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EDITORIAL

NEHRU AYUB KHAN MEETING

THE much talked of meeting between Nehru and President Ayub Khan took place at Palam Aerodrome last week. There was no agenda but a general talk over outstanding Indo-Pakistan differences. The Pakistani President expressed great appreciation of Pandit Nehru as an inspiring personality and a great and brave man and a communique issued after the meeting expressed willingness on the part of both leaders to arrive at a general settlement of all outstanding problems in a fair and just manner.

General Ayub Khan said that though Pakistan had not signed the proffered NO-War Treaty, she was determined to solve inter-state problems peacefully through sensible negotiations, problems including the canal waters and Kashmir.

The General had offered joint defence arrangements as between the two countries in view of the Chinese militancy in Tibet and border incidents in Ladakh and NEFA in Assam. But Nehru had not responded as the Pakistani shooting of the Indian Canberra was still fresh in his mind.

The Indian High Commissioner in Karachi Mr. Rajeswar Dayal has made a significant contribution to the easing of the tension between India and Pakistan. He persuaded the President to attend a High Commission office reception on Independence Day and to accept a dinner invitation in the High Commissioner's residence.

Diplomacy has a distinct function to perform in

international affairs and individual diplomats can yet make a distinctive contribution even in these days of public slogan diplomacy and the meeting of heads of States in the full glare of publicity.

If the present meeting results in initiating a series of sincere negotiations between India and Pakistan whereby a permanent understanding is arrived at and the fear of war between the two countries is banished forever once for all, it will be a great gain for both and to world peace.

FACTORS OF SUCCESS

But what are the chances? One of the factors making for hope is the present cordial and peaceable mood of the Pakistani leader. The Pakistan press has welcomed the Nehru-Ayub meeting and the communique issued thereafter which is a sign that the General has the support of the leading groups in his country.

If the League mentality has been definitely dethroned in the ruling policies of Pakistan, it may be said that there is hope of a better day for both countries.

But in view of the long-standing hostility displayed by Pakistani leaders and the political ambition they have for a larger Pakistan at the expense of India reviving Moghul glories in Hindusthan (and even Pan Islamic ambitions with Pakistan leading a world Muslim renaissance consolidated in a world Islamic empire from Morocco to Indonesia), it is difficult to believe that there has been a real and permanent change of heart in Pakistan. The President's cordiality cannot be taken at its face value.

Also, it is known that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is susceptible to flattery. The Russians obtained a tremendous hold over his imagination and goodwill which

gave them a tremendous footing to their cause in the imagination and affections of the vast Indian public through the flattering reception they gave him when he visited Russia.

It is to be feared that similar flattery by the wily general from Pakistan might obtain for his country valuable concessions at the expense of India.

Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya has expressed this point of view in the press. It is therefore necessary for the Indian public to ask for signs of change of heart on the part of Pakistan.

It is curious and symptomatic of the mentality of the Pakistanis that even while the heads of administrations were meeting cordially, news continued to arrive of Pakistani border shootings and atrocities on the Indian people both in the Eastern and Western borders! President Ayub Khan has before now followed the false Pakistani versions that their shootings are *always in defence* following the *aggressive* incursions and atrocities of Indians!

After the Palam aerodrome meeting, he was pleased to say that these border pinpricks should stop and to that end, meetings at Ministerial level with military commanders in attendance should take place.

As an earnest of the new spirit, India should ask for settlement of outstanding debts owed by Pakistan and a cessation of border outrages.

JOINT DEFENCE

The Chinese aggression in Tibet and Indian borders has had an effect on Pakistan's military leaders. They seem to be ready for a joint defence of the borders, for if the Assam border in NEFA gives way and the Chinese succeed in liberating Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan

and NEFA and parts of Ladakh as they seem to be aiming at, the security of Pakistan is also put in grave jeopardy.

But in view of history and the hostility of Muslims to India and their ruling ambition, any joint defence should provide for the operation of Pakistani troops only within prescribed limits along the border. They should *not* be used in the *interior of India* as a safe substitute for Indian troops.

India should also take the precaution of having a large *militia of the civil population* trained to look after internal order when the regular troops are away on the borders. The Indian public should be trained to watch hostile action on the part of fifth columnists, whoever they may be—pro-Pakistani or pro-communist and nip them in the bud.

There is a tendency in Indian leaders to trust to the *limit* (*without adequate* justification in reason and probability) even those who have proved notoriously untrustworthy and have caused the nation untold harm. It looks as though Indians with the ruling Hindu psychology permeating the public mind have a suicidal tendency, a *masochistic self-flagellating neurosis!*

During the Cabinet Mission days, a Muslim writer wrote that there is no place, no square inch of Indian soil in which Muslims in the past have not shed their blood. This is the ground and justification, he thinks, for them to claim the right of rule over India as a whole!

Indian educated persons are too ready to forget and forgive. President Ayub Khan has appealed to this sentiment in Indians shrewdly.

It is not suggested that we should turn a deaf ear to the proffered hand of cordiality and joint defence but history and psychology should be allowed to *caution us* as regards the *terms of the conciliation*.

The process of rapprochement should *not* be a *One Way traffic*. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan and Nehru-Noon Pacts are bitter evidences of Nehru's proclivity to *give without insisting on fair quid pro quo*. It is to be hoped that this time, the public will insist on genuine tokens of *reciprocity* by Pakistan. Give and take should characterise both sides! As an earnest of the new goodwill, let Pakistan evacuate Lakhimpur and Tukurgram.

THE SENSATIONAL TIFF BETWEEN MR. KRISHNA MENON AND GENERAL THIMMAYA

The news was splashed that Mr. Krishna Menon had offered to resign and that General Thimmayya had actually sent his letter of resignation. The distinguished general is reported to have told the Prime Minister that since the Defence Minister does not seem to have the requisite confidence in him, he felt bound to resign, as he could no longer serve with effect under the circumstances. The Prime Minister's statement glossing over the conflict between his friend and the general and offering to keep in touch with the matter himself and emphasising the principle of the superiority of civil over military personnel has not cleared up the situa-

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tion. His assertion that the general's complaint consisted of trivial things is not fair to him. His reiteration of confidence in his friend Krishna Menon and his praise of the progress in the defence department under him are not relevant. His lukewarm praise of the general and that too after prodding by members of Parliament is not reassuring.

It should be remembered that rumours of Krishna Menon's unorthodox promotions of junior officers over the heads of seniors equally competent had introduced a note of unsettlement and indiscipline or dissatisfaction in the three armed services.

Nehru's statement that all promotions have been regular and made through the Selection Board is not enough to allay legitimate suspicions. Though normally the civil power should be supreme, in this case the antecedents and personality of the Defence Minister necessitate extra caution in adjudging the general. Mr. Menon was for fifteen years a member of the executive of the British communist party. That means a card-holding member pledged to the Russian Soviet World Revolution has the first of all loyalties and obligations.

His ominous silence over the Chinese genocide of Tibet and over the later Chinese aggression on NEFA border is eloquent testimony to Mr. Menon's loyalties. It is dangerous for India to have such a pro-communist as her defence minister. The Prime Minister should be *aware of this and ask him to resign*. Instead, he continues him in his office and gives him a chit of praise. It is clear that the Prime Minister is yet unable to separate personal from national loyalties.

The fact that a patriotic upright soldier like General Thimmayya should have been forced to tender his resignation should cause a deeper probe into the matter and unearth the cause in the behaviour of Krishna Menon as well.

The crisis is blown off with the withdrawal of the resignations and the assurance of the Prime Minister that he would keep in touch with the Defence Ministry and prevent such things in the future. But distrust persists that full information has *not been* given to Parliament and public in this matter.

THE FOOD CRISIS

The Food and Sugar crisis has claimed one more victim in the Food and Agriculture Minister Mr. S. P. Jain who was obliged to resign on account of the severe criticism of his failure to make food grains available at reasonable prices in a year of bumper crops. It was said by the authorities that this year's food crops amounted to 73.5 million tons—an all time high record.

But food prices have also soared by nearly 25% since last year. The hardship of the middle and lower middle classes is reaching intolerable levels.

Though the popular frenzy in Calcutta released by the communist-led High Prices Protest Committee (resulting in riots, arson and uncontrollable commotion necessitating the entry of the military in aid of the civil power) is partly due to the revenge of the communists for their dismissal in Kerala, the substance of the

charge that the Government have failed in their elementary duty cannot be denied. The Bengal Food Minister Mr. Sen seems to be as bad as Mr. Jain and there has been a persistent demand for his dismissal.

From the standpoint of free economy, the present muddle is clearly traceable to the blundering intervention of Government in the free market. Government have tried to control wholesale trade without full organisation. Their food movement *zones* have cut up the country into a number of *isolated spheres* and has prevented the natural movement of grains in *accordance with* economic channels according to trade requirements and demand and supply.

It is pointed out by many men of experience that the best thing for Government to do is to build up *buffer stocks* by open purchase at market prices and by imports and let the free market continue unobstructed. The Government could release stocks to the market at suitable prices if prices rise above a certain level. It should buy if they fall below a certain level. Meanwhile, it should maintain *fair price shops* in all places of scarcity at which families should be given a month's supply at a time in accordance with the number of its members at a certain rate of grain per head. This would prevent corruption and the purchase by proxies for black marketing.

Meanwhile Government should make facilities of water, credit, pure seeds, implements, manure etc. available with Extension Service in regard to scientific advice to *increasing numbers of growers*, small and big. At present such aids exist but operate on too small a scale and do not reach the bulk of the cultivators. If this lacuna is supplied in a few years, food production will increase at a satisfactory rate. To provide for growth of population, 110 million tons are required in ten years!

ANNOUNCEMENT

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In Place Of Panchsheela

By M. A. Venkata Rao

EVEN the blindest can no longer ignore the failure of our much-praised foreign policy of Panchsheela. The obscure hamlet called Longju on the MacMahon Line has now passed into history with Eisenhower and MacMillan locating it on the map and pondering on the new phase of Indo-Chinese relationship that it portends. It was in that place that Indian and Chinese border troops opened fire on each other, (which turned *Panchsheela* into ashes).

Even yet with the grim possibilities before them of war with China, the new giant of the East, official quarters cling to their discredited policy of neutrality in the cold war. Mr. Nehru still adheres to his pet policy of noncommitment to either side in the conflict between communist and Western blocs.

In spite of the patent hostility shown by China in propaganda and in harsh treatment of Indian nationals (and even our Consulate officers in Lhasa), Mr. Nehru seems to cherish the hope of retaining the friendship of Red China.

This leads him to refuse recognition to Dalai Lama as the head of the Tibetan government in exile. This led him to scotch (with his searing disapproval) the noble efforts of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to mobilise world opinion in favour of the poor Tibetan people and to move the UNO to take up their cause. It looks as though Mr. Narayan has given up his plan for gathering support for the Dalai Lama. He is hailed in many influential foreign circles as the *heir to Nehru* and as such he seems to have abandoned the project in deference to his patron's disapproval.

The Jana Sangh leader in Lok Sabha moved a resolution asking the Government to recognise the Dalai Lama as the head of the Tibetan Government in exile and to present the cause of his country to the UNO for the restoration of the freedom of Tibet. The PSP supported the idea but the Prime Minister declared himself against it, for he says it would mean the break of diplomatic relationships with China for which he is not prepared. This means that he still entertains the hope of the renewal of Chinese cordiality!

What grounds are there for this faith? None whatever after Longju.

