Angola, it could do so with even greater justification in the case of this rape of Tibet by China. In 1959 we badly let this our friendly neighbour down. It is to be hoped that at least on this occasion, our Government will be alive to its moral duty to focus the world's attention on the Tibetan tragedy through the U. N. and prove that its neutrality is "positive" and not "negative", as the Americans say.

HERE AND THERE

In a speech at Lucknow, Mr. Nehru observed that the Hindi-speaking States, by and large, were backward economically and educationally in sharp contrast to the progress the South Indian States had made since independence. But he hastened to add, "I do not mean that Hindi induces backwardness," which explanation, of course, made matters still worse and only added insult to the injury caused to Hindi advocates. Surely a very clever way of paying a left-handed compliment to Hindi, the proposed Lingua Franca of India!

The Union Minister for Home Affairs Mr. B. N. Datar related at Belgaum how he was called on the

telephone off and on, from far off places to do others' home-affairs. That is perfectly understandable. When Prime Minister Nehru attends to other countries' affairs more than those of his own, there is nothing wrong in other Ministers at the Centre attending to others' affairs rather than to the affairs of their own portfolios.

In the by-election to Cuttipuram Assembly Constituency in Kerala, the Congress neither supported the successful Muslim League Candidate nor openly opposed him. Thus it neither accepted nor rejected communalism. Mr. Nehru, on his part, neither accepts nor rejects communism and democracy. It may be recalled that Gandhiji also neither accepted nor rejected Communal Award at the Second Round Table Conference. Thus our Congress politics are colourless and attribute-less like Brahma described by the Vendantins as "Neti, Neti" that is "Not This", "Not That".

In a speech at Bombay referring to the wrangles between the Left and the Right in the Central Cabinet, Acharya Kripalani posed the question, "Is this Government?" We are sorry he could not appreciate the fact that in the absence of a strong opposition in the country, Congressmen are creating parties within the Party to satisfy their democratic conscience.

A spokesman of the Reception Committee of A. I. C. C. Session to be held at Madurai explained that "TumKum" grounds where the Session is to meet had been named after the practice of beating drums (Tam-Kum in Tamil) to collect freedom fighters during the struggle for Independence. But Congressmen now can surely utilise the same grounds for beating their own drums of Five and Fifteen Year Plans which, being quite hollow, will give a greater sound and noise so as to collect ignorant voters for the impending election struggle.

After tirelessly working for National Integration in India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi went to Tangyanika in Africa to achieve Party Integration there. In one of her speeches at Dar-es-Salam she condemned the practice of having an Opposition Party for its own sake. This remark drew forth a vehement protest from Mr. Omido, the opposition leader who threatened to make the life of Mr. Nehru most uncomfortable during his proposed visit to that country in the near future, if she did not withdraw her remark. He resented her remark as being an interference in his country's internal affairs. Mrs. Indira Nehru need not be unduly disappointed. She can continue her useful work of Party-integration in India. In this matter she can learn much from our China Bhais and Russian Comrades. After all India has travelled more than half way in this direction. She can accelerate the process.

A correspondent writes, "People ask: what after Nehru? But I ask: What under Nehru?" The answer is obvious: under Nehru,—DISINTEGRATION.

The Modern Spirit

By M. A. Venkata Rao

PRIME Minister Nehru who stands for everything modern and whose socialist industrialisation is modernising the country in several ways has referred to his steel plants and irrigation projects as temples and has asked his countrymen to approach his constructive policies in a spirit of reverence and devotion such as is associated with the best religious attitudes.

Public life should be spiritualised—said Gopal Krishna Gokhale whom Gandhi had accepted as his political *guru* in his early career after he returned from South Africa.

Add *spirituality* to science and industry—says Jawaharlal Nehru, taking the term hesitatingly from Vinoba Bhave to stand for supreme moral values without theological assumptions.

In fact, the country is being modernised in all departments of life. The ideals of the modern West are having a dynamic impact on our traditional outlook and inherited ethos.

In addition to industry and commerce, we have had social legislation remodelling our institutions of marriage and succession to property to daughters. We have had the ideal of equality in regard to the rights of women written into law and the constitution. Several women have entered the legislatures and are functioning as Ministers. Several have entered the Civil Service through open competitions and are serving the administration as civil officers—collectors and magistrates.

Indian life is being modernised all round to which the increasing numbers of women in offices as clerks and stenographers are another witness.

Imitation, suggestion and sympathy are the social processes which spread new ways and mores in societies. And these are proceeding in an all-comprehensive way and at great speed in our midst.

But man is a rational being and as such his new acquisitions cannot be assimilated and turned to fruitful and beneficent account unless they are made the subject of rational reflection and related consciously to accepted life's ideals.

The complaint that India is undergoing far-reaching changes without proper understanding and assimilation is largely justified. Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, former chief minister of Mysore said in a public meeting that Nehru's socialist pattern of society is hardly understood by the bulk of his supporters even in the Congress Party. He said that it will pass away without leaving a trace even like the artificial religion that the great Moghul emperor Akbar sponsored under the name of Din Ilahi!

It is necessary therefore for thinkers to consider the meaning and implications of the overall philosophy

and outlook called modernism that has its sources in the West and is sweeping everything before it in traditional societies only half awake like ours. Similar clashes of culture between old and new, traditional and modern are introducing new ways in the Islamic world as well as in China, South East Asia and Japan. The situation is similar but with a difference in the Latin countries of South America.

What then is the *modern spirit*? What are its major ingredients and values? With what elements of tradition do they clash?

Speakers and writers are never tired of saying that we should retain what is true and valuable in the old and accept what is true and valuable in the modern dispensation. But what are the basic elements of permanent value in both—is a question that is seldom dealt with, (with the knowledge and insight needful for such a serious task of the evaluation of vast and complex civilisations.).

Leaving the assessment of surviving Indian culture aside for the present, we propose here to indicate briefly the chief ingredients of the modern outlook that seem to be part of the permanent acquisition of modern Man. Older civilisations and even simpler (not to say primitive) peoples like those of Africa and the South Seas are obliged to make them their own by acquiring the required knowledge, skill and social habits, if they are to lift themselves out of the morass of the past and follow the paths of progress in the present and future.

In answering this question, a saying among historians of philosophy comes to mind. It is this: ancient philosophy (Greek) was cosmocentric, medieval philosophy was theocentric but modern philosophy is anthropocentric.

Though the earth was the centre of the known world to the medieval mind, man by himself was but an insignificant creature, created, sustained and destroyed by God.

The anthropocentric point of view of modern man on the other hand raises Man to the position of supreme importance. All modern speculation and search for values take their origin and standpoint from the interests, capacities—and demands of human nature.

This new point of view is strikingly illustrated by the founder of modern philosophy—Des Cartes. He began by doubting everything—himself and the external world, as they appear in false dreams as well. But he was halted in his sceptical thought by the idea—*I think*: therefore *I am*. From this rock of indubitable truth, he reconstructs the whole world of experience—the self, the external world of space, time and matter, the morality of

good and bad actions, the idea of God and so on. The distinguishing feature of this reconstruction is the rational spirit that led Des Cartes to test every link in the chain of argument by the criterion of truth. He made sure of every step in the light of reasoning like geometrical truths deduced from axioms bearing the sign-manual of absolute certainty.

The first characteristic of the modern spirit is therefore an indomitable hunger for truth, tested and verified truth, verified not by testimony of the sacred scriptures as in medieval days but by one's own observation, experiment and analysis. The results therefore bear repetition by all researchers. Truth is the same for all—It is universal and necessary—the same for all and rooted in the nature of things.

The whole of modern science, in all its different departments—physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, biology, psychology etc. has been built up by this process of investigation and verification by reason and experience without appeal to transcendent authority—Bible, Veda, Koran, or Aristotle.

The second fruit of the scientific spirit is technology together with its off-shoot of the conquest of nature. Nature is no longer regarded as the field of miracles—that is, events happening without rational order. The space conquests of Russia are impressive exemplars of this aspect of the modern spirit.

Technology confers Power. Power over nature enables the manufacture of goods for direct consumption on an immense scale. A hectic demand for abundance has therefore become the most important aspect of the modernist outlook.

This Power has had another (not so lovely) consequence—namely power over Man. Early industrialists used it to exploit the workers pitilessly.

This has intensified another motif of modernism namely humanitarianism. Modernism insists on the dignity of Man. Liberty and equality became explosive slogans of modern man. It is but the demand of morality for a righteous use of the new power that science has brought to us.