The Prime Minister made a distinction between the Chinese incursion in Ladakh and their action in NEFA on the MacMahon Line. In Ladakh, they have built a road through Indian territory connecting Tibet with Sinking cutting through Indian territory with hundreds of miles joined to Tibet on the right. The Prime Minister says that the area is included in Indian maps from the days of Gulab Singh and his general Zoravar Singh who acquired this land by conquest. The treaty of 1842 transfers this chunk of Tibet to Kashmir and we have inherited it since then. But it appears that the Chinese too have old Tibetan maps of the same

period showing the areas concerned *as part of Tibet!* And now whatever once belonged to Tibet is claimed by Red China. This matter is therefore one for negotiation and peaceful settlement according to the Prime Minister. But the question is how he consented to let the Chinese confront us with a *fait accompli* with offer of negotiations *after construction* of the road? Such construction has taken a couple of years (1956-7). As Mr. K. M. Munshi asks pertinently, how was this information kept from the Public? What right has the Prime Minister to treat large chunks of our homeland as his private demesne and gift them away to hostile aggressors?

It is heartening that he has declared firmly that at least in NEFA (North East Frontier Agency) whose boundary is called the MacMahon Line (on the north and northeast round the Brahmaputra bend), India would take a firm stand and fight the Chinese intruders while keeping the door open to discussions. His usual line is to surrender our position and take to negotiation after the horse is stolen!

It is reported that strong concentrations of Chinese forces have been spotted in other areas of the NEFA border too. It is clear that further grave developments will take place before the journal goes to print.

Taking the failure of *panchsheel* as the basic fact, we have to consider what repercussions it should have and what revisions of policy are indicated in the new circumstances. To stand pat repeating the old shibboleths is unintelligent and dangerous. We cannot afford to take further risks to national security in passive continuation of the worship of the national idol—Nehruji. The country is infinitely greater than any single person or group of persons and their anxiety to save their face.

There are grave indications of disharmony in the top leadership as revealed in the reported resignations of the service chiefs of staff and Mr. Krishna Menon. The service chiefs seem to be affronted by the personal interference of the Defence Minister in technical matters and matters of promotion of army officers. It is true that the military chiefs should obey civilian Ministers placed in charge over them. But it is also undeniable that the civilian Ministers should not encroach on the proper sphere of military technique. This matter will be clarified in the coming debate on the adjournment motion tabled by opposition members. But the credentials of Mr. Krishna Menon need to be questioned honestly and courageously in view of the disquieting fact that he was for several years a card-holding member of the British Communist Party Executive. He has *not* since entering the Indian Cabinet *disavowed* his affiliations with international communism! When questioned on this subject by a journalist some time ago, Mr. Menon replied (not that he was no longer a communist but to the surprise of the

reporter) that his political faith was not a matter of interest to anyone else! On the contrary, it is a matter of the gravest importance to India now that he is entrusted with such a key portfolio as defence. His silence on the Tibetan affair and on the aggression of the Chinese military contingents on the northern borders is ominous. For the card-holding member of the communist party is taught to *subordinate his national interests to those of world communism and to Soviet Russia* as the leader of such world revolution and world communism. He is taught to believe (and to act on such belief) that the best interests of *all noncommunist nations* are truly served by leading them to enter the camp of socialism and communism led by Soviet Russia! Mao Tse-tung has given expression to this doctrine in clear terms several times before his party came to power in the mainland of China. If such a strong nationalist as Mao should express such sentiments swallowing his national pride (or reconciling it with subordination to Russia) it is not wise to believe that Indian communists and Mr. Menon will have keener feelings of national self-respect. It is quite in order therefore for true Indian nationalists to *call now for the resignation of Mr. Krishna Menon*. The personal regard of Mr. Nehru to him should not lead him to overlook this ideological penumbra of his friend. If he has resigned in view of the resignation of the military chiefs of staff, he should be allowed to quit office. The loyalty and integrity of the generals should weigh more than the doubtful patriotism of Mr. Menon. The precedent or the Prime Minister's blind loyalty to the traitor Sheikh Abdullah should be recalled by the nation at this hour. The Prime Minister has a fatal predilection to put personal loyalty above loyalty to the nation and this trait should not be allowed to prejudice national interests at this grave hour that carries such a threat to national security from Red Chinese forces.

It may be that the Prime Minister is influenced in his clinging to *panchsheela* and the hopes of retaining the goodwill of Red China by the fear of antagonising it still further. He seems to think that if we persist in showing goodwill even at the cost of Indian interests to Red China as in advocating her entry into the United Nations, China might relent and cease her hostility!

But this is a *vain hope* and ignores the grim reality of the aggressive and expansionist nature of the Red regime in China. The Chinese emperors of old regarded the whole world as their footstool and thought that *all nations* should naturally pay homage to them! The nationalist regime of Chiang Kaishek too entertained the hope of recapturing all outlying provinces or states that might at one time or other have acknowledged the supremacy of China and sent tribute to her however nominal it might have been. Chiang Kai-shek had written a book in which he had included Tibet, Burma, Malaya and Indochina as parts of China! To this historic megalomania of Chinese rulers old and new, we have to add the doctrine of world communism that reinforces it to an incalculable extent. Fanaticism is rendered a hund-

redfold more fanatic by communist doctrine and discipline!

This is known to all students of international communism and is now plain to see. But our Prime Minister puts himself above the possibility of learning from experience by a species of fanaticism of his own blinded by sentimentalism or pacifism of the Gandhian or Buddhist variety.

It is high time that India repudiated this false and perilous psychology which is nothing more respectable than appeasement and timidity. *We are bold where we should be cautious and timid where we should be bold!*

Now that Chinese hostility has manifested itself and resulted in open conflict at Longju and elsewhere, it is high time that India revised her foreign policy.

What should that be? It is plain that there is no standing ground between the power blocs. Either we should join the West in which freedom still is operative or join the Russian bloc in which slavery reigns supreme.

Our five year plans are getting more and more ambitious in spite of the fact that the second plan failed to reach its targets on account of its impossible demands on resources. It was saved by an ignominious debacle by a consortium of the creditors—the United States, Britain, Germany and France and by deficit financing on a large scale. It is as clear as day that the still more ambitious targets bruited abroad such as some ten thousand crores with new taxes of Rs. 2,000 crores for the Third Plan are impossible of achievement unless the country is robbed of all private capital by devices little short of sweeping capital levies in actual effect. They will *communist* the country and stifle economic and political freedom in the process.

Unashamed, we are once again relying on generous aid from America and other States while we continue to undermine their power to help by siding the Soviets in important lines of policy. For example, India is calling for the resuscitation of the International Commission for Indo-China to deal with the question of Laos. We are doing this at the behest of the communist bloc! The legitimate Government of Laos do not want the Commission for it includes the Polish member who lets out secrets to the other side! India insists on Laos remaining above the cold war in imitation of her example but Laos will be ruined without the assistance of America, for her opponents are communists who are helped liberally by North Vietnam and Red China, whose aims are infiltration and ultimate annexation or disguised annexation by reducing Vietnam and Laos and Cambodia to the role of satellites like Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria.

If the present border hostilities should develop into a major conflict, there is no alternative but to accept the help of the West led by the United States of America. The meeting of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

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Nehru Undermining India's Freedom

By M. N. Tholal

IN the course of the debate on September 4 on a resolution suggesting reference of the Tibetan issue to the United Nations, Prime Minister Nehru declared: "It is our first duty to protect the integrity and freedom of India." That is and should be common ground among all patriots. But the question arises: is he performing that duty honestly, faithfully and efficiently? Or are extraneous considerations standing in the way of Mr. Nehru so performing his duty? A sound analysis of the situation would appear to leave little doubt

(Continued from page 5)

with President Eisenhower is significant in this connection. American leaders are waiting discretely and will offer help promptly as soon as asked. It is the part of wisdom to do so early than late. It is better to have equipment of the up-to-date brand and train our forces in their use than to wait till later and *have no time to train our personnel*. Such lack of training will force us to accept American military personnel into our Fronts on the fighting line *which is undesirable in the extreme*. We should take weapons only to be used by our own forces. Russia may veto the development of Chinese aggression into a major war, for that would precipitate the dread world war III. But such a war cannot be ruled out altogether, either, in the coming years. It is the part of wisdom to be prepared for the event in any case and it is absolutely better to fight on the side of free nations led by the USA than to fight for the dictator nations led by Russia and China.

Our Ambassador Chagla said in a television event last week that India is *not really a neutral* since she is committed to democracy! If that is so, we should do nothing to weaken the great democracies of the West but add to their strength by our own contribution. The present policy of crediting international communism with good faith and belief in tenets like *panchsheela* or mutual respect for sovereignty and non-aggression has been proved a failure. Neutrality is impossible when the crisis arrives. It is logical and necessary for our survival to forge a policy of alignment with the free nations of the West and to set an example to Asian and African peoples so that the world might be saved from international communism and universal slavery.

There is *no alternative to this alignment with the West*. The West might still have lingering vestiges of imperialism. And also, it is a grim fact that Western imperialism is decisive, preferable to the dark imperialism of the Soviets led by Moscow.

It is to be hoped that our present conflict with Red China will open the eyes of our *policy-maker* to the bitter truth that independence of *both blocs* is an *unattainable chimera*. We should not ruin the country in pursuit of a mirage.

in any honest and rational mind that India's Prime Minister is not performing his first and foremost duty honestly, faithfully and efficiently.

It should be noted here that his self-declared duty to protect the integrity and freedom of India is not hedged in by any conditions. He has not for example, said that he would defend India non-violently. Nor, has he thank God, said that the first duty of the protection of the integrity and freedom of India will be performed within the four corners of his policy of non-alignment and refusal of military aid from any quarter. Therein lies some hope, but it is the duty of all patriots in this grave crisis in India's history—the gravest since we gained our independence twelve years ago—not to rest content with that slender hope and by all means in their power to make assurance—in this case even the assurance is lacking—doubly sure and see to it that shibboleths propped up in the pursuit of the cult of personality, or for any other reason, are not allowed to stand for a moment in the way of the performance of their first duty by those in whose selfish hands rests the destiny of the country.

THE SITUATION

It is no use taking up an alarmist attitude, as the Prime Minister said. We should, as Mr. Nehru often says, try to function in a mature way. The assessment of the situation I shall therefore make on the basis of the latest declarations of Prime Minister Nehru himself. Here are some of his observations on the subject:

"It is highly objectionable and highly improper for the Chinese Government to go on issuing maps colouring half of NEFA, one-third of Assam and one-third of Butan as if they belong to China.

That is really an affront.... It has been happening for ten years.....

"We receive communications from the Chinese Government which are singularly lacking even in ordinary politeness.....

"A fairly long reply from the Chinese Government to the protest India had sent on the incidents on the north-eastern frontier is a repudiation of India's charge that the Chinese came into Indian territory and started firing on Indian patrols. They have also charged India with having gone into their territory and opened fire on them. These are in complete conflict with the facts.....

"The two incidents were clearly cases of intrusion into Indian territory. The Chinese came, enveloped and captured the check posts after firing.... The matter has become much more serious than an accidental or incidental border affray.... So far as we are concerned, we should naturally be prepared for any eventuality.....

"Any country which has to face that situation has to stand up to it. There can be no doubt that

there is no alternative policy for us but to defend our country's borders and integrity.... In any event we have to be vigilant and protect our borders as best we can.... In regard to some parts of the border there can be no doubt. It is our territory. If anybody violates it then it is a challenge to us".