An off-shoot of this has been communism and dictatorship. These twins are not essential and necessary results of science, power and technology. They arose out of historical circumstances implying a clash between new forces and old forms of rule by dynasties. They were a reaction to the imperialisms that had misused scientific power in weaponry and industrialism and means of communications to attain mastery over backward peoples.

Karl Marx contemplates science being employed on human and natural resources of the globe as a whole for the creation of a social order which could initiate an ever-rising tempo of increased production based on an ever-rising tempo of scientific efficiency undistorted by nationalism, class, dynastic power etc. Such abundance can then free man from the thralldom of nature. Then everyone can have all his wants satisfied without having to have money doled out

to him in the form of wages by authority.

This is *scientific humanitarianism* even though it was got bogged down in rivers of blood in Soviet Russia.

Dictatorship is contrary to the modern spirit. In addition to scientific Truth, Power over Nature and a passion for the production of Abundance, the modern spirit is also permeated with a sense of the supreme value of the Human Person. The ancient and medieval civilisations could not create a morality or social order in which *every single individual* could have an equal share in the blessings of the earth. But today science has brought the hope grounded on reason and achievement that it is possible to do so. "One man, one vote", which is the slogan of political democracy is but the outward symbol of this concern for the individual. Communism as developed by Russia has sinned against this cardinal principle of modern man. It is therefore doomed to perish and the decks cleared for a new and better Experiment for realising the Perfect Social Order wherein Perfect Justice prevails.

The reign of Order that prevails in Nature and the outer Cosmos as revealed by science should be brought to prevail in the relations of men among themselves in society, cutting across divisions of race, nation and class. But this Reign of Order in human society should be based on freedom and respect for personality and should be built through willing co-operation and rational persuasion.

This is the social hope and social duty that animates and directs the modern spirit.

All the wealth of spirituality and capacity that man can summon and rally are needed to fulfil this destiny. No retreat is possible. To stand still is to go backward.

HOW OTHERS LOOK ON US*



"The most important, my dear pupil Nasser, for our Socialism are the capitalistic loans."

—By courtesy: Die Zeit."

Precept Versus Practice

By M. N. Tholal

THE National Integration Conference which has just concluded its session in New Delhi, strongly urged that in all schools in India the day's work should begin with a prayer common to all India, by which the children will take a pledge of loyalty to the country, dedication to the service of the nation's freedom and to world peace. Some at least of the authors of this resolution seemed to have been unaware of the fact that by permitting Communist Russia to spend unlimited amounts on propaganda in the country, aimed at destroying national loyalty and national freedom, they were hardly practising what they preached, and that the children, if they had the sense to realise it, would be found saying, "Physician, heal thyself!" The text of the statement issued at the end of the Conference contains the words, "It has also been suggested that in addition to the proposed prayer at the beginning of each day, the Preamble to our Constitution may be read out." Here again the framers of our foreign policy, who took a prominent part in the Conference, seemed to have forgotten that the policy clearly runs counter to the Preamble to our Constitution by promoting the interests of a contrary ideology.

THE PREAMBLE

The suggestion should also have been strongly urged by the Conference, for the Preamble to our Constitution, from which flow almost all the recommendations of the Conference, seems to have been forgotten by the people as well as their leaders. It is worth while reproducing the Preamble here to show that the recommendations of the Conference are implicit in the Preamble, and to suggest to Mr. Nehru that he should have the Preamble framed and placed right in front of him on his table, as well as one on that of Mr. Krishna Menon, the erratic executor of his foreign policy. The Preamble runs:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;
Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation;

In our Constituent Assembly, this 26th day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

No one who is truly loyal to the Constitution can possibly be guilty of the fissiparous and disruptive tendencies condemned by the Conference, such as communalism, casteism, regionalism and Jinguism, which tend to undermine the solidarity of the people,

because they tend to defeat "Justice, social, economic and political" and the "equality of status and of opportunity" guaranteed by the Preamble.

National integration, as the statement says, is a psychological and educational process, involving the development of a feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion in the hearts of the people, a sense of common citizenship and a feeling of loyalty to the nation. It is implicit in the Preamble but the vast majority of the people, including the leaders, are not educated enough to realize the implications. That is obvious, otherwise there would have been no need of the Conference. It may, therefore be asked, "What has the Congress Government done to promote that psychological and educational process?" It seems to have been assumed by those who have been holding the reins of power that national integration was an accomplished fact and did not need any effort on the part of the Government for its promotion. Only on that assumption can the Government escape blame for its failure to educate the people. Yet was there any ground for that assumption, freedom having come to the land accompanied by its partition, on the corpse, if one may say so, of national integration, after a decade of shouting by Muslim Leaguers, who threw all other Muslim parties in the shade, that they were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood to secure the partition of the land, and after communal massacres unprecedented in the history of the country? Obviously it could be in no mood of forgetfulness that the need of educating the people, in regard to the implications of the Preamble to the Constitution, was lost sight of by our Congress leaders, who knew very well that the people, who were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood to establish a theocratic state of their own, belonged to regions left to India and not to those which constituted Pakistan.

SENSATION OF POWER

It is difficult to read people's minds, but this serious omission on the part of the Congress Government would appear to make one thing pretty clear, and that is that the Party which formed the Government did not take the Preamble to the Constitution seriously and did not want the people either to take it seriously. They did not take the Preamble seriously because they had no intention of abiding by its implications. Full of the sensation of power that the loaves and fishes of office gave them, they thought of distributing the same among members of their community and their Party—irrespective of efficiency—their relatives, their friends, their followers, their hangers-on and men of their state, even of their district. How could they advertise the implications of the Preamble to the Constitution and indirectly damn themselves when "the need of the hour" clearly was adulation and flattery from their hangers-on, old and new? What was needed most was not even thought of, because in Churchill's

biting words, our leaders are "men of straw," pursuing their petty, selfish, unpatriotic aims irrespective of the good of the country.

Education should develop in the young a sense of mission, according to the statement, a repugnance towards domination over others and a civilised pattern of social behaviour. This desire to dominate over others is the cardinal sin of our countrymen, and of equally uncultured and less highly civilised people all over the globe, and is the root cause of quarrels everywhere, not excluding almost every home. The desire denies the equality of status of our Preamble. It was this desire which laid the foundation of Pakistan, rather than any ideological difference between the Congress and the Muslim League. Knowing that the Congress did not represent the Muslims, Congress leaders in 1937 forgot their own pledges of 1936 and double-crossed the Leaguers of U. P. Why? Because of their desire to dominate over others and to reduce self-respecting men like Khaliqzaman and Nawab Mohammad Ismail—two of the greatest gentlemen U. P. ever produced, to the status of hangers-on like Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

FLASHES OF TEMPER

In the course of my career as a journalist, extending now to forty years, I have intimately known many of the leaders of the land, particularly of the North, and I have known no one in whom the desire to dominate over others is so strong as in Jawaharlal Nehru. It is indeed very strange, since his father gave him the best of training and sent him to England for higher education during the formative years of his life. If a man can spend a few years in the schools and colleges of England without imbibing the democratic sense of equality of the Englishman, I would say of him that education has been lost upon him. In case the reader is inclined to doubt my assertion about the desire to dominate in Jawaharlal Nehru, I can reproduce from memory from an article by him on himself written under a pseudonym the words, "His flashes of temper are well-known". And it is not the anger-causer who is the victim of his "flashes of temper". The victim is any one who is foolish enough to cross his path at the moment. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai used to say, "Catch him in a good mood" and Mr. Nehru's colleagues have perforce to be mood-watchers! So much for the "equality of status" and "fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual" as practised by our Prime Minister, who should be the upholder and guardian of the Constitution of the land. (In the USA a photographer once said to President Truman, when his camera could not get him, "Step down Harry" and Harry stepped down to oblige the photographer, humourously remarking, "You see now who rules this land". No wonder the suggestion to include the prayer in the Preamble remained only a suggestion at the National Integration Conference. As the Hindi proverb says "Hathi ke dant dikhane ke aur hote hain, khane ke aur". (The elephant's teeth for show are not the same as those for chewing.)

His father also had these flashes of temper, but in the son, I have reason to believe, they have been cultivated to frighten others. They are deliberate.

His father had the best of reasons to lose his temper, whenever he did lose it, and that was not an everyday affair, as in his son. Motilal Nehru did not suffer fools gladly, but he had his withering sarcasm to ward off fools. In my early twenties I talked on equal terms with his father. Today I wonder at my insolence as well as on the democrat that Motilal Nehru truly was. True, I had distinguished myself as a leader-writer on his daily, the Independent, but I was forty years younger! I am not suggesting that Motilal Nehru was not masterful, but his mastery over men came as natural to a man of his brilliant intellect as subservience did to men of lesser brains, and he had the utmost respect for men who had anything worthwhile to say. Always searching for talent in the service of the country!

Mr. Nehru's domination over his colleagues was exemplified in the Conference also. Mr. Nehru mentioned that some people has written to him that the Hindi of the future should be simple and fluent and not high-sounding and difficult. While some members protested against this remark, the noted Hindi poet, Dinkar, rose to say that if Hindi was to progress, it must be rescued from "the clutches of word-coiners who are playing havoc with the language". Official Hindi and the Hindi spoken by the people, the poet pointed out, were drifting farther and farther apart. On this Mr. Nehru remarked amidst laughter, "Please whisper it to your neighbour." Dinkar's neighbour was the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Dr. Keskar, who was taken aback and could only mumble, "Sir, I agree." Perhaps the reference was to his broadcast in Hindi which few are able to understand, but evidently there is little sense of fraternity in the Cabinet, otherwise the use of the word 'Sir' would not be so common.

GOODY—GOODY BUNKUM

While certain group loyalties on a religious, regional or linguistic basis may continue, according to the statement, these should be subordinated to the national interest. But what if any of these loyalties runs counter to the national interest? It is easy enough to say that loyalty to religion should be subordinated to the national interest, but the latter is something vague while the former one is taught to know as something his very own since childhood. It is therefore common to find that loyalty to religion wins hands down where one's religion is inclined to be fanatical and loyalty to the nation is pooh-poohed and ridiculed. It was not unusual during British rule to find Muslims referring to Muslim Congressmen as "Panditji". The poet Iqbal, whom the Prime Minister admires, by way of recanting from his early national song "Sare jahan se achchha Hindostan hamara", wrote:

Muslim hain hum watan hae sara jahan hamara. (We are Muslims and the whole world is our homeland.) if the principles enunciated in the Constitution are supreme and are to take precedence over religious tenets running counter to them, the Government's publicity machinery must be geared up to take up the Herculean task of edu-

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Men In Motor Cars

By J. M. Richards

WE are at last becoming fully aware of the high price we are paying for letting motor-cars become such a dominant element in our civilization. The

(Continued from page 7)

cating the people to understand not only the high moral basis of the principles underlying the Preamble but also the outdated, intolerant, superstitious and obscurantist character of the principles underlying fanatical faiths. Not only should the teacher and the student be encouraged to play an important part in promoting rationality, objectivity and a scientific attitude of mind. The Jamait-ul-Ulema-e-Hind should also be asked to undertake the task. In particular it should be asked to define its attitude on Kufr (damnable disbelief). Our Prime Minister has been condemning Pakistan because its people have been clamouring for Jihad against India over Kashmir. But he should know that Jihad is only a concomitant of the conception of Kufr. Kufr and Jihad may be said to be the two faces of the same coin. You cannot declaim against Jihad without declaiming against Kufr. Why cannot India do it, if Turkey can do it? Our Prime Minister is terribly afraid of Muslim sentiment, but unless he takes the bull of Muslim fanaticism by the horns and tames it, all resolutions on national integration will be just goody-goody bunkum.

It is not necessary to attack any particular religion to attack this kind of fanaticism. Truthful propaganda bears fruit and we need not fight shy of it. We can easily import some lecturers from Turkey for a few years to do part of the job for us. But Mr. Nehru has his international leadership to think of, first and foremost, and then of Muslim votes which are expected to bring the Congress horse romping home during the election race. National integration is all very well to talk about. The document produced by the Conference was "an act of faith for all of us", according to Mr. Nehru and he seems to have done his duty by that declaration of faith. In the twenties and thirties and forties we were victims of Gandhi's craving for international fame. Now we are victims of Nehru's craving for international leadership and the national machinery is being geared up to promote the interests of Mr. Nehru. That is the sphere in which Mr. Nehru lives and moves and has his being. The greater the need of talking about national integration.

But the National Integration Conference has incidentally done some good in assuring the English language a place in the national scheme of things. That is almost all we need for national integration. I mean, the English language, and it is something to be thankful for that our leaders have at last begun seeing the importance of the English language for the national development of the country.

price includes the ripping apart of our towns and cities by driving new motor roads through them, the huge cost of road building, the waste of time and nervous energy resulting from traffic congestion, the frustration of never being able to find anywhere to park. Politicians, town-planners, and road-engineers are all busy trying to find ways of improving this situation, but they are working on the basis that the way we use motor-cars is a necessary part of the pattern of modern life.

What happens if we take another view? The view that a civilized life comes before the demands of any particular machine and that perhaps, instead of every kind of planning automatically making way for the motor-car, we should put ourselves first even if it means questioning the way cars are now used. I am not disparaging their usefulness. Nostalgia for the peaceful days before motor-cars happened would be pointless now; the world has changed because of them. But we have the choice of either passively succumbing to them or making them into a real asset—not, as now, a mixture of private assets and public nuisance.

The motor-car has achieved its dominant position because it provides an outlet for all sorts of psychological needs that everyone possesses. It has been given an inflated social and psychological value that has no connection with its usefulness as a transport machine. This has come about through several causes. One is the habit of regarding motor-cars as a symbol of affluence. Another is pressure from the industry, which to keep itself prosperous has to persuade the public of the importance of not only owning a motor-car (or several motor-cars) but of getting if possible a new model each year, with the result that, anyway in America, the discarded motor-cars, the space they take up and the visual squalor they cause, are becoming almost as much a problem as parking those which are still in use.

Wasted Time And Energy

So we have acquired an attitude to motor-cars which is not only irrelevant to their proper purpose but, if you come to think of it, utterly out of date. Compare other kinds of machines. The operation of every machine in a factory by a different person has long been out of date. If only from the point of view of conservation of energy, the introduction of power looms, power presses, and the like was one of the biggest moves forward out of the handicraft era. The fashion for using individual motor-cars in towns, although it is often glibly described as an essential ingredient of our mechanized world, is in fact a retreat right back into the handicraft era—the era that existed before the invention of power machinery, when people had to perform every operation individually.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Third Plan And The Common man

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

THOUGH other countries in the West have made rapid progress in the post-war period without adopting socialist pattern of society, yet our government desires to raise the standard of living of our teeming millions by planned economic development. Experience of the first ten years of planning has been greatly unsatisfactory so far as common man is concerned. It is argued that planning is the only way to remove the backwardness of our country because we can remove the deficiencies in capital and trained labour that exist to-day. The present Government wants to remove the great inequalities in society by establishing a socialist pattern of society, but though two plans have been completed, yet the inequalities of income are still existing in spite of the fact that we have spent crores and crores of rupees in the sacred name of planning. During these ten years we have established huge projects and industrial establishments but no attention was paid to the burning problems of the needs and requirements of the common man. Really speaking he is not much interested in these huge dams, industries and highways. He wants to satisfy his basic needs namely food, clothing and shelter. According to Planning Commission there has been a 42 per cent increase in national income at 1960-61 prices over the ten year period of the First Two Plans. This shows an annual increase of 4.2 per cent, but the price level during the Second Plan period has gone up by six per cent. In 1960-61 the general index of wholesale prices increased by 7.2 per cent as against 5.8 per cent in 1959-60 and 6.6 per cent, in 1958-59. This clearly indicates that in spite of a rise in national income the condition of the common man has deteriorated. This proves that common man has not benefitted at all by ten years of planning. The circumstances at present are oppressive for the common man. It is believed in some quarters that most of the poor people were better and happier before independence.