All this makes one thing quite plain. That is that we have to be ready to have recourse to arms successfully to defend the country and the sooner we start the necessary preparations the better it would be for us. It is not enough to say, as Mr. Nehru did, that we have to protect our borders as best we can. We have to make sure that our frontiers are not successfully violated, as has been happening since October 1957, according to Mr. Nehru's own admission in the Lok Sabha on August 28. The news of the Chinese incursion into Laddakh and establishment of a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory was withheld from the public and Parliament by the Indian Prime Minister for nearly two years. This must have encouraged the Chinese to make farther incursions, this time on the NEFA border. (Every bully wants to know how much his victim will put up with and the strength at his disposal. This withholding of information is a very serious matter and shows the lengths to which our Prime Minister goes to hide facts which tend to reveal the hollowness of his policy of neutralism and non-alignment. No one in his senses can assert that in a democratic country its Prime Minister has the right to withhold from its Parliament information regarding armed incursions in its territory by foreign forces and establishment by them of camps well within that territory or regarding the Chinese claim (that followed the Indian Government's protest) that that part of the territory was theirs.

WISHFUL THINKING

The whole trouble originates from the fact that Mr. Nehru does not realise—it does not suit his purpose to realise—that there is no generosity in politics, and he goes on indulging in wishful thinking until that is possible no longer. Even now that wishful thinking is not conspicuous by its absence. "I cannot imagine," he told Parliament on August 28, "that all this is a precursor of anything more serious," adding, "It seems to me so foolish for anybody, including the Chinese Government, to function in that way." On August 5 he told the Lok Sabha: "Frankly I do not know what may be in the mind of the other party—whether it is just local aggressiveness or just to show us our place, if I may use a colloquial phrase, not to get uppish, or if it is something deeper." Well, for twelve years now, despite our protests, their maps have been telling the world that it is something deeper and we refuse to believe what the Communist Government of China has been telling us through its maps. We are still not quite sure about it, not even when their troops have begun marching into and occupying our territory. It may well be that the Chinese Army has been throwing feelers to gauge our reactions. The feeler thrown in Laddakh two years ago resulted in, from their point of view, a satisfactory response from us inasmuch as our Prime Minister kept mum about it and did not

even whisper the news to any one. They then naturally started the same thing in NEFA and our Prime Minister has, thank God, at last been bold enough to tell them that this sort of thing cannot and will not be tolerated.

OUR MILITARY PACT

The Indian Army has taken charge of the defence of the NEFA border and we have declared that any kind of incursion in Sikkim and Bhutan will be considered an incursion in India. "Any aggression against Bhutan and Sikkim will be considered by India an aggression against this country," said Mr. Nehru, adding that the Government of India was responsible for the protection of the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan and of the territorial integrity of these two states. In other words, there are military pacts between India on one side and Bhutan and Sikkim on the other and we have offered military aid which these two states have accepted. So what happens to Mr. Nehru's denunciation of military pacts and alignments. Have we seen the last of such denunciations? Or, as in the case of Burma (whom we gave 5,000 rifles at a moment of crisis) does Mr. Nehru think that military aid should not be received even to protect our country against aggression but can only be given to protect other lands? If that is so, nothing can be more unpatriotic. The present situation reminds me of the lifelong preaching of nonviolence by the Father of the Nation and his

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sudden outburst during one of his evening prayers when bombers roared overhead on their way to Kashmir in 1947: "*Mera mun naach raha hai*". (My heart is dancing with joy).

Mr. Nehru's declaration that "we have to protect our borders as best we can" is rather ominous and seems to rule out military aid from Britain or the USA even if the worst happens between China and India. If that is so—and nothing can be more idiotic from the national point of view—the conclusion is irresistible that it is not "our first duty to protect the integrity and freedom of India": our first duty is to keep ourselves free from alignments and blocs (for so long of course as we are free) even at the cost of our freedom. What more could a Communist expect of Mr. Nehru? And how else could Mr. Nehru be more effective even as a fellow traveller?

It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence in the country that, from the point of view of military might, China is much more powerful than India. It will be recalled that it defied almost successfully the United Nations in Korea. The cannon fodder at her disposal is immense, and if we are successfully to accept the challenge when it comes from China, we must at once begin receiving military aid from the only quarter that will be willing to advance it to us. Not to do so will be treacherous folly. As a matter of fact—and no one in his senses can deny it—a military pact between the USA and India, and its announcement even before it is concluded and signed, will act as a deterrent to Chinese intentions which have been made amply clear during the last two years. So foolish and impracticable is this theory of non-alignment and military self-sufficiency for smaller powers that even its chief protagonist, Mr. Nehru, has not been able to follow it himself. If he persists in it to the detriment of India, the only conclusion to draw therefrom would be that it was designed to bring about the enslavement of the country, or its "liberation" as the Communists would put it.

OUR MENTALITY

The country as a whole is almost unanimously with Mr. Nehru in his policy of non-alignment and refusal of military aid from USA. I have never been able to understand how any patriot can take up that position. The Communists are of course right, for, from their point of view, the country has yet to be liberated and they know that China or Russia or both together will do it and the refusal of military aid by India facilitates the wholesome task the Communists have in mind. But why should the other parties acclaim this policy and play the Communist game has always been a mystery to me—for, to imagine that we shall be permitted by any bloc to remain neutral in the next war when it comes is the sheerest folly. It has been a favourite saying of mine for decades now that Hindus are born traitors. The history of India bears out the truth of my saying, like its current history. We Hindus want any excuse to bring about or prolong the slavery of the country. Sometimes it is nonviolence in thought,

word and deed—the mightiest force in the world—at least, it is non-alignment or non-involvement which makes us clap in ecstasy. Sometimes it is Hindi-Roosee Bhai Bhai, at other times it is Hindi-Cheenee Bhai Bhai. We Hindus are always prepared to acclaim any falsehood and cheer any slogan so long as it ensures our slavery or hastens it, now that we are unfortunately free as a result of the operation of international forces. We are prepared to reject the plainest truth in order to undermine our freedom. That plainest truth today is that Hindus and Americans are brothers ideologically. Both believe in freedom of conscience and neither has attacked another country to enslave it. The sayings of Abraham Lincoln strike the tenderest chords in the Hindu heart. Yet we have refused American friendship. And we are always prepared to shout from the housetops that our enemies or potential enemies are our brothers.

We are now seeing with our own eyes and at our cost how utterly wrong Nehru was at every step in pursuing the policy of neutralism and in criticising NATO and SEATO. As an honourable man he should resign after a confession of failure, but that is not to be expected of a man who has spent all his life in the pursuit of power for self. In any case, he should now see that he has all these years been inviting what is happening now and whatever may happen in the near future, and that, if he does not accomplish a *volte face* at once, India may soon be faced with an accomplished fact which even powers like the USA and Britain may think it unwise to try to upset. His latest references to India's responsibility for the security of Bhutan and Sikkim prove conclusively that we have no principles of any kind, unless the principle is that we shall not successfully defend our country whatever happens. Our history bears witness to that fact. And as for our responsibility for the security of Bhutan and Sikkim, I am reminded of the Hindustani proverb "*Aap Mian Mangte bahar kharhe derwish*". (Himself a beggar, outside are standing beggars).

Phone: { 264607 Office Grams: 'GANDHILAND'
242944 Resi.

B. D. LATHIA, Esq.,

Direct Agent:

Life Insurance Corporation of India,

**BOMBAY & CALCUTTA
NATIONAL INSCE. BUILD.,**

**204, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road,
Fort, Bombay.**

Temperamental Conflict

(From Our Correspondent)

ANY one who knows the Prime Minister knew that he would go all out to defend Mr. Krishna Menon because he is one of his hand-strengtheners—what could be worse than the Jeep Scandal yet Mr. Nehru never condemned it?—but the mentality revealed by the debate in Parliament over the adjournment motion tabled on the resignation of the Army Chief is indeed deplorable. As a journalist I am all admiration for the scoop of the Delhi daily which front-paged the resignation. Yet the Prime Minister, who pretends to be a democrat, as well as some others, referred to the scoop as if something underhand and unworthy had been attempted and done by an irresponsible daily. Any one can now realise the great service to the country the newspaper scoop has done.

“Yesterday morning,” said Mr. Nehru in the course of his statement in Parliament on September 2, “I saw the news in the newspapers. I do not know how this reached the Press. I had not mentioned the resignation letter to any one at all, or the subsequent withdrawal. I was naturally distressed at the rather sensational publicity given to this, because I knew this would be a matter of grave concern to the House.” Mr. Nehru himself later on referred to the resignation in the following words: “It is a most extraordinary thing to do”—extraordinary at any time, “more specially when we have to face serious situations.” So, according to Mr. Nehru, what is most extraordinary and what is likely to prove a “matter of grave concern to the House” should be withheld from the House and should not find publicity in the Press of the country. Both Parliament and the country should, according to Mr. Nehru, remain under the delusion that everything is for the best in the best of possible words. This is also the underlying basis of his foreign policy of non-alignment and neutralism, which is now falling to pieces before our eyes at the first contact with reality.

OBVIOUS GAPS

The aim of Mr. Nehru’s statement being to defend his friend and colleague Mr. Menon, the Prime Minister forgot that he was drawing a far from rosy picture of the Chief of Staff of the Army “at a time when,” as he admitted, “we have to face serious situations.” As Mr. Jaswant Singh pointed out in the Rajya Sabha, “the picture drawn of Gen. Thimayya is not very encouraging: it would appear he is a very irresponsible person, unworthy of the high position he holds.” Nothing indeed could be farther from the truth—as a member pointed out in the Rajya Sabha, people of such calibre and position do not resign except for reasons which they consider important—but that is a conclusion which one is entitled to draw

from the words “petty and trivial” used by Mr. Nehru with reference to the specific instances that Gen. Thimayya gave him for his dissatisfaction.

There can be no denying the fact that Mr. Nehru’s statement did not do justice to the subject. There are obvious and deliberate gaps in it, as I shall point out presently. Mr. Nehru had in the ordinary course sent for Gen. Thimayya and asked him whether there was any truth in the rumours and reports about dissatisfaction on the question of promotions. Gen. Thimayya told him about the method of promotions, adding he was not very happy about the method of work of the Defence Ministry. Mr. Nehru then said he would speak to the Defence Minister on the subject and he did. No question of resignation arose at the meeting between the Prime Minister and Gen. Thimayya. The Prime Minister asked the Defence Minister to have a talk with Gen. Thimayya and, after this talk between Mr. Menon and Gen. Thimayya, the latter sent in his resignation to the Prime Minister on the midday of August 31. This resignation thus obviously rose from the meeting between the Defence Minister and the Army Chief. Mr. Menon has the reputation of being a rude man—some people make up for their incompetence by their rudeness—he is also the most hated man in the Congress Party perhaps for that very reason, and it seems permissible to draw the conclusion that it was Mr. Menon’s rudeness—as a result of Gen. Thimayya complaining to the Prime Minister against him—that was responsible for the resignation.