The planners want to raise the standard of living of the common man, but during the Second Plan little attention was paid to the development of consumers goods industries with the result that prices of consumers goods have increased considerably and if this state of affairs should continue in the Third Five-Year Plan, then an increase in national income at an average annual rate of six per cent would not improve the economic condition of common man unless prices of consumer goods were stabilised at a reasonable level. In the Third Plan the Planners have not clearly shown how to secure the price stability during the period; they only desire to see

“that price situation does not deteriorate further”. This rise in price level during the Second Five Year Plan was mainly due to the unrealistic tax policy and secondly due to emphasis on the development of heavy industries at the cost of small scale industries. As a result of this, supply of consumer goods has been greatly reduced. During the Second Plan there was a scarcity of most of the commodities which the common man uses and even though he had money in his hands he could not purchase them except at blackmarket prices which he could not afford to pay. Due to planning most people belonging to the middle class and lower classes found it difficult to make both ends meet. They could not get two square meals per day and enough clothing to cover their bodies with tightened belts. “The common man has suffered silently his own personal privation. But the suffering of children has been unbearable. If this condition continues in the Third Plan there is no knowing how the common man will react to his suffering. That these miserable conditions will continue during the Third Plan period does not need much emphasis.” The prices of consumer goods that had increased during the last five years show no signs of abatement. The prices of food grains are at the maximum. The prices of cloth, ghee, oil and other domestic requirements have become very costly. Common man is told by our planners that there is surplus of cloth, sugar and other things required by him, but he is not able to purchase them at the fair price because the prices of all these things are soaring. From the Government's point of view it is the increase in population that has resulted in rise in prices, but it must be admitted that there was no need for a rise in prices when production has increased at an abnormal rate. So the main cause of rise in prices is the policy of deficit financing which has been adopted by our planners to fill the gap in incomes and expenditure and if this condition will continue then the economic condition of common man will deteriorate still further in the Third Plan. Deficit Financing “is not an Alladin's lamp nor “Open Sesame” of Ali Baba and his forty friends. It quickly leads to a rise in prices in the absence of productivity, monetary discipline, supply of consumer goods and readiness to postpone consumption in favour of investment. It gives rise to frequent economic disputes among the various factors of production. Deficit financing raises prices and imposes hidden and often inequitable taxation on the people; and further it produces economic and financial instability. It is a medicine to be taken in small doses; it is not food that would sustain the system”. Hence infla-

tion once it starts will get momentum and the people will be subject to undue hardship and suffering. "The best safeguard is to keep the investment programme within the available resources or to increase the output of consumer goods, especially of foodgrains. If the supply of foodgrains and cloth can be kept fairly elastic the danger of excessive inflation due to a large dose of deficit financing can be avoided. Mrs. Robinson states that "to support any large scheme of investment with a large gestation period there must be an appropriate amount of quick yielding investment to get the consumption sector (including food production) into the posture to meet the demand that will fall on it—if the threat of inflation hangs over the Plan, it must surely mean not that the Plan is too large but that the balance is wrong"—. Deficit financing it must be admitted is not always dangerous; it is the timing and magnitude of it that is of crucial importance. Deficit financing has to be avoided while the economy is already under inflationary pressure. During recent times quantity of money has increased by many times. We have nearly 2000 crores of notes in circulation and if the Government will resort to more deficit financing then the condition of common man will be very serious and like a German lady during galloping inflation in Germany he would say "We used to go to market with a pocket full of money and return with baskets full of goods but to-day we go with baskets full of money and return with a pocket full of goods". The Planners want to resort to deficit financing during the Third Plan period to the tune of 550 crores only but this sum is based on the assumption that the revenues from other sources will be realised.

If they are not realised then the Government will be forced to increase this sum as it had done during the Second Plan period. If this is done then the condition of common man will be really pitiable. The immediate effect will be that the middle class which forms the backbone of society will be abolished and there will be two classes namely the rich and the poor and middle class will go in the latter category. The gulf between the rich and the poor is daily widening day by day and it will widen still further.

From this, one can easily conclude that the common man will not lead a happy life in future. Taxation has affected him badly. With the exception of a few taxes almost all taxes are indirect and the incidence of indirect taxes is borne by the poor people. Rich people are not affected very much by a rise in prices of cloth and food grains but it is the common man who has to pay from his own pockets. His income does not rise in equal proportion to the rise in prices. It is possible for the rich people to shift the burden of taxation on the poor people but poor people have no choice but to bear them meekly and silently. Heavy taxation will take away a large part of income from the poor people. It is said that India has imposed 13 kinds of taxes out of 16 which are existing in the world. Even America and England with high standard of living did not impose so many taxes as our Government has imposed in order to increase the welfare of the people. At present taxes have reached the maximum point and it is

rather strange to see that the planners think of raising 1710 crores by way of taxes during the Third Plan, over and above the existing taxes that were imposed during the Second Plan. The net effect of these taxes will be that the lot of common man will be very miserable and by these measures our present Government wants to raise the standard of living of the common man. Due to taxation and deficit financing price level during the Third Plan period will tend to rise and this is going to make the lot of common man in India unbearable. It would also make it difficult to achieve the rate of savings and investments on which the targets of output in the Third Plan are based. Common man has already tightened his belt for the last fifteen years. If you ask him to do this further then there is a possibility that the belt may be broken or the stomach may give trouble. We can say that the lot of common man has not improved as a result of planned economy; on the contrary he has become more miserable. The only way of raising the standard of living of common man is to give free scope to private sector and adopt market economy. Only competition among producers and buyers will lead to prosperity. Our planned economy based on Soviet model has miserably failed and the earlier our Planners realise this simple truth the better it is for them, otherwise the hungry common man will not hesitate to embrace communism with open arms.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The truth of the matter is that while investment of capital is undoubtedly necessary for economic growth, it is certainly not the controlling or predominant factor. Economists are not yet in a position to analyse this matter fully; but we can say that the principal factors in economic growth are not physical—natural resources and invested capital—but human. In the years immediately following a war or similar catastrophe, economic growth can be very rapid: the war-time damage is made good, and the old trend line is recovered. But, except for times like these, the human factors making for economic growth seem to be able to develop only at a comparatively slow and steady pace. It is not denied that good government, and the character and efforts of the people, can do something to improve this pace. But any effort to force the pace violently is likely to lead to waste of capital and other resources and may end up, in fact, by slowing it down.

"Those who say that they are willing to trade price stability for economic growth may find that they have been sold a pup; they will have parted with their price stability and got no additional growth in return."

—From the booklet "Growthmanship" by Colin Clark.

The Common Market

THE world-wide furore over the entry of Britain into the Common Market has simmered down sufficiently to enable the basic facts to come to light.

First, the whole agitation does not indicate any wide-spread desire to extend freedom and end totalitarianism in the sphere of international trade, or to increase the world's real income in goods and services. Rather, it has been strongly emphasised in all quarters that the extension of the Common Market is a political move to balance and fight the ever-growing influence and power of the Communist Bloc in Europe. The over-all effect of eliminating some trade-barriers while setting up others may be to increase total trade, but this is not the object of the Common Market. The irrational and anti-social philosophy and practice of protectionism strongly permeate even the unfavourable reactions from Britain and Australia.

Australia's Position

As usual, our protectionist governments and interests are highly irrational. They oppose, from a national angle, higher imports and support higher exports, but in their own business concerns traders and manufacturers (in fact everybody) always show themselves rational and practical by importing as much as possible and exporting as little as possible. The reason for this is plain: no other course is possible in this world of reality.

When it is possible to manipulate and pervert government to give privileges to favoured interests at the expense of the whole community the privileged interests succeed in having the ordinary course of trade obstructed and burdened by governmental interferences and preferences for their benefit, the only opposition being a small section of the community who take the trouble to analyse what is going on. But these privileged interests are now opposed to Britain joining the Common Market, because the trade-preferences which Britain extends to Australia would be lost or jeopardised.

But what is the essence of these preferences? Higher imports into Australia than will be allowed by the Common Market. Britain pays more to Australia for Australian products than Australia can get on the British or the world free market. So after all it is imports that are profitable to Australia, and the protected interests are opposed to reducing their own imports. Their support is always given to the political measures (of whatever party) which reduce the other fellow's imports but increase their own. It will be a bitter pill for the protected interests, but healthy and beneficial to the whole community, if ever the people do a little straight thinking and realise these facts. If Australia loses British trade-preferences she will suffer a decline in imports in this field, and to that extent our national prosperity will decline. But

this adverse influence can be more than compensated for by new markets if Australia will only take down her own trade-barriers. Irrationality involves essential self-contradictions, so the protected interests are opposed to this method of extending trade.

War Against Communism

Perhaps most irrational of all our attitudes is our pretended fight against communism. Officially but absurdly we are supposed to be in a "cold war" with the communists, and as trade (an essentially peaceful process) is irrationally believed by our confused governments and people to be a form of war, it is erroneously believed that by joining together in a "trade bloc" we can effectively fight the communists.

The official "reason" given for the "cold war" is that the communists stand for totalitarianism while the west stands resolutely for freedom. It is true that the communists stand for totalitarianism, but the whole tragedy of the world situation is that the west does not stand for freedom. If it did, communism would never have arisen, because communism is the inevitable reaction to injustice (the opposite of freedom) by oppressed and dispossessed peoples. And at any time the adoption of freedom by our governments would cause communism to vanish like a puff of smoke. We publish "The Standard" purely for the promotion of freedom. Justice and freedom are only different angles of the same thing, i.e., a normal and healthy society built on the knowledge and observance of natural social law.

Unfortunately ignorance and apathy have so far been too strong for our cause to prevail, which is the reason why communism arose and still exists. But the stars in their course fight for social freedom, which will ultimately prevail because it is scientific and social.

Everything in communism is not evil, because communism is essentially a revolt against what is essentially evil, i.e. injustice. And those who oppose communism but maintain trade-barriers and even more fundamental social injustices should know the violations of freedom which they are supporting are entirely evil. These departures from freedom into totalitarianism will not succeed in checking communism, and even if they did they would only raise something even worse. Nobody is seriously engaged in the search for a solution of social problems who does not realise that *Freedom is Social, and all Restrictions on Freedom are Anti-Social and Destructive of Society*

The Trojan Horse Firmly Installed

Our western governments have effectively assisted communism ever since 1917 by refusing to renounce basic injustices and adopt freedom. The trade-barrier situation is a simple and unanswerable example of this. Not only do the western governments ignore it

sign-posts pointing to a free world, but they even ignore the appeals of their own United Nations Organisation which is constantly appealing for the abolition of trade-barriers.

At all points the western governments pay the communists the compliment of adopting the totalitarian philosophy and techniques to solve problems. That, incidentally, is why the problems are never solved. And now that the communists themselves are progressively abandoning many of their old beliefs and practices of totalitarianism, and the west is adopting more and more of them, it is already questionable in which camp communism is the stronger in essence.

Trade-Restrictions Totalitarian

To trade is a natural right, and to restrict it is a denial of human rights. Governmental "control" of trade, i.e., action beyond what is necessary to secure equal rights to all, is essentially totalitarian, and is both economically and politically destructive and contrary to all sound social philosophy. Its results can be seen everywhere today. Australia and all other governments which profess to be anxious to preserve the British Commonwealth and all free institutions must stop talking vaguely about freedom and acting against it.

Not Opposed to Common Market

We are not opposed to Britain joining the Common Market. But we are opposed to the restrictions on free trade which prevail in the Common Market, which is surrounded by a high tariff barrier. The more countries that join the wider will be the free trade area, and the higher the resulting trade and prosperity attained within that area and, to a lesser degree, outside it. And the larger the area the greater, perhaps, the possibility of the tariff against the outside world being ultimately taken completely down. This would be a great gain for the world, but would still not be complete free trade.

To attain to complete free trade, which would solve the world's present-day international problems, including the threat of communism, and most of its other problems, more than an absence of trade-barriers is necessary. The complete abolition of all privileged interests, drawing their unjust revenues from governmental delinquency, is essential. Pre-eminently the payment to the community of proper site-rents by all who hold the world's valuable sites in trade and manufacture, making possible the abolition of unjust and impoverishing taxes, is urgently called for to restore the disinherited to their heritage as human beings and to ensure that communism and all other forms of totalitarianism lose their appeal and power.

What Is Really Needed?

A full-blooded grasp of freedom and its implications, which means that you, reader, and all others of good-will, show a determination to understand and master social problems. Mere good intentions, and submission to popular superstitions and gov-

ernmental blunderings, will solve no problems and arrest no drifts.

—The Standard (Australia).

"Creeping Capitalism"

In Russia

AN article appearing in the *The Economist* (May 13) gives further evidence that voluntary market transactions are eroding some of the Socialist foundations in the Soviet Economy. Even Iron Curtains and very hard penalties have not fully suppressed what the Soviet refer to as that vile, opprobrious system of decadent Western capitalism—private enterprise guided by the profit motive.

Private enterprise seems to be enjoying a renaissance in Soviet Russia today, possibly more dangerous to Communist ideology than in the days of the New Economic Policy, the temporary emphasis on private enterprise during the 20's to offset the early disasters of Communist policy—the massive famine and likely anarchy.

As *The Economist* puts it, "Creeping capitalism" on the upper levels is a matter of personal graft, and so of indifference to humbler folk; on the lower levels it is a matter of convenience, however offensive ideologically or to those who resent seeing others thrive."

The manager of a state enterprise constantly faced with near-impossible production goals, critical shortages of men and materials, and the threat of "replacement," if not outright punishment, if he fails to perform. Where the ponderous machinery of government is too inept, survival compels him to look to the many private dealers for his salvation. Private persons seek out such suppliers to acquire scarce consumer goods and even houses.

Food grown for urban dwellers, not on collective or state-owned farms, but on the smaller private plots still provides much of the vegetables and livestock products which find their way to the Russian table.

Clandestine exchanges in back alleys and in private homes help to make life bearable under the continuing strains imposed by the massive, often seriously inefficient, system of state-controlled and co-operative system of production and distribution.

It seems a rather poor commentary on the vaunted state socialism of the Soviet variety that the system must depend in so large a measure on traditional modes of private incentive guided by the profit incentive guided by the profit motive to make life tolerable and even superficially sustain itself. In any case, the Russian consumer seems to find that the built-in flexibility of the price system with its deal incentives provided through the quest for trading profits does have something to it after all. If Mr. Khrushchev plans on "burying us," it may be with a capitalist shovel.

—Economic Intelligence, Washington, U.S.A.

In the case of the motor-car, it cannot be regarded as an advanced form of social organization when the time and energy of the occupant of each unit of what is, in effect, a mass migration citywards every morning is separately taken up by the task of propelling that unit. It is utterly primitive and wasteful, especially when the units are situated almost head to tail, as constantly happens. One really powerful unit at the front of the queue could pull them all making what used to be called a 'train' before our fairly well organized transport system allowed itself to be fragmented by the individual's enthusiasm for driving his own car. And this did not happen because it increased efficiency but because it was a means of relieving psychological and social frustration. The degree of waste is shown by the fact that one person riding in a private car occupies, on an average, seventy square feet of road-space, whereas each person in a bus, even when it is only half full, occupies seven square feet.

Town-planners, and other people whose business it is to prevent the wasteful use of land, have shown up the imbecility of allowing little houses to be scattered everywhere, at the whim of the house-owner but to the detriment of the community. And the public is beginning to accept their arguments. The next thing to do is to show up the imbecility of allowing free rein to the individual motor-car, so that society can take action in this case too. But it cannot act effectively until ordinary people understand what the fight is against; that it is not, according to my theory, against the sensible use of the motor-car as a transport machine, but against allowing it to become nearly everyone's means of expressing his individuality.

Two Suggested Measures

There are therefore two measures that can be taken to solve the traffic problem—in so far as it is caused by the overuse of the private motor-car. One is to provide people with other outlets for their need of self-expression, which could be of many kinds. This opens up all sorts of questions concerning the dull nature of many people's jobs and the proper use of their increasing leisure. The other measure is the improvement and the reglamorization of public transport. I emphasize reglamorization, because public transport has been vulgarized and made squalid by bad conditions and obsolete equipment. If my parallel between housing and transport is accepted, not only do people have to be educated to prefer public transport in exactly the same way as they have to be educated out of their prejudices in favour of nothing but isolated villa ownership, but the process must compete with difficulties equivalent to the resistance to flats that was created by flats becoming associated with obsolete slummy tenements.

Public transport suffers from similar associations. But this can be put right by showing how comfortable and efficient it can be—and how adventurous. There is no end to untried possibilities—the memorial, for example, is one—and to experiment with them should

appeal to the idealist in all of us, because the ultimate aim is one of social betterment, not one of social fragmentation like the provision of more facilities for individual motor-cars. Organized transport, like organized anything else (from athletic competition to orchestral music), is that much further along the road to civilization.

Pride In Public Transport?