TEMPERAMENTAL METHODS

“Temperamental conflict,” Mr. Nehru called it, “and the way some work was being done which was not perhaps to the liking of the Chief of Staff.” By whom was this work being done? As Mr. B. K. P. Sinha pointedly inquired in the Rajya Sabha, “We would like to know whether that meeting between the Defence Minister and Gen. Thimayya was responsible for the resignation.” “What transpired at that meeting?” he asked, “Did the temperamental differences become so acute at that meeting that Gen. Thimayya was forced to submit his resignation that day or the next day?” To this pertinent question there was no answer, and the result, as Raja Mehendra Pratap pointed out, is that the glass is broken and, even if it is joined again, it remains broken. Mr. Nehru very bravely asserted that “temperamental and like differences cannot be allowed to interfere with the vital work which the Defence Ministry and the Defence services have to do,” but the fact remains that they do naturally interfere with that vital work and no man, however powerful, can prevent the normal working of natural psychological processes. It is

therefore Mr. Nehru's plain duty in the interests of the country—which are unfortunately always farthest from his petty mind—to see to it that the differences do not arise and he can see to it only by removing the “temperamental” person from the scene. This is as plain as pikestaff and no amount of glossing over the truth and defending the indefensible will improve the situation. Of course as Prime Minister he is also super Defence Minister, but the fact that he intends to maintain his personal contacts with the Defence services so that difficulties, if any, might be removed,” washes off the obviously undeserved compliments he paid to Mr. Menon and almost justifies the Army Chief's resignation. It is a slap on the face of the Defence Minister.

NEHRU-AYUB MEETING

The Army Chief's sensational resignation put into the shade an event of far greater importance to the sub-continent. It was the meeting at Palam airport between President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Nehru. Although Gen. Ayub Khan has been at the helm of affairs in Pakistan for less than a year, he has already made his mark as an upright man determined to root out corruption from the land. This is evident from the long list of civil servants dismissed, suspended and retired and the ministers, including prime ministers and chief ministers, who are due to face public trials for corruption in the near future. It shows that Ayub Khan is a man of great determination and integrity the like of whom Pakistan has not seen at the helm since the death of Jinnah. Those who are inclined to gloat over the extent of corruption disclosed in Pakistan would do well to remember that there is nothing to suggest that the state of affairs in India is not similar. The only difference is that those at the helm exploit the prevailing corruption, like everything else, to boost themselves by lamenting the poverty of the material available in the country while preferring the worse to the better all the time to satisfy their vanity and at least appear one-eyed among the blind. A wag remarked the other day: “Heaven help the idols of the nation if an Ayub were to arise in India.”

Now that India is facing the threat of Chinese aggression, it is generally felt here that we should realise that the context of relationship between Pakistan and India is radically changed. We may even congratulate ourselves that at the helm in Pakistan today is a man of sterling character who, far from shortsightedly gloating over the serious situation facing India, is prepared to talk in terms of common defence. Two at least of the recent prime ministers of Pakistan would not have hesitated to add to our difficulties by widespread encroachments on our borders or threatening dire consequences if what they considered their due was withheld from them any longer. For President Ayub Khan to change his tone for the better at a time when we are facing a serious situation is, apart from its nobility, an invitation to Indians to try to look at things from the point of view of Pakistan. We journalists often come across information suggesting that the spokesmen on our side sometimes indulge

not only in suppressing the truth but also in suggesting falsehood to promote ill-feeling against Pakistan. It has to be admitted that that was being done on the other side at even higher levels. But all this should now be a thing of the unhappy past.

We should wholeheartedly acclaim Gen. Ayub's “submission” that whatever might have happened in the past, the time has come when we should think of having more rational and neighbourly relations with each other. “I, as a military man,” said Gen. Ayub Khan, “can foresee one danger that if we go on squabbling in this manner and do not resolve our problems, we shall be defeated on details. Past history has told us of the invasions that have come to the sub-continent in this way.” Paramount therefore is the “need for forgetting and forgiving and for realistic and more rational and sensible relationship with each other.”

We Hindus, however, are not used to foreseeing dangers and the inclination to belittle them in a spirit of bravado has always proved irresistible, throwing to the winds caution dictated by the motto “Safety First.” Our history, our record slavery of a thousand years, in fact proves to the hilt that our motto has always been “Safety Last.” It was so under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. His dictum regarding non-violence being the mightiest of all weapons was not a mere flourish: it changed the course of Indian history by giving the upper hand to the League goondas. It is so now under the leadership of Mahatma Nehru. What else does the doctrine of non-alignment and refusal of military aid mean? By the way Nehru is on the way to becoming a real Mahatma. Rumours are afloat in Delhi that Nehru is no longer an atheist—not at any rate since his recent illness—and that he has begun visiting saints, rosaries in hand, for blessings and mantras.

CALCUTTA DISTURBANCES

The trouble started in Calcutta by Communists and fellow-travellers with the food situation as their pretext should, it is felt here, be read along with the news items regarding encroachments by the Chinese troops on the Indian border. It almost seems as if our Communist friends have got their signal from their masters abroad. They have in any case laid themselves open to this charge. On no other basis can the simultaneous nature of the two sets of events be explained. Had our Communist friends a spark of patriotism in them, they would have realised that the present is no time for a subversive movement of the type they have let loose in the biggest city of the country. Will the news of the firings splashed, say, in the front pages of the Chinese dailies give solace to the leaders of the disturbances in Calcutta? If not, why this untimely outburst?

AN INVIOABLE RIGHT

“Since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except when public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owners shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.”

—*Declaration of Rights of Man*

Co-operative Farming The Path To Serfdom

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

IN spite of planning that is in vogue in our country during the last eight years, our food problem has not been solved, but on the contrary it has gone from bad to worse. Planning instead of becoming a path to prosperity has actually become the path to poverty. It is assumed by our leaders that planning is a panacea to all evils that we suffer from, but planning has failed to solve our basic problem, namely, the food supply. Our planners have put the whole blame upon the increase of population but neither the food insufficiency nor population growth is a new phenomenon in our country. Both these have been with us long before our administrators have introduced planning in our country. During these eight years our administrators have done number of things. "They have abolished titles. They have decreed the banishment of the English language and ordered Hindi to take its place. They have driven the anna and pie out of the currency and enforced the people to deal with hundred instead of twelve and sixteen. They have arranged to end the confusion of weights and measures. They have changed the names of streets. They have redistributed the provinces and realigned the boundaries so as to divide them from one another more effectively and live in passionate parichialism. They have downgraded railway compartments. They have even given up the old calendar. Our weather reports have been shifted from fahrenheit to centigrade."

SOLUTION OF FOOD PROBLEM ELUDES THE GOVERNMENT

While the Government is busy disturbing the old standard they have borrowed money from abroad to implement their ambitious plans. But all these things that they have done have not improved the food situation nor brought down the birth-rate in our country. On the contrary our population is increasing like rats and the progress that our planners wish to achieve will be neutralised by the large exodus of these new entrants. Instead of tackling these important problems our Government have introduced co-operative farming to increase food supply. But will this new fad of Mr. Nehru solve our food problem which has become very serious in recent months? In fact, our Food Ministry has proved to be the graveyard of Ministers, Mr. S. K. Patil being the sixth incumbent of the post. Those who have farming experience doubt the efficacy of this proposal and what is more, 40 years of co-operative or collective farming in Soviet Russia belies their hopes. But our politicians are firm on this point. Co-operation is good but that cooperation should be among the people who are bound by blood relationship. Co-operative farming as envisaged in Nagpur resolution is

not co-operation since it is not voluntary. But it is collection. It will lead to friction and it will have adverse effect upon the food supply. Our food problem cannot be solved by merely rearranging the ownership of land. What is needed at the present moment is the large amount of working capital that should be sunk in land so as to increase the food supply and not to decrease it. The Nagpur Resolution will certainly lead to a decrease in food supply and the final outcome of that resolution will be that many people will die of starvation.

NAGPUR RESOLUTION IS A POLITICAL WEAPON NOT AN ECONOMIC ONE

The Nagpur resolution may be good to capture votes of the illiterate peasants at the next election but will not lead augmenting the food supply. The new enthusiasm for co-operative farming is an enthusiasm dictated from above. Cooperation is now offered as a panacea for all the ills of the village population by those very people who have never grown a blade of grass or run a cooperative society in their lives. What the cooperation that the ruling party requires is not a cooperation built up by the people for the people. "The new cooperatives will not only be sponsored by the State but will be completely subservient instruments of the State. An insight into the workings of the official mind is provided by the report of the working group on cooperative policy set up by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture which offers a blue print for the expansion of cooperatives in villages. This programme not only envisages a certain degree of compulsion to rope in all villagers into the cooperative society *but suggests that the Government should refuse to supply fertilisers, seeds, taccavi loans etc. to farmers who do not choose to become members of cooperatives!* Where membership of a cooperative becomes almost obligatory as a condition of survival, the cooperative will cease to be free and voluntary association of individuals who band themselves together to promote their common interests." These cooperatives will then become the agents of the State and the farmers would be prevented from selling their output to private dealers at prices higher than the price fixed by the State. From this it is quite clear that the cooperative farming instead of improving the economic condition of the farmers will lead to the farmers in the words of Prof. Hayek to the road to serfdom.

SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS UNSOLVED

Cooperative farming should be considered from practical point of view and before it can be made a success many problems have to be solved. At present

when a farmer is in monetary difficulties it is possible for him to get a loan on his land but he will not have that right once he joins the cooperative farming. Would the farmer be allowed to mortgage his land or offer it as security if he is in temporary difficulties? In case he is not allowed, and most probably he will not be allowed, then it will lead to a reduction in the sale value of the land. Secondly, on what principle will the farmers' shares be determined out of total produce of the village cooperative farm when all lands are not of equal fertility? Thirdly is it possible for the people, who belong to different castes, to come together for the common benefit of all? Will the Brahmins, Harijans, Muslims and Christians unite for a common purpose when the Brahmins cannot even take water from the hands of Harijans? Fourthly who will guarantee the minimum subsistence to the members of the cooperative farm in case rain does not come in time and crops fail? These are the practical difficulties that have to be encountered before embarking upon the utopian measure. These difficulties are bound to be greater in India where climatic and other conditions that affect agricultural operations vary from state to state.

As a first step in cooperative farming the experiment can be tried in Government lands and if success is achieved on these lands then it would be a sort of inducement to other farmers to join the cooperative farming society. Cooperation cannot be forced on the people in a democratic country. Compulsion is against the grain of democratic traditions. In a communistic country, where everything is based upon the directives from the central agency, co-operative farming is quite right. What is required in agriculture is the demonstration of actual results and not propoganda. Propoganda will not convince our illeterate farmers, nor will feed the hungry mouths. Only demonstration on Government lands will convince them the advantages of cooperative farming and then alone they will come forward to join the cooperatives. But before that the rigidity of the caste system should be wiped out. Caste system that is now in vogue in many parts of India, and especially in South, is detrimental to the success of cooperative farming.

YUGOSLAV & POLAND ARE WARNING POSTS

Even in communistic countries like Yugoslavia and Poland, where cooperative farming was tried, it has proved to be a failure. In those countries production fell in spite of large investment made by their respective governments in cooperatives. Members of those cooperatives did not care to increase production, but on the contrary they devoted their time to the gardens which were left to them when they joined the cooperatives. This had opened the eyes of the respective governments which introduced a more elastic policy which appealed to individual farmers, and which gave freedom to individual farmers to withdraw from cooperatives. As a result of this new policy many farmers left the cooperatives and began to work as individual farmers. This experience should have opened the eyes of our Prime Minister but it appears from his recent statements that he is not going to withdraw

from the stand that he has taken on this point. He wants to jump ahead of Communists and introduce cooperative farming before the Communists take over and compel the formation of collectives. Mr. Rajaji warns that in introducing cooperative farming we are drifting towards Communist way of life which is one where the State owns the citizens and their private lives. We are drifting into this very state all the while scoffing at Communism. The Leviathan is taking the place of the landholders.