At the moment our public transport services suffer from defeatism—from the feeling that they are on the way out; that the railways, for example, are an old-fashioned service which can only be somehow patched up. But if the sense of pride in the service that used to exist could be revived, and if the public enthusiasm for its transport services, like the enthusiasm that existed when railways were first invented, could be recreated, what a difference would immediately be shown in our towns and cities! Their street-pattern, on which their architectural character depends and which is nowadays condemned as out of date, would be found to be perfectly adequate; there would be no need to disrupt our towns by road-widening schemes and blast them open with new highways. The parking problem, with all its frustrations, would disappear. We would no longer need to view our town architecture across a foreground of shiny vehicles.

The privately owned car will always have its place, but the gregarious human being could surely—at least it is worth trying—be persuaded to make travel to work in and about his cities (which are, after all, an expression of his gregariousness) a co-operative effort, and take pleasure in doing so. This would be far more worth while than expensive and unnecessary multi-storey and underground car-parks, which spread the very disease they are designed to cure, because—and this applies to road systems as well as parking facilities—the more space you provide, the more motor-cars arrive on the scene to take advantage of it, so that from the point of view of congestion you are back where you started.

In addition, there is the anti-social nature of the private motor-car habit: I do not mean the habit of family trips in the car at weekends. I mean driving about on daily business with one person in one car. We only become social individuals when we step out of our cars, and I suspect that if the glamour and satisfaction derived from operating a car were transferred to something else, many people would find it more of a gain than they imagine. It is hardly a step forward in civilized living when nearly every member of society spends more and more of his life shut up by himself in a metal box.

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The Congress And Linguism

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar

DR. Sanjeeva Reddi, the President of the Congress, on account of his opportunities to travel all over India without a host of officials and "Yes Men" who always surround our ruling Politicians on such occasions, seems to have realised to some extent the great disruption, which Linguistic States have brought in our country. He stated at Nagpur on 4th August that "Linguistic States were created so that administration could be conducted in the language of the people; but if this is going to be a danger, then we will have to give it up". It is a pity that Mr. Reddi has not yet fully realised that this danger to our All-India-Unity has already come and is on us in all its ferocity. One need only note and study what has already happened in Assam where two sections of Hindus, merely because they speak different languages, behaved towards each other as brutally as the Pakistanis had done on the eve of partition and afterwards. It is now clear that every one, who does not speak the language of the majority in a State is considered to be a stranger and a foreigner within the borders of this ancient land. This was *not* at all the case before 1947 and it is a great tragedy that after the absolute-Swaraj-Rule by our own men and that too within a short period of fourteen years, such disruption should have arisen in our country. I may also quote what our Vice President stated at Madras on 3rd August. He asked sorrowfully, "Why was it that in this country they had convulsions of their society and resorted to violence at the very first opportunity in the name of caste, community, language, Province or Region?"

Will the Congress President and his party-men think over the reason for the emergence of sixteen Hindu Pakistans within India? The main reason for this trend is the language policy of the Politicians. If they only take courage and state that at least for another 25 years, the English language will be given the same prominence and place which it had before 1947 for Judicial, Administrative and Educational purposes, the frankenstein of linguism will die a natural death within a short time. The story that the people want that the administration should be carried out in the Regional languages cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. For, 95% of the people of this country have got their own personal problems of existence and they do not care in which language the administration is carried out, provided it is done officially without *corruption*. Most of them are not inclined to take an active interest in the administration of the country, except when there are elections and when some serious matters either affecting them personally or their locality take place.

Apart from this, by this linguistic administration, the officials of every state are becoming narrow-mind-

ed and are adopting an intensive provincial attitude, which is killing our nationalism. Formerly any official, whether a clerk, police official, Engineer, or Doctor etc, if transferred from one State to another was doing his duties efficiently. But very soon most of these officials will be of absolutely no use to their neighbouring States, even when it is only situated within a mile from that State if this linguistic mania continues. The printing expenses and the amounts spent in various States on type-writers to carry out this linguism, if calculated will come to a huge sum. I may point out that in the Madras State people's taxes are wasted on some officials, who inspect the offices NOT to find out whether the duties are performed efficiently and expeditiously but merely to scrutinise whether the peculiar and sometimes understandable translations in Tamil of English words are used or not! They carry this out in spite of the fact that once the Chief Minister, Sri Kamaraj Nadar, with his well known simple common sense, had expressed that words, which have become popular need not be translated into Tamil. This linguistic mania has also invaded the offices of Central Government. For, I find that the forms sent to citizens for the return of incometax in the Madras State are now sent in laboured Tamil translation even to those, who were receiving such forms in English previously. This is indeed linguistic madness in excelsis!

I am aware that the pet sentimental reason given for this language policy is that English is a "foreign" language. But even here the Politicians are not honest as they are retaining every thing else which the Britishers had left behind in India, from the cocktail parties to the addresses from the "throne" to the legislature, with the debates for a number of days at our expense. Further the Politicians send their children to the English medium schools, either in India or outside. If they were really so Indian-minded they would have at least advocated the adoption of the Sanskrit the Feeder of Indian languages as the national language instead of Hindi which has only fanned linguistic hatred all over India.

Apart from all these, this linguism is ruining the middle classes who are perforce becoming confined as it were, within the four corners of their own States, while the children of the Politicians and the Rich who are monopolising English learning and education are becoming the ruling classes. The Politicians do not care to hear the grievances of the middle classes because they do not command voting strength. This language policy is causing great harm to the middle classes and it is up to them to arise and awake and expose this conspiracy to ruin them as a class.

Mr. Nehru's Grand Strategy

(From Our Correspondent)

A NNOUNCING his farcical decision to break his 48-day-old fast, Master Tara Singh said on October 1, that "responsible friends, Malik Hardit Singh and the Maharaja of Patiala" had "assured" him that, according to a communique issued by the Prime Minister, a high-power commission would be immediately appointed to "examine the grievances and the differential treatment which led to my fast". And he added inferentially: "As the only grievance that led to my fast is the non-application of the linguistic principle to the Punjabi-speaking area, resulting in discrimination on a social plane, the said Commission is going to examine this question, that is, the question regarding the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state."

It is obvious that Master Tara Singh's will to live proved too strong for him to resist, as it should have, and on the eve of sliding into a coma indicated by a sinking feeling, he presented the picture of a drowning man catching the proffered hands of Sardar Hardit Singh Malik and the Maharaja of Patiala. Otherwise Master Tara Singh would have waited for a few hours at least for the alleged communique to come out in cold print. Perhaps the Master himself was not quite sure about the wordings of the communique or did not want to be—it was too late for that—and preferred to believe what the intermediary between him and the intermediaries, i.e., Sant Fateh Singh, alleged was the substance of the assurance of the intermediaries.

MASTERLY SUBTERFUGE?

When Sant Fateh Singh appealed to the dewan at Manji Saheb on October 1, after it had rejected the draft communique, not to resist Master Tara Singh's decision to end his fast, he said that the mediators had given the assurance that the Commission would be free to examine the Punjabi Suba issue. But in their speeches a few minutes earlier neither the Maharaja of Patiala nor Sardar Hardit Singh Malik referred specifically to the Punjabi Suba, though they said that the Commission could discuss "all complaints" or "the causes for which the fast was undertaken". The communique makes it clear that the Commission is being appointed to go into the grievances of the Sikhs". Announcing his decision to break the fast Master Tara Singh had said he had been assured, "the Prime Minister has issued a communique" about the appointment of the Commission, thus suggesting that the termination of the fast was a consequence of the Government's announcement. But the communique says in its last paragraph, "News has just been received that Master Tara Singh has ended his fast," which makes it obvious that the fast was terminated before the Government's decision was formally announced.

At his last Press Conference Mr. Nehru had said that the Punjabi Suba problem could not be considered by the Commission because it was a political problem. The Home Minister while talking on the subject, had also been loyally emphasising the words "within the framework of the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament". So there was little room for misunderstanding. What seems to have happened is that Sant Fateh Singh has saved Master Tara Singh's life by the subterfuge by which Master Tara Singh saved Sant Fateh Singh's life when the latter was fasting, i.e., by conveying an assurance never given by the Prime Minister or anyone on his behalf. One good turn deserves another and it would be uncharitable today to remind Master Tara Singh that he repeatedly refused to end his fast until the Punjabi Suba was conceded at least in principle. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon's reading of the situation—that it is all bluff and bluster—conveyed to the Prime Minister, has proved correct. Master Tara Singh has lost a splendid opportunity of rehabilitating himself in the esteem of the people of India by ending his fast with the declaration that he had realised that his death would produce an unbridgeable chasm between the Sikhs and the Hindus instead of, as he had hoped, winning over the Hindus to his cause.

A CRACKER EXPLOSION

According to a report in newspapers a "small cracker" exploded about 8-40 p.m. near the Delhi Railway Station a minute or so after Mr. Nehru passed that way on September 29 on his way to the Gandhi Mela. A constable was injured in the arm and five passers-by received burns and minor injuries. A few seconds before the explosion all the street lights went out. Till midnight the Deputy Commissioner and senior police officers were looking for clues, apparently believing that it was something more than a "cracker", the word used by the Deputy Commissioner in the Press Note issued by him, which informed the public that the Anti-Explosives squad of the CID crimes branch rushed to the spot immediately after the explosion and started investigation.

A police officer said he heard the noise at the Mela site, about half a mile away. The next day Mr. Nehru told newsmen that the cracker explosion had created "more excitement in Washington and London than here" for he woke up to find anxious cables from the two capitals awaiting him. Perhaps the excitement in London and Washington was due to the fact that their reporters even here are used to calling a spade a spade, and do not turn a bomb

into a cracker, even in deference to Mr. Nehru. We are certainly developing a vocabulary of our own: "cracker" for "bomb" and "incursion" for "invasion"—to give two recent examples. Nevertheless it should not need emphasizing that bombs serve no purpose and cannot displace Mr. Nehru or his party. They only indicate the existence of half-baked or even juvenile minds.

THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

In asking the Indian electorate to help preserve a "united, non-sectarian and secular India" by voting Congress next February, the Congress election manifesto is saying something which every party in the country can say on its behalf. But no other party, except that of the Communists, can truthfully add "under international Communism" after "India", though neither of the two are likely to do so for fear of frightening the conservative electorate. The manifesto asks the Government to pursue a policy of non-alignment and friendship with all. It is indeed gratifying to note that the manifesto does not ask the Government to pursue a policy of greater friendship with the aggressors—those who are holding the East European nations in captivity—although it makes it pretty plain that the Congress stands for non-alignment with justice and fairplay and the interests of India, with a view to alignment with the individual and personal interests of Jawaharlal Nehru in the international sphere.

With the same end in view the Congress manifesto asks the Government to "continue its efforts" to recover the areas under the illegal occupation of China and Pakistan, since India "cannot tolerate aggression from any quarter". That beats me hollow. Here am I reading so many newspapers and magazines to keep abreast of the Government's deeds and misdeeds and I have never so far seen in print even a hint or a suggestion that the Nehru Government is making efforts to recover the areas under the illegal occupation of China and Pakistan! That being so, where does the question of continuing efforts, which simply are not there, arise? This is a good way of throwing dust in the eyes of the people. Further, our history of the last fourteen years tends to show, on the other hand, that while we can tolerate aggression and try to be friendly with aggressors, we cannot tolerate non-aggression from any quarter. Witness, for instance, Nepal, whose Hindu King we have sent to Pakistan and China to bear witness to our imperialism, as it were.

Nor, it is becoming clear from our international stand, can we tolerate the non-aggressors. The hope is also expressed that the people of Algeria would soon achieve "their full independence" so that, presumably, they may join the Egyptian Jihad against Israel and later the all-Muslim Jihad against India, regarding whom most Muslim countries are under the impression that she is oppressing 50 million Muslims in her territory. I wonder if there is any one in India or outside it who can persuade the

Congress leaders, particularly Mr. Nehru, to believe that India's quarrel with Britain was over in 1947, when the latter granted us our freedom against the wishes even of the Father of the Nation, and that the main aggressor today is China and her great friend who pretends to be our friend, whose names may send a shudder through our frames, but whom that shudder cannot obliterate. Congress politics, so far as international affairs are concerned, consists in closing the eyes to the grave danger present and tilting at the windmills in Quixotic style, to attract the applause of the ignorant multitude. That is what Mr. Nehru calls "grand strategy" and well may he do so. Has he not made the Congress a close preserve of his hangers-on?

Nevertheless, a voice was found proclaiming the truth, almost in a mood of absentmindedness, at Madurai; where the All-India Congress Committee is meeting. Mr. P. V. G. Rau blurted out that the promises contained in the manifesto seemed to be mere repetitions of earlier ones made at the time of the previous elections. When minor loyalties—to the country or the nation—come in conflict with major loyalties—to self—the former are apt to vanish like mist before the morning sun. That is what has been happening in India. Loyalty to self includes loyalty to the family. In a previous despatch I gave the heading "Nehru grooms his Successor" but it was misprinted as, "Nehru grooms his successors". My reference was to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I would ask the reader to read his newspaper with an eye on my shrewd surmise that the daughter is being groomed. In the absence of any obvious successor, what else is Mr. Nehru to do?

Book Review

The Guidance of Human Evolution (an essay) by H. J. Muller (included in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, Autumn 1959; and also in *Evolution After Darwin*, Vol. II, of Chicago Press, 1960).

It is always noteworthy when an eminent scientist writes on the social implications of his speciality. This is particularly likely to be so when that subject has been as widely misunderstood as has eugenics and the author is as distinguished as is Professor Muller. Such is certainly true of this fascinating essay by the Nobel laureate geneticist of Indian University.

Cultural evolution, though much faster than biological evolution, is no substitute for the latter. Modern culture, however, through the reduction of inter-group and intra-group selection, has served to disorganize biological evolution.

The rectification lies not in the reduction of those aspects of culture responsible for this situation, but rather in their extension. There is need for people increasingly to extend their social awareness to the realm of reproduction. The technology which has worked to reduce the intensity of natural selec-

tion must be employed by man to control the quantity and quality of his off-spring.

The genetic qualities that might be sought to include predispositions to better health and vigor; a deeper, more creative intellect; a character more profusely endowed with kindness, affection, and fellow feeling; and those special aptitudes which contribute to a richer, more satisfying life.

The genetic selection necessary for such advances is quite practicable. Generally it is neither feasible nor necessary to identify the individual genes. "[Selection] works in spite of the frequent impossibility of discriminating between genetically and environmentally based effects... Overall progress will take place in the direction of selection and can, especially in the earlier stages, be very rapid. Then, in later stages, the delicate task of screening for the most dependable and precisely suited genes can be better carried out, after the general level has been raised..."

The means by which such intensive selection would be possible is artificial insemination. The method is already widely practiced in cases where the husband is infertile. "Unfortunately, most of the physicians in such cases, deterred by the fear of public and legal censure and having little appreciation of genetic matters, seem to be chiefly concerned with hiding their operations..." But cases have even been reported of out-of-work men, originally picked up in bars, who make an easy living by regularly selling their semen on what amounts to mass scale."

It is important that the practice of artificial insemination be put on a more responsible basis. "It should be recognized that the couple concerned in such a case, as well as the physician, has performed a service to mankind meriting not disgrace but honour. With such an outlook, even before it was generally held, both physician and couple would be armed with better incentives to take genetic considerations into account. They would be encouraged to make the best use possible of such a chance to engender the most precious thing we know of: a worthy human being."

Paul Eldredge Smith.
in *Balanced Living*. Ohio.

Gleanings from the Press

SURVIVAL OF THE UNFIT UNDER CONGRESS RAJ

The numerically dominant castes, using the weapon of universal suffrage are claiming more and more privileges (and getting them) to the exclusion not only of higher castes but also of the less numerous castes who are often much more backward. The consequences have been disastrous in the railway, post and telegraph departments, where membership of a backward community is regarded as the most important qualification. The chief danger in India to-day is not so much a conflict between the various

religious communities as the tensions and frustrations brought about by giving preferences to some sections to the exclusion of better qualified persons of other groups. Our democracy works on the principle of survival of the unfit. When the backward castes are given special privileges and these are doled out according to formulae based on numbers, it is only natural that people would take pride in their backwardness and cling to their caste which they would have perhaps forgotten in course of time. Caste associations, aware of the special advantages available to them, are trying hard to spread consciousness about them among members and organize their votes.

There is no point in classing a whole caste as backward when individuals within it are much more advanced than many members of a caste which is not listed as backward. In our socialistic structure, backwardness is not considered as a misfortune but is given encouragement to remain backward.

—Behar Herald.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

A seminar was held on "Problems of Democracy" on 16th, 17th and 20th of September 1961.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on the problems regarding "The Education of the Electorate" in order to give a sound basis to a Free Society. Mr. P. Spratt spoke on the necessity for preserving cultural freedom through vigilance in a Free Society.