Instead of imposing cooperative farming on the farmers if the Government concentrates all its efforts to increase the yield of small holdings agricultural output would certainly increase. The Ford Foundation Team of agricultural experts has clearly shown in its report that India "has tremendous physical potentialities for increasing production per acre". According to these experts 110 million ton target is possible provided an "all out emergency food production programme" is undertaken. In this we have a good example of Japan where small holdings were intensely cultivated and they produced more rice per acre than the highly mechanised rice farms of America. What was possible and practicable in Japan should be practicable in India if we concentrate on the increase in the production rather than on the cooperative farming at this stage.

It is necessary that our Government should benefit from the experience of other countries. We should not introduce any measure on ideological grounds. Co-operative farming instead of helping the farmers would enable the Communists to come to power without much difficulty. This is simply because Mr. Nehru would pave the way for them to come to power. Cooperative farming would usher in Communism in our country at an early date and every lover of freedom should be vigilant, for "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Mr. Nehru wants us all to go ahead with the programme, for he sees India "standing up on the top of the golden hours and human nature is seeming born again." That is how he see things but some of us standing on ground see differently. What we see is nothing less than bankruptcy in horizon. "If Mr. Nehru thinks that cooperative farming i.e. taking over land from those who have it now and handing it over to multiple owners and multiple management through a bureaucracy—will ever lead to arise in the food production he will be disappointed." Multiple management will certainly lead to a fall in production because responsibility of many becomes the responsibility of none. Can we adopt this utopian measure and spoil our food production? In addition to this fall in production, cooperative farming will lead to inflation. All those who will lose their land should be compensated. The new owners have no money and Government will be compelled to keep the Nasik press in full swing and this in other words means inflation. The communist dreamers like Nehru may welcome this equalisation of social equality. But it is surely neither happiness nor contentment.

The only solution before us to increase the food supply is to adopt individual farming and not cooperative farming. In India agriculture is a craft, a busi-

(Continued on page III)

Role Of Private Sector In Economic Development

By "Libra"

IN the preindependence era the foreign rulers had followed a policy of giving full scope to the private enterprise, but in the post independence era this policy was reversed by our national government in order to achieve rapid economic development of the country. To achieve that objective it has introduced planning with the result that the private sector is not allowed to play its proper role to make its rightful contribution to the country's economy. One could have understood and justified the move taken by the Government, if the private sector were incapable of delivering the goods, but there is no such justification. In the past private sector had done its job and could continue to do so if proper climate and opportunity are offered. As a matter of fact, private sector does not ask special favour, but only claims the right to serve the country. At present private sector has been ignored by the Government in framing economic policies with the result that the people as a whole have to suffer for the blunders committed by our rulers. The present rise in price level and consequent fall in the internal value of rupee to the tune of 29% would not have taken

(Continued from page II)

ness and a way of life. At present our farmer is following traditional time-old techniques and methods of production. An increase in food supply can be achieved by a drastic revolutionary change in farming methods. But the farmer would not hesitate to adopt these methods once he is assured a fair return for his output. "The need is for a floor under farm prices to remove from the cultivator the risks he will be asked to take in investing in improved seeds, implements, insecticides, fertilizers, irrigation and the like." Cooperative farming will compel the farmers to give up their lands in exchange for a title on paper and giving up the management of it to an official who will be responsible only to official superior though on paper he will be responsible to the owners of land. It is said that landless will get the lands, but the lands taken away from the individual farmers will be handed over to the cooperative officers. Secondly there are not enough lands for distribution among the landless labourers. Only a few lucky persons will get the advantage but this will create a sort of jealousy among the landless labourers. This will affect the national wealth. Unless individuals have incentive to work hard our production cannot be increased and to manage the cooperative farms there will be a need of supervisory staff. This means waste of public money. What is necessary at the present moment is increased incentive to the individual farmers. Our Plans will take years to benefit the poor people Cooperative farming will certainly do more harm than good to the country. At present prices are rising due to confiscatory pattern of taxation and the condition will be worsened in our country as a result of Cooperative Farming and State Trading in Food Grains.

place if the private sector were allowed to have full freedom in the economic development of the country. The private sector does not ask the 19th century laissez-faire but on the contrary it wants a "reasonable degree of planning and control". In other words all that it wants is that it should be allowed to contribute to the fullest extent to the industrial development of the country and in the process to earn and pay a reasonable returns on the monies entrusted to it. Instead of that government still clings to the outmoded taxed out of existence; only self-employment or employment by or through the State should be permitted above all, people should not be allowed to exercise individual judgment or initiative, only Government and Government officials really know what is good for them. Therefore the bigger the Government the more pervasive its controls, and more obedient and docile the people, the happier everyone will be."

Our planners have failed to take into account one basic and elementary fact in formulating their plans, namely the objectives which they have kept in mind in successfully implementing their ambitious and unrealistic plans can be achieved quickly by enlisting co-operation of the private sector than by eliminating it altogether by means of confiscatory pattern of taxation on the basis of the recommendations made by Dr. Kaldor. The main aim of the Government policy should have been to create such an economic climate that business could expand rapidly which in turn would mean increasing wealth for the country. Expansion of public sector at the cost of private sector would result in chaos. Socialism under the present circumstances would mean socialisation of poverty. If the businessmen were given some relief in taxation and allowed to work without unnecessary controls, our economic development of our country would have been more rapid than what it is at present. An expanding economy would not only lead to prosperity but it would also solve the most important problem that we face to day and which is becoming serious day by day, namely, unemployment. As a result of happy taxation marginal propensity to invest has gone down with the result that we have to rely upon the savings of the foreigners to implement our plans.

We must learn a lesson from the mistakes of the past and there is evidence to show that the Government has realised its mistake in solving food crisis. The new Food Minister has realised that too many controls had produced chaos and confusion worse confounded on the problem of food. Now the Government is in favour of reducing unnecessary controls an introducing a free market economy based on the laws of demand and supply. This is a move in the right direction. What the businessmen want is that this principle should be extended to them so that they may play their role in the economic development of the country. They should not be swept aside with a broom. Our rulers are the followers of Gandhiji and they ask us to follow

his principles, but they conveniently forget what the nineteenth century conception of socialism and this fact has been fully exposed by Mr. Tata. He says "They still believe in ideological solutions for economic problems. For instance, the food problem is to be solved not so much by meting the down to earth needs of the farmer in water, seeds, fertilisers, credit, storage, marketing facilities and the like, as by the magic wands of land reform, cooperative farming, state trading and bureaucratic intervention, the growth of industrial production is to be achieved not so much by stimulating initiative and rewarding honest and productive work and thus encouraging people to work, save and invest as by State capitalism and the heavy hand of bureaucracy. According to them the private sector with its wicked profit motive should be eliminated. Pending that happy day it should be rapidly surpassed by the public sector and made more subservient to it. Banks and large scale industry should be nationalised forthwith; there should be ceilings on holdings and incomes; interest or dividend incomes, being immoral, should be abolished. He has said regarding State intervention in economic matters. He said "I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good, by minimising exploita-

tion, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress". This is a good lesson that our planners should learn so that they may give up their ideological solutions to the economic problems.

Our Prime Minister is in favour of competition between public and private sector and that he is against monopoly capitalism either in public or in private sector. But the main point that he has ignored is that there cannot be fair competition between the two. How can a giant and dwarf compete with each other? As long as private sector receives step-motherly treatment from the Government, there cannot be a fair competition. Again, if he dislikes monopolies, then why did he create monopolies in Life Insurance and State Trading in Sood Grains? Why is he against a fair competition? All of us want a fair competition but the competition should be between equals. It is only by competition that our country can achieve prosperity and solve the basic problems that we face today. To achieve that, the private sector must be given fullest scope to play its role. In the past it had demonstrated its ability in spite of various handicaps, and there is no doubt that it can play in future provided proper climate is created.

Inflation And Productivity

By "Pisces"

AT present we are facing a serious problem, namely the inflation. Prices are rising and the people with fixed income are unable to make both ends meet. Though inflation causes the prices to rise and enable the businessmen to reap higher profits, yet we find that unemployment is decreasing and this is an unusual phenomena that we witness to-day. The main cause of this is the wrong industrial policy of our government and the confiscatory pattern of taxation that is imposed upon us by our inefficient leaders who rule the country without understanding the elementary principle of economics. Inflation cannot be curbed unless productivity is increased. In order to increase it the private enterprise must be given a free hand to make use of the factors of production. The economic factors of wealth are capital, labour and management. If these factors cooperate for their common good then they can be prosperous, progressive and peaceful. A disunion of these partners through bribery and corruption causes disruption in the productivity of wealth. As a consequence of this peace, progress and prosperity of industry is destroyed by idleness, waste and ultimately no one benefits.

These partners in the production of wealth though they differ very greatly in philosophy and psychology yet they must agree on one fundamental point namely that those who produce the wealth are the one ones who are entitled to it. This will lead to sound cooperation among the partners without any state intervention.

At present, production of wealth is obstructed by monopoly not only in labour but also in capital and

management. The records show that all monopolies are corruptive effect and hence they should not be tolerated. It is the duty of the State to interfere and abolish all monopoly elements in industry so that the individual welfare may be improved. Only by unification of labour, capital and management as partners in a common cause, the disruption in the production of wealth can be avoided and the corruption influence of monopoly control for extortion and confiscation averted. Monopoly in administration is equally corruptive and monopoly of any kind is a disgrace in a truly free society where all can and should be sovereign. Sovereignty is earned by those who have achieved any degree of liberty, independence and freedom through their intuition initiative, integrity, enterprise humility, usefulness and industry. The right to sovereignty comes of being useful to society. It is not a political privilege which can be granted by any social government to anyone belonging to the right party. Welfare is rightfully the property of individuals who produce the wealth required to maintain the community. Those who obstruct this natural distribution by corruption, bribery, are the real enemies of the society in every state. This can be seen very clearly by the activities of our Ministers. It is a well known fact that our ministers rule the country not for the benefit of the masses but for their own selfish interests. Many relatives of our ministers are occupying important posts in government offices on a fat salary. As long as this continues the welfare of the people cannot be increased, and the large sums that will be spent on Five Year Plans would be a sheer waste of taxpayers' money.

Finance Is Not Money

By G. T. Olarenshaw

THE study of economics discloses that Finance is not money. The natural actions of the people in exchanging goods and services for money has been side tracked so that instead of the exchange being of an equal value in money, it has been exchanged for a spurious Debt, leaving the producer and supplier of goods and service with a Bankers currency which is not of its face value and not of 100% purchase power. The peoples' economic troubles are none others than this. They are exchanging 100% value for a mythical value in Bank issued currency having a Tax load or discount which in some cases practically extinguishes its purchase power. Thereby are the citizens or ordinary people Robbed of their purchase power until they have to go to Financiers to borrow credit which the Financiers had previously stolen by way of the Finance System. That the people as a whole supply Government with all the goods and service that the Government buy is undeniable. The people as a whole are then taxed for supplying them. The people are therefore not paid for the goods and services supplied to Government; The citizens' welfare solely depends upon the citizens in seeing that they are not cheated out of their purchase power in the exchange values and exchange transactions in monetizing their goods and services. It must never be supposed that Government supply the citizens with welfare. All that Government does, is to steal an amount of money and goods and service. Then tax the victims pretending that Taxes are for the purpose of paying to social services and for the defence of the nation. Governments do not pay for anything they buy. They create a Bank Debt against the governed who are charged interest on behalf of the Bankers and Financiers. Taxation in the main destroys good money and creates a Loan Market in which the whole civil False debt flourishes as inflation of Debt to Bankers' counterfeit. Governments are the agents, not of the people but of Bankers who run the Finance Racket for the purpose of destroying money, keeping it scarce and in False Debt.

The only welfare in any nation today is welfare for the operators of the False Debt System. These creatures operate the Finance system to destroy money and the national currencies of the nations. They fatten themselves upon stolen goods and service which they pretend to pay for out of Taxes levied on the supplies of the goods and service. Every tax is a theft of welfare goods and service. The value of money is that which is left as purchase power after taxes have been taken out of that which money buys. Taxes on a Rupee can be so great that there are no pies in hand nor in the sky. India's troubles are a Famine of Bank Debt Free Money. The use of spurious Loans from foreign countries and the manufacture of Bank Credit instead of money. Government can manufacture money and can pay for the goods and service it buys from the people. But if they did, the people would have the true welfare state as the money would be 100% pur-

chase power being untaxed. So we see that because Government do not manufacture and pay out national Money Bank Debt Free, the people are as Slaves to this World Bank which is in no way Democratic and neither has it any right to supply credits, Loans nor national currency.

The World Bank is a Parasite Growth drawing the money away from all and sundry. It is acting as sole issues of Bank Credits through the operation of its subscribers.

So we must come to the conclusion that Governments are no longer elected of the people but are agents of the Banks creating Loan Markets for non-national currencies and for the inflation of Bank Debt.

Report of the Study circle meeting held on 1st September, 1959, at the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao addressed a Study circle meeting at Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, on 'Chinese Aggression on Indian Borders' on 1st September 1959. Prof. Rao explained in detail the background of the Tibet and Himalayan region right from the times of 18th century to the present position and said that on account of the Communist Chinese aggression the peace and security of the Himalyan borders in the north have disappeared. It was clear from the those acts of aggression that China had thought India and Pandit Nehru as Pro-Western and anti-Chinese. The expansionist ideas whether by wrong or right method was natural with Communism. In the end of Mr. Rao opinioned that there was no fear of a major war due to various other considerations and gave a call for all the patriotic Indians to be ready to defend their nation at any cost.

A. Venkataram.

JUST OUT!

ENGLISH

or

LINGUISTIC CHAOS

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

A. RANGANATHAN

Published by:

The Libertarian Social Institute,

Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road (West),
Bombay-4.

Price: 25 nP.

LIST OF LECTURES AND MEETINGS:

14-11-1958:

5th Lecture on Social Philosophy by Prof. M.A. Venkata Rao.

28-11-1958:

6th Lecture on Social Philosophy by Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao.

7-12-1958:

Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao addressed a Public meeting at Gandhi Bazar, Basavangudi and explained the dangerous stand of the Government of India and criticised the weak policy towards China and Pakistan.

23-1-1959:

Mr. Philip Spratt spoke on Nagpur Congress Session at a study circle meeting. Prof. R. Rangaish of Law College presided.

26-1-1959,

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on 'Republic Day' and its greatness, at the Institute.

30-1-1959:

Symposium on Citizen and Politics, Family system under Communism and Literature. Speakers: Mr. M. V. Srinivasan, Advocate: Mr. Nagraj and Mr. C. H. Prahallad Rao. Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

13-2-1959:

Mr. T. Siddalingaiah, M.L.A., and ex-Minister of Mysore spoke on Spiritual approach in modern life. Mr. Philip Spratt presided.

18-2-1959:

Mr. M. A. Venkatarao addressed a public meeting at Kanada Sahitya Parishat Hall on Five Year Plans, Inflation and food prices.

10-4-1959:

Mr. Philip Spratt, president of the Institute spoke at a huge public meeting which was convened by all the Political parties except the communist party. The purpose of the meeting was to condemn the Chinese aggression on Tibet.

15-5-1959:

Discussion on the Official Language of India, led by Mr. B. S. N. Mallya and Prof. M. A. Venkatarao.

28-5-1959:

Shri Vallabha Swamy, Secretary All-India Serva Seva Sangha spoke on 'World Critics and its Solution'. Mr. Krishna Rao Pawar, Corporator and former Deputy Mayor of Bangalore presided.

23-6-1959:

Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao addressed a public meeting at Basavangudi on the Congress Socialistic pattern of society and explained its dangerous implications.

25-6-1959:

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on 'Kerala Situation'. Mr. B. S. N. Mallya, editor of Vikrama, a Kan-nada Weekly, presided.

6-7-1959:

Prof. M. A. Venkatarao addressed a public meeting condemning the Communist rule in Kerala.

10-7-1959:

Mr. Philip Spratt spoke on 'My impression of Kerala Tour' (Mr. P. Spratt had toured Kerala to study the situation) Mr. G. S. Subbaratnam, Advocate, presided.

A. VENKATARAM

Secretary,

Libertarian Social Institute,
Bangalore.

DID YOU KNOW ...

By Scio



An inch of topsoil takes three to 10 centuries to build, but it can wash away in a single storm experts say. Vegetation breaks the force of rains, prevents splash erosion and retards runoff.



The Kremlin hails recent Soviet scientific advances as a triumph for atheism and claims that the Soviet earth satellite experiments are "proof" that God does not exist.



In 1957 the combined air, train, bus, and passenger car travel in the United States was over 570,000,000,000 miles. This represents an average of over 3,000 miles travel for every man, woman, and child in the Nation's 170,000,000 population.

Book Reviews

THE CULTURAL TRADITION and Other ESSAYS by FRANCIS NEILSON published by Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, (New York 50 East, 69th Street New York 21, N.Y. Price 4 Dollars).

The book under review is a book which must be read by every student of economics, philosophy and politics. It contains fifteen essays on different topics and each essay contains fundamental facts which will appeal to all lovers of good prose and pure style. The author has taken great pains to make a strong case for the points raised by him in his essays. It is a book that gives us an idea of rise and fall of civilizations. In it we get a glimpse of some of the masters like Locke, Goethe, Kant and Lord Acton who had instructed students in the philosophy of culture. The first essay deals with cultural tradition and it is the firm belief of the author that the intellectual decline was mainly due to the creeping in of specialisation. The cultural tradition of many centuries was broken because the young people are educated to make a living. At present we have no clear idea of the word 'culture' and we assume that culture and civilization are synonymous, but Mr. Neilson in this essay clearly defines culture and shows how it has broken down. He distinguishes culture from civilisation and in the third essay he shows that property and natural law are the essential concepts in the basis of a culture. This was understood by the Greek philosophers as well as by the Christian Fathers who defined the term in identical language. In the essays "The centenary of the Communist Manifesto" and "The Twilight of Marx" the author has exposed the fallacies of Marxism and at the end of essay No. X he says "such extraordinary changes had taken place in the principal States of Europe that the Manifesto was antiquated and no longer effective as a programme for the relief of the proletariat and the overthrow of capitalism". If one wishes to know the fallacy contained in 'Das Kapital' one must read the essay "The Twilight of Marx." In the last four essays, Mr. Neilson crosses swords with Marxists and Socialists. The essays "Equality of Opportunity" and "The Gospel of Justice" are based on the philosophy of Henry George. According to Henry George, land is the source of all needs of the people. All food, fuel, clothing and shelter are produced from it by labour with the aid of capital. In order to achieve social justice he advocated land value taxation and abolition of tax on wealth. He says "customs, taxes, and improvements taxes and income taxes and taxes on business and occupations and on legacies and succession are morally, economically no better than highway robbery or burglary, all the more disastrous and demoralizing because practised by the state. There is no necessity for them. The seeming necessity arises only from the failure of the state to take its own natural and adequate source of revenue—a failure which entails a long trail of evils of another kind by stimulating a forestalling and monopolization of land which creates an artificial scarcity of the primary element of life and labor so that in the midst of illimitable natural resources the opportunity to work has

come to be looked on as a boon". Henry George knew very well that there could be no liberty without justice. Mr. Neilson asks the people to keep in forefront the mission of Georgists. The mission is "creep on insidious forces that, producing inequality destroys liberty. On the horizon clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have the liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this or Liberty withdraws her light. Either this or darkness comes on and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand".

The essays "State Control" and "The Breeding Ground Of Communism" are very illuminating under the present conditions in India and every lover of freedom should read them with great interest. According to Mr. Neilson "trade depressions and wars furnish the opportunities for political socialists to set up dictatorships. . . . it is not likely that the unrestricted ruler will, without struggle divest himself of the authority he has enjoyed. Power corrupts and every one knows the infamy of corrupt officials of the State and how low the moral notion of a public trust has fallen". "What goes today by the name of Communism is nothing more or less than bureaucratic control of the workers. They are slaves of the State—an organization of the political means to exploit the economic means. Power over producers is the bureaucratic aim." The above facts are existing in our country under Congress rule and every lover of freedom should not only read this book, but he should make an attempt to digest what Mr. Neilson has to say to solve our present economic and political ills.

G. N. Lawande.

ENLIST CO-OPERATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE by Sir B. Rama Rao.

At the outset the speaker has analysed the achievements of the Congress party but at the same time he admits that democracy and political freedom have no significance to the vast masses of the people unless they result in some relief for them in their life-long struggle to satisfy their elementary physical necessities. He also admits that he has not seen a precise definition of "socialist pattern of society" and its implications. Then he has switched on to the discussion of Welfare State on the basis of the Beveridge Plan. In order to establish a Welfare State in India, the ruling party has formulated plans without carefully considering their practical implications or their administrative feasibility. Mr. Rama Rao admits that decisions on schemes involving big issues are taken without considering all practical aspects and as a result of this, various "Himalayan blunders" have been committed by the ruling party.

At the end of the lecture he discusses the role of public and private enterprise in economic development. A sustained campaign has been carried on by Congress followers against private sector and the so-called "profit motive". No one defends profiteering or black-marketing or fraudulent methods of finance. What is worse than profit motive is the craving for power. "Profits can be and are taxed heavily, but abuse of power and authority though far more damaging in its effects, is difficult to curb especially when it appears in the garb of austerity or patriotism." He says that the politician should give up his superior attitude to businessmen and seek their cooperation in the formulation of policies and programmes to implement them. "We require the idealism and drive of the politician, and also the enterprise, the creative urge, the practical outlook and the organizing capacity of the better type of businessman in the formidable task of reconstruction. Without a vast and countrywide development of industries which must mostly be in the private sector, the problem of unemployment and a higher standard of living cannot be solved." To achieve this objective the speaker wants that the Congress party should be reconstituted and for this the new Swatantra Party will play an important role to reconstitute the Congress party, to adopt a more realistic approach to problems and to concentrate on practical programmes rather than on slogans and by that it will render a great service to the country.

G. L.

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Diamat

By P. Spratt.

In "Diamat" Mr. Spratt examines the philosophical assumption of Dialectical Materialism attributed to Karl Marx and accepted as their Bible by those who profess the Communist faith. His main thesis is that Dialectical Materialism is a contradiction in terms. The Dialectical process as enunciated by Hegel and accepted by Karl Marx is essentially an idealistic process and cannot be reconciled with materialism. Let me quote Mr. Spratt. "The Absolute Idea is internally itself, yet it creates out of itself an antithesis in the form of illusion, which is real but incomplete, contingent and temporal. It then proceeds to dispel illusion and from the clash between Idea, Thesis and Error, anti-thesis, Truth emerges as the synthesis." (Author's Capitals).