News & Views

CLOT IN HIS BRAIN—MENON TO BE OPERATED

New York: Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister is to undergo an operation for the removal of a blood clot in his head in a Manhattan hospital. Mr. Menon would be operated by Dr. Leo Davioff.

Our "Secular" India

Temple honours (Meenakshi Temple) were showered on him (Mr. Nehru) by the chief priest in the sanctum sactorium of the shrine. "Arti" was performed and a "Parivattam"—brocaded scarf was tied round his head. The chief priest also put the 'tilak' mark on his forehead.

—Indian Express

Ordinance to Control Production Of Sugar

Within hardly a week of the removal of restriction on sugar—its price and movements from one State to another the Government has come out with an Ordinance for the control of the production of sugar by the sugar mills. By the Ordinance the Government is empowered to regulate the quantities of sugar each factory may produce from time to time.

The Ordinance empowers the Government to lay down production quotas for each mill, 10 per cent below the production, during 1960-61.

The Ordinance also empowers the Government to penalise defaulters, who may produce extra sugar in excess of the quotas fixed by the Government, by exacting extra Excise levy.

—News item

Fear Of an Overnight Communist State in India

Mr. N. Dandekar, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, warned in Bombay recently that it required some sufficiently important international event "to touch off the overnight establishment of a communist State" in India.

He claimed that the general dissatisfaction amongst the masses, emotional disintegration, and the reported alleged demoralisation in the Armed Force particularly the officer cadre, had already set the stage when "some quite serious development might happen in India, given some world-shaking event."

Mr. Dandekar was speaking on "Then and Now—1947 and 1961" at the weekly luncheon meeting of the Rotary Club, concluding. Rotarian Dandekar said that the latest development was the fact that the world no longer had any illusions about what brand of "neutrality" India subscribed to, for "India's policy is not neutral, her policy is one of favouring one particular bloc against another bloc while she pretends to be neutral with a policy of double-faced approach to world problems. Nations no longer have any illusions about all this."

National "Integration" at Aligarh!

While hardly the echoes of the so-called National Integration Tamasha at Delhi had died, there was flare-up at the Aligarh University on October 3 when six students of one community were belaboured by their fellow-students of another community. The result of the rioting ended in six dead and 43 hurt.

In a press note issued by the District Magistrate it is stated:—

"Following the declaration of the results of the union elections of Aligarh Muslim University, students in the Ziauddin Hostel fell out resulting in injuries to eight students of both communities. The injured were admitted to the University Hospital where they were given proper treatment. The medical officer of the District Hospital also examined the injured and prepared his report of injuries received by the students."

Peking Heading For A Revolt?

Why has Communist China delayed the publication of its budget for 1961? The great leap forward appears to have stopped in mid-air and there is ample evidence to confirm the belief that Peking is slipping fast—too many steps backward. For the third year in succession, China has been hit hard by floods, famine and pestilence.

Frequent trumpeting of Chinese abundance in consumer goods attained by increasing personal wealth of the working people has been for the past

few years a regular programme in Peking's publicity campaign in East Asia. But visitors to the southern and central provinces of China have a different story to narrate. There are mile-long queues at community grain shops and lack of footwear, clothes and utensils of daily life is so common that bare necessities are considered rare luxuries.

The indigenous steel production has totally failed even before it got started. The pig iron produced in these primitive furnaces were found to be a waste of precious ore and the whole project had to be abandoned. This proved to be a severe set back and few doubted that it would take Peking decades to stabilise its tottering economy.

—Malabar Herald

Soviet A-Tests Produce Fallout Peril; U. S. Tests Yield None

WASHINGTON.—Nuclear devices can be tested underground or in the atmosphere but it is only the latter which are causing concern to scientists.

The Soviet nuclear explosions, taking place in atmosphere, produce radio-active fallout dangerous to all mankind. The U. S. also resumed atomic testing, calling it necessary to strengthen free world security.

Unlike the Russians, the U. S. confined its detonation to an underground site. Such underground explosions yield no perilous fallout. This is the important difference between Soviet and American nuclear testing. Officials emphasize that the world must understand this difference.

Soviet nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere—there have been 12 such tests since September 1—will pollute the earth with hazardous fallout.

Chavan Favours Retention Of English

It will be unwise for the people of India to treat English now as a foreign language. This is the considered view of Maharashtra's Chief Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, on the future of English in this country.

Mr. Chavan would like English to be treated as "one of our own languages," such as Gujarati, Marathi or Tamil.

He appeared to feel strongly that because of this country's long association with English, which had served as a vehicle for higher learning all these years, it would certainly be not wise to throw away the resultant benefits.

On the question of teaching English in schools, he said that the State Government had a clear policy which was being phrased for two years and there had been no reason to change it. (Schools have been allowed to teach English and even have it as the medium of instruction from the fifth standard).

He believed that English would, inevitably remain an associate language at the State level so long as it held that place at the Centre.

He was also of the view that in future people aspiring for higher education might have to learn three languages, the regional language, Hindi and English.

THE FIRST STEP IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The attitude of the ruling political party has added a new element of disintegration to which it is necessary to refer here. Instead of allowing and encouraging a natural synthesis of castes and communities in a developing continent, the coming together is directed to be brought about through political affiliation to the Congress and through that means alone. The result is that instead of casteism disappearing, a new and worse caste has been created—the caste of the ruling party. With the power exercised by that party in the socialistic pattern, that is, with power to make or mar men in all economic, industrial and other business activities of individual citizens, this new caste has come to be a worse type of the old feudal tyrannies and caste dominations. Castes may disappear but this new Congress caste will grow in strength as all national activities are sought to be brought under government control. Corruption and disintegration are the natural corollaries of this domination of a new caste.

As faith in non-violence has faded away among congressmen yielding place to totalitarian reliance on the various commissions of the State, centralization is resorted to as a remedy for disintegration. Centralized authority is not a cure for the fissiparous tendencies generated by the ruling party's policies any more than physical chastisement is a cure for deficiency in memory or mathematics. Of course, centralized totalitarianism when accomplished leaves no room for any fissiparous activity. But that is a scheme of life based on compulsion to which we have not yet given explicit consent. A corpse suffers from no headache or malaria. It is only living men that suffer diseases. To kill is no remedy for the ills of the body or the mind.

It is not easy to undo the linguistic reorganization of the States. So many vested and strongly entrenched interests will be against it. But something will have to be done to undo the evil results. The first and most far-reaching step would be a firm assurance in respect of the continuance of English as the medium of higher education and of all official work with full facilities for the public to be in touch with Government through translations as in the British days. This is the first step that is called for most urgently. If this is done, leaving no room for equivocation or doubt, a great deal will have been achieved. Many of the disintegrating forces will fade away as a result.

—C. Rajagopalachari.

Dear Editor

THE COMMUNIST YARDSTICK OF NEUTRALITY

What is the communist block's yardstick of neutrality and what exactly do the communists expect of the non-aligned (so called) countries? This is the

subject of an instructive article in "The Nation", the well-known newspaper in Burma. Here I am reproducing what it has said about the above matter:

"Genuine neutrality is regarded as inconsistent with Communism. Underlining this, Moscow Radio said on August 31, 1960, that the theory of "Neither East nor West" was not an attitude of positive neutrality acceptable to the USSR but merely served the interests of Imperialism.

The Communist block has its own yardstick of neutrality. What Moscow favours is a formula called 'positive' or 'Progressive Communist block rather than the Free World.

"To earn the title of Soviet-style neutrality a country must—

1. adopt certain policies to undermine the West,
2. fight against imperialism, its military alliances and the penetration of imperialist capital, and
3. fight against 'neo-colonialism' in any shape or form.

From different statements, it is clear that, in the Communist view, neutrality is at best a tactical device in the global struggle of Communism against the Free World. Essentially 'positive neutrality' is intended to wean 'uncommitted' countries away from the West, facilitate Communist penetration, and so tilt the balance of power in favour of the Soviet block. Genuine non-alignment is unacceptable, as illustrated by recent Soviet hectoring of Yugoslavia, Iraq and the United Arab Republic."

I fully agree with what "The Nation" has written about, neutrality, as understood by the U.S.S.R. and its stooges.

Bangalore,

M. Amarnath.

ATTENTION !!!

OUR GIFT OF THE MONTH

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BY M. N. ROY

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