However illogical Hegel's conception of the differentiation of the one into the many, and of the eternal giving rise to the temporal illusion, we must concede to Mr. Spratt that the historical process according to Hegel must be interpreted in idealistic and not in materialistic terms. What is more, the historical process must continue to evolve on the dialectical pattern, and not come to a dead stop on the emergence of the classless society as assumed by Communism.

Price Rs. 2/8. Available at Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

NEWS DIGEST

SEVENTEEN STUDEBAKERS SOLD FOR Rs. 5000

Another Audit Report Mentions an amazing case. Seventeen Studbaker buses of the State Transport Directorate, which were valued at not less than 1,75,000 and which were in perfect running order, were sold to a particular person for a mere sum of Rs. 5,000! This gentleman set up what is known as the Transport Development Corporation. He has been operating these 17 buses on certain routes outside Calcutta and piling up quite handsome profits.

The Audit Report fought shy of his name, perhaps because he is a protege of the Chief Minister; but everyone here knows that the gentleman is Sri Pratap Mitra.

STORY OF JUNK FACTORY & FORTY BHIGHAS

A junk of a factory located in Belghoria (24 paraganas District) and owned by the A. K. Sarkar Industries, has been purchased for a sum of Rs. 8,00,000 which is a higher than the actual price by Rs. 3,00,000. The factory had remained closed for several years before this shady deal took place. And, according to the opinion of Government experts, an additional sum of Rs. 15,00,000 has to be spent before the factory can be put into operation.

The Government has purchased 40 bighas of land in the Belgachia area of Calcutta from Kumar Jagadish Sinha, a close relation of a particular Cabinet Minister of this state, at a price of Rs. 10,00,000. Earlier, this very gentleman had disposed of 80 bighas of this very land for only Rs. 7,00,000. But because of the Government's offer, the transaction was cancelled. Thus, the Congress Government made a gift of 40 bighas and Rs. 3,00,000 to a wealthy and influential landlord.

During past four years the Government has paid at least Rs. 75,00,000 more than the actual price of plots of land bought from the moneybags like the Bangur Brothers, Poddar & Sons, etc., for the purpose of refugee rehabilitation.

THE STORY OF MR. POONACHA RS. 4000-JOB FOR A NON-MATRICULATE

On August 20, Sri K. B. Lall, I.C.S., Chairman of the State Trading Corporation, handed over charge to Shri C. M. Poonacha.

Mr. Poonacha hails from Coorg. He is not even a matriculate. He tried to run a small press—Ambika Press—In Mercara, Coorg, but failed even in that. When Independence came, Poonacha became a Congressman. When Coorg was constituted into a Class C State, neo-Congressman Poonacha became Chief Minister. When Coorg was merged with Mysore, Poonacha became Home Minister in the Jijalingappa Ministry. When Jatti replaced Nijalingappa he could not find a place for Poonacha. And now Poonacha—

who has no experience of business apart from running a small press unsuccessfully—has been gifted with a Rs. 4,000 job, as a boss of the mighty State Trading Corporation.

Mr. Poonacha is not popular even in his native Mercara. Anti-Poonacha Congressmen joined by Independents are in charge of the local municipality.

Recently the Manager of the Virajpet Town co-operative Bank committed suicide in suspicious circumstances. The Bank's affairs are in a thorough mess. People in Mercara want an inquiry held. They are not getting it. They think Mr. Poonacha does not want it—for reasons best known to him.

BIGGEST SOURCE OF ANXIETY PAKISTAN'S HUGE MILITARY POTENTIAL

Enormous Western economic assistance to Pakistan besides the huge military aid, which the U.S. State Dept. admits to be higher than necessary, has been building up the military potential of a country, which considers India as her only enemy. In the 13th year of India's freedom this will remain the biggest source of worry and anxiety for the people of India.

Pakistan has been receiving substantial foreign aid for the past few years, bulk of it coming from the United States of America. The other sources include U.N. and its Specialised Agencies, the Colombo Plan countries, a few other countries and international Philanthropic organisations. Aid is received in the form of project assistance, technical assistance, commodity assistance and relief assistance. Upto the end of June, 1959, total aid allocation including credits and loans from all sources amounted to over \$1,345 million.

—*The Malbar Herald*

HOW DID K. C. P. I. RAISE RS. 4½ LAKHS?

New Delhi: The Union Home Ministry has ordered a probe into the manner and methods by which the Kerala Communist Party had raised Rs. 450,000 from the State's toddy tappers for the Party coffers during the months of March, April and May last.

Significantly, the Communist Party of India had never been able to raise even half that amount in any of the numerous countrywide fund-raising campaigns launched by it since its establishment in India in 1925.

It is generally felt in Delhi that the Kerala Communist Party was able "to achieve the unachievable" largely due to the (now dismissed) Communist Ministry.

INDIANS TOLD NOT TO VISIT TIBET ON ANY GROUND CHINESE DIRECTIVE

Kalimpong: The Chinese authorities have advised Indians not to visit Tibet on pilgrimage or otherwise, it was learnt here.

In a note to the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa recently, the Chinese authorities had warned that since the Chinese were taking strong military action against the rebels, Indians were advised not to visit Tibet for security reasons.

"Any one visiting Tibet in spite of the warning will do so at his own risk and the Chinese Government accepts no responsibility for his safety," the note added.

Indians already in Tibet were advised to move out by the authorities, it was further learnt.

CURRENCY CURBS IN TIBET NEPAL PROTESTS TO CHINA

Kathmandu, (Nepal): The Nepalese Government has protested to China over a decree making Chinese currency the only legal tender in Tibet, it was announced here.

Officials said the Chinese had not given sufficient warning for Nepalese traders to exchange their holdings of Tibetan and Indian money for Chinese currency.

They said most of these holdings were in Indian rupees and the traders were now on the verge of ruin.

Nepal has also complained to China about visa difficulties experienced by Nepalese traders in Tibet.

INSTANCES OF CO-OPERATIVE SWINDLE BY THE REDS; UNDUE LENIENCY SHOWN BY MINISTERS

Trivandrum: Instances of co-operative swindle by the Communists and the extent to which the Communist Ministry helped the party-sponsored business enterprises such as toddy-tappers, co-operatives and Labour Contract Societies have now been exposed.

The Kerala Pradesh Congress in its memorandum to the President had alleged that the Government's money was finding its way into the coffers of the Communist Party through the Communist controlled co-operative societies.

About 200 toddy-shops in four taluks in Kerala State which are managed by the Communist sponsored Tappers' Co-operative Societies have been found to have defaulted payment of the kist amount and tree-tax due to the Government.

The reason for the default is stated to be, according to critics of the communist regime "the unreasonable leniency" shown by the Ministers towards the co-operatives run by their party-men, even at the risk of the State Treasuries suffering.

**Govindjee Madhowjee
& Co. Pvt. Ltd.**

**COAL MERCHANTS
16—APOLLO STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY.**

Mr. P. S. Nataraja Pillai, former P.S.P. Minister stated at a public meeting that the Government had helped the party to the extent of about Rs. 7 crores.

The new found prosperity of the Reds could be seen from the number of jeeps and vans they have in the name of these societies. They are said to transact an annual business upto Rs. 1 crore through the liquor shops.

Anxiety and resentment prevail in Communist Circles as a result of the new administration's reported decision to re-auction these toddy shops. Some of the prominent Communist leaders including a Minister are understood to have made a dash to the Capital to persuade the authorities to "give some more time" to these co-operatives to pay up the dues.

RE-AUCTION

Now, the re-auction of these toddy shops are being stayed by the Government and time is being given to the Societies to remit their dues.

Though the Communists have left the Cabinet Room, they are still able to control the activities of the Government to a certain extent, according to political circles here.

UGLY FACTS

After a decade in power, the Congress is in decline... The goal of most Congress leaders is a ministership and the trappings of power and prestige. Few are interested in organizational work. The party controls all governments except one but its organizational base is withering away. The deterioration in morale and sense of mission is understandable, but the Congress shows no sign of remedying the rot that has set in... The prevalent attitude seems to be that as long as they can enjoy the fruits of power in their lifetime (which for many of the leaders cannot be very long) why worry about the future."

—*Biography of Nehru*
by Michael Brecher

THE COST OF PROBES

New Delhi: Fourteen inquiry commissions were appointed during 1957-58 by the Government of India and they cost about Rs. 22,30,000.

The commissions, however, did not include those which were appointed to investigate railway and air accidents.

The bodies appointed were: Dalmia-Jain Commission of Inquiry; Pay Commission; Chagla Commission of Inquiry; Bose Board of Inquiry; The Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee; The Customs Re-organisation Committee; Kerala and Madras Food Poisoning Cases Enquiry Commission; Ayurvedic System of Medicine Evaluation Committee; Newton Chickli Court of Enquiry; Burra Dhemo Court of Inquiry; Chinakuri Court of Inquiry; Central Bhowrah Court of Inquiry (two enquiries), and Manganese Poisoning Inquiry Committee.

FOREIGN PRESS ON CONGRESS

"Complaints of prevalence in the party (Congress) of communalism, casteism, corruption, self-aggrandisement, indiscipline, and lack of enthusiasm for party work again have been listed as evils to be fought, but these are not new. Congressmen feel these is a vacuum, but what this is or how to fill it, puzzles them. They think that the party does not get its thought on the basic issues straight." One can hear it freely said in the Lobby by almost every Congress member that what the party urgently needs is a strong personality of the calibre of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel...

—Manchester Guardian (Aug. 10)

EVERY THIRD FOREIGNER IN INDIA IS A CHINESE

New Delhi: While the maltreated and humiliated Indian nationals in "the Tibet region of China," limited to traders and merchants, form only a handful of the population, here in India every third foreigner is a Chinese. So it was revealed in the Lok Sabha, last week.

In a written reply to a question by MR. RAM KRISHNA GUPTA, PANDIT GOBIND BALLABH PANT, the Union Home Minister, told the Lok Sabha that of 34,427 foreigners, 11,614 are Chinese. Other foreigners resident in India are: Afghans 6,973; Iranians 4,325; Americans 3,675; Germans 1,171; Burmese 1,492; Russians 1,694 and Italians 1,136.

JAIN'S SWAN SONG JUSTIFIES SWATANTRA PARTY'S STAND

CONTROLS WON'T SOLVE FOOD CRISIS —RANGA

Bombay: Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P., in a statement here said that the Union Food Minister, A. P. Jain's "Swan Song" only justified the criticism made and the stand taken by the Swatantra Party "against the evils of growing controls by the inefficient and far from honest bureaucracy and its present political masters."

Prof. Ranga said that Jain was right in warning the country about the inevitability of price-rise on the food front, so long as the rise in prices of other commodities could not be and were not controlled effectively and the pressure of inflation caused by excessive deficit budgeting was kept up.

"The public is told, at long last by the Food Minister, though not in so many words, how the National Development Council decided upon wholesale nationalisation of grain trade without proper justification or plans and preparations for it" Prof Ranga said.

"I wish to warn the Government and people against any attempt at the so-called fool-proof controls because controls can only worsen the food situation, by introducing inevitable corruption, moral degradation and unnecessary suffering to all concerned" he added.

MENON UNFIT TO LEAD INDIA IN U.N.

In a leading article—'Leader Again'—on re-appoint-

ment of V. K. K. Menon as leader of our delegation to the fourteenth session of the U.N. General Assembly, the *Tribune* (August 19) remarked editorially:

Ignoring for the moment the argument that his irritable temper and provocative manner are a grave diplomatic disadvantage, his choice as leader is open to serious objection for another important reason. Mr. Krishna Menon is now over 60 and is constitutionally incapable of sharing responsibility or of delegating authority. It was time Mr. Nehru found an alternative—a younger person—who could start getting the necessary experience as a future leader of the Indian delegation. Last year, a proposal was seriously made to appoint a deputy leader with the obvious intention of preparing for a change, but Mr. Krishna Menon firmly rejected the suggestion.

The repeated choice of Mr. Krishna Menon is also objectionable for another reason. He is the country's Defence Minister and holds what is commonly regarded as a key portfolio, especially in the circumstances of today. That he will be away for months together on an overseas assignment shows that his work at home will be relatively neglected.....

The argument that Mr. Krishna Menon was personally anxious to continue the U.N. assignment is a poor reason for appointing him as leader for another term. Personal interests and preferences are an inadequate substitute for the national good as a whole.....

"FIGHT MODERN DESPOTISM"—MUNSHI CALL TO SWATANTRA PARTY MEMBERS

Lucknow: K. M. Munshi, leader of the Swatantra Party, said here that the members of the Party should take the pledge to fight "the growing totalitarian tendencies and near Communist policies" of the ruling party with courage and determination.

Munshi was addressing the concluding session of the two-day convention of the U.P. branch of the Swatantra Party.

He warned the people against "modern despotism" and said that it was "more dangerous than the despotism of the nawabs of Oudh" because in "ancient despotism" the despots did not enjoy so much power and did not try to enter into every aspect of life, whereas the modern despots wielded wide powers and spread their tentacles into every aspect of human life.

FIRST TASK

Munshi said, "The first task before us is to make the people fearless. They were terror stricken an account of intimidation of the ruling party and therefore they had not the courage to speak the truth and fight for the right cause. The miasma of fear complex has to be cleared first."

Munshi said that the Congress had degenerated and it had not the spirit of service. There was a crisis of character. We, therefore, want the members of the Swatantra Party to be missionaries of freedom.

The convention adopted six resolutions mostly relating to the organisation of the party at tehsil, district, city and State levels.

During discussions on the resolutions, the Speakers referred to what they called the failures of the Congress Party and characterised it as a totalitarian organisation.

A former Parliamentary Secretary of the U.P. Government, Dwarka Prasad Mauriyan appealed to Congressmen to join the Swatantra Party and said that Nehru's plan to lead the country and his policies to run the administration had brought the country on the verge of ruination.

VIOLATION OF INDIAN LAND CHINESE ROAD IN LADAKH

New Delhi: The Chinese have built a road across Indian territory in Ladakh, according to information reaching here.

The road is reported to have been built a year ago and links Gartok, in Western Tibet, with Yarkand and Kashgar, in Singiang.

The highway runs across the Aksaichin region, a high, uninhabited plateau in north-east Ladakh. It cuts off several hundred square miles of Indian territory.

The Government of India probably first learnt about this encroachment when members of an Indian party were held up sometime last year by the Chinese in this area. They were subsequently released following urgent representations to Peking.

It is not known what further action has been taken by the Indian authorities, but the Chinese are still believed to be in possession of the road.

The Aksaichin Plateau has traditionally been part of Ladakh and is Indian territory. The fact that the Chinese built a highway through this area, along an old caravan route, would indicate two things: First, that Chinese "cartographic aggression" is being asserted by actual physical possession of Indian territory, and secondly, that the Government of India's security arrangements along the admittedly difficult 450-mile-long border between Ladakh and Tibet and Sinkiang are extremely inadequate.

P.M.'s ASSURANCE ON ENGLISH WELCOMED C. R.'s STATEMENT

Bangalore: "We welcome the assurance given by the Prime Minister in Parliament on August 17 that English would continue as the official language indefinitely and that it would be replaced by Hindi only at the instance of the non-Hindi people," says a statement issued by nine political leaders including C. Rajagopalachari, Sir Samuel Ranganathan, P. Narahari Rao, B. V. Narayana Reddy and P. Kodanda Rao.

"We request that these assurances be implemented speedily by the withdrawal of administrative action already taken to replace English and push Hindi forward, and the Constitution be amended suitably to remove all apprehensions in this regard," the statement added.

NEHRU BLAMED FOR HOLDING BACK NEWS

Lucknow: Shri K. M. Munshi, former Governor of U.P. said here "the appeasement foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru, so eloquently boosted so far as the neighbouring countries are concerned, has failed and failed disastrously."

Shri Munshi, who was inaugurating the first Convention of the Swatantra Party in U.P. said, "India is in no mood to permit trespass upon its frontiers, whether they are demarcated or undemarcated."

He described the news relating to border violations by the Chinese as disquieting and said, "the Government for reasons of its own had kept the news from the country."

Shri Munshi added: "It is surprising that the country was not taken into confidence about this state of affairs. It is still in ignorance of what has been done during the past two years to stop these violations. The people have a right to know why the country is being kept in ignorance and what steps are being taken to safeguard security of the country."

He said, "Why does he (Nehru) put in mild protests when the national frontiers are so flagrantly interfered with? "Perhaps the Prime Minister might add a glorious chapter to his eventful life, if instead of foisting ideological slogans on his countrymen, he spent the remaining years of his distinguished career by rallying the country and maintaining our frontiers in fact with courage and determination. The country, I am sure, will stand behind him if he conjures up necessary strength for this purpose."

U. P. SWATANTRA PARTY 20 M.L.A.'s JOIN

Lucknow: Twenty U.P. legislators have joined the Swatantra Party, Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal, M.L.A. and President of the U.P. Swatantra Party, stated here.

All the 20 legislators belonged to the Independent Progressive Legislature Party, of which Mr. Paliwal is the leader.

The I.P.L.P. has 23 adherents in the Vidhan Sabha. Mr. Paliwal said 20 M.L.A.'s, who were members of the new party, would not form a separate group in the legislature until the Swatantra Party had organised itself well outside the legislature also.

"DISSERVICE" TO CAUSE OF PEACE "C. R." ACCUSES CHINA

Madras: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari accused China of doing definite disservice to the cause of world peace. Far from helping the cause of peace of progress, the recent activities of China were calculated to aggravate the cold war and cause it to overwhelm and engulf India also, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was speaking at the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the World Council of Peace. While peace had raised a hopeful curtain in the West, he said, it was said that, in Asia, China had been doing what hurt the cause of peace—by its blasphemous stories about the Buddha. The Chinese activities in Tibet

were calculated to drive India into the arms of the West.

China's activities and propaganda, Mr. Rajagopalachari added, were likely to make the Soviet voice sound false and hollow. "What America has been doing in Formosa to China, China is doing in Tibet to India," he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari hoped that China would take further counsel and withdraw its activities.

A NEW SOURCE OF INCOME

Mr. Ashoka Mehta has calculated that the income derived from public undertakings in which Rs. 400 crores have been invested is only Rs. 1.25 crores, which is equivalent to a return of As. 4 per cent per annum.

This revelation has made our rulers sit up and take notice. They only have decided that the public sector must also make profit like the private sector. And there is no reason why the public sector should not make a profit of 10% instead of 4% as most of public sector industries are state monopolies. There may be some consumer resistance in the beginning but it will ultimately break down. If third class railway fares are raised to 8 annas a mile, people will still travel. With the public sector earning handsome dividends; it will be possible to raise the target of expenditure for the third Five Year Plan to Rs. 30,000 crores that the planners are now talking about.

LOOTING IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

In the report of the auditors who have examined the finance-position of the Damodar Valley Corporation,

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it was revealed that an item of over Rs. 9 lakhs representing the payment due from the Corporation to the Sindri Fertilizers and security deposits from contractors amounting to over Rs. 54 lakhs have been altogether omitted from the balance sheet.

In one case, some contractors, (presumably good Congressmen) were paid exorbitant payments for cutting down 11,000 trees that did not exist.

In another case, the Corporation spent over Rs. 14,000 on legal expenses against an insurance company for claims in respect of a stolen jeep costing a little over Rs. 12,000.

MR. M. VAIDYA'S APPEAL

Mr. Murarji Vaidya appealed to the people of Bombay to join the Swatantra Party.

Mr. Vaidya, who was addressing a public meeting at the Bhatia Mahajanwadi Hall at Kalbadevi, explained the objectives of the Party and said that it had been formed because the ruling party as also other political parties had failed to improve the conditions of the people.

Mr. Jatulal Mehta presided.

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

Productivity and Economic Incentives by Davison, J. P. and others.

Industrial Revolution, 1760-1860: by Beggs Humphreys, M. E.

Utilizing World Abundance: by Grondona L. St. Clare
National Wages Policy in War and Peace: by Robert B. C.

Social Science and Social Pathology: by Wootton, Barbara.

Office Management: by Denyer, J. C.

Central Banking in India; Retrospect: by Deshmukh, Chintaman D.

Policy of Protection in India; Retrospect: by Dey, H. L.

Public Administration and Economic Development: by Natu, W. R.

Reflections on Economic Growth and Progress: by Muranjan, S. K.

Financing the Second Five Year Plan: by Madan, B. K.
First Principles of Industrial Relations: by Hare, A. E. C.

Business Enterprise; Its Growth and Organisation: by Edwards, Ronald S. and Townsend, Harry.

Man-Made Fibres Industry: by Robson, R.

Introduction to the study of Law of the Constitution: by Dicey, A. V.

Short History of English Literature: by Saintsbury, George.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles: by Hardy, Thomas.

Shakespeare's Plays: by Ridley, M. R.

English Comic Writers: by Hazlitt, William.

Passage to England: by Chaudhuri, Nirad C.

Estate Duty Act. (XXXIV of 1953): by Sastry, S. S., and Sastry, L. S.

Introduction to International Law: by Starke, J.P.

Conflict of Laws: by Graveson, R. H.

Theory of the Market Economy: by Stackelberg, Heinrich Von.

Economic Resources of India and Pakistan: by Ghosh, Kali Charan.

Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries: by Coale, and Hoover.

Psychology: by Woodworth, Robert S. and Marquis, Donald G.

Problems and Processes of Economic Planning in underdeveloped Economies: by Gupta H. C.

Economic Advancement of Underdeveloped Economies: by Agarwala.

Co-operation in India: by Mamoria, C. B. and Saksena, R. D.

Co-operation in Foreign Lands: by Mamoria, C. B. and Saksena, R. D.

Organisation and Financing of Industries in India: by Mamoria, C. B.

Agricultural Problems of India: by Mamoria, C. B.

Principles of Agricultural Economics: by Pal, B. N.

Labour Problems & Social Welfare in India: by Doshi, S. L.

Doctor Zhivago: by Pasternak, Boris.

Indian Economy; Its Nature and Problems: by Ghosh, Alak.

Economic Development: by Meier, Gerald M; Baldwin, Robert E.

Rural Sociology in India: by Desai, A. R.

Letter to the Editor

REVENUE RACKETS—A LUNATIC'S DISEASE

Dear Madam,

Only lunatics and fanatics allow Rats to eat the food off their plates. The fact that only about one million People in Assam paid income tax shows that there are only about one million people who allow the Rats to feed upon them. Gopala Reddy should be asked to show in what way Taxes pay for anything seeing that Government never pay for anything with the money collected by Tax gatherers. The only way Government pretends to pay for anything is by borrowing non-existing money as credits paying over these Bank Credits and charging interest by Taxing their creditors, the Taxed Victims of their Gangsterdom. All willing Tax Payers are ignorant Lunatics.

Devon,
England

G. T. Olarenschaw

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