

**Indian  
Libertarian**

Vol. V No. 14

15 September, 1957

*Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'*

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY



Xm 2, N5

IN THIS ISSUE

ARE OUR SECURITY AND DEFENCE  
MEASURES ADEQUATE?

Gorwala On India's  
Policy Towards Pakistan

*Oman, Oil And The Imam*

**Make English the Lingua Franca of India**

Unless specified publication of matter does not necessarily mean editorial endorsement

**Price 20 Naye Paise**

## **The Indian Libertarian**

*Independent Journal of Economic and Public Affairs*

Edited by

MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each month

Single Copy 20 Naye Paise      Annual Rs. 4.50

### CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL .. ..	3
Gorwala on India's Policy Towards Pakistan by "Fairplay" ..	5
Humanism by S. A. Das .. ..	7
Are our Security and Defence Measures Adequate? by J. K. Dhairyawan ..	9
Supplement of Research Department of R. L. Foundation A to D	
Removal of Statues by A. Ranganathan	11
Oman, Oil and Imam by B. S. Sanyal	14
Second "Jallianwalla" under "Non-violent" Congress Raj .. ..	15
Our Foreign Policy by Sumanth Bankeshwar	15
BOOK REVIEW .. ..	16
INDIAN NEWS PARADE .. ..	17
MR. LOTWALA ADDRESSES HOSTEL STUDENTS .. ..	18
DEMOCRACY IN WORKING .. .	18
LETTER TO THE EDITOR ..	19

### ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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

### COVER PAGE

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

- \* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.
- \* Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement, since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
- \* Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

Write to the Manager for sample copy

Arya Bhuvan,  
Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

## **For Your Attention Readers of the 'Indian Libertarian'**

As some of you know, we have been sending copies of the Indian Libertarian beyond your subscription, thinking that your renewal instructions were on their way to us. But we MUST STOP NOW.

One of the advantages of subscribing to the Indian Libertarian is that you have never to get out in the rain or bad weather to get your fortnightly copy of the Indian Libertarian, or worry about missing an issue. The postman drops it at your home. And of course, you can save a lot of money by taking advantage of the special concessions and gifts offered to the subscribers of the Indian Libertarian.

We look forward to your acting immediately and sending your subscription today so that your copies of the Indian Libertarian could come again to you regularly.

Your name and address are still on our file, ready at a moment's notice to dispatch your copy the moment we receive your renewal instructions.

Will you oblige us by dropping a post-card instructing the Circulation Manager for renewal?

The Circulation Manager  
The Indian Libertarian,  
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,  
BOMBAY 4.

To Combat Economic Illiteracy,  
and  
Social Injustice  
To Safeguard National Democracy

JOIN

## **The Libertarian Social Institute**

THE ONLY INSTITUTION OF ITS KIND  
IN INDIA

FOR DISCUSSION AND CRITICISM  
OF CURRENT AFFAIRS AS THEY AFFECT YOU

IT MAINTAINS  
A LIBRARY, READING ROOM AND A  
PUBLISHING HOUSE AT BOMBAY

Head Office:

"Arya Bhuvan"  
Sandhurst Road, (West)  
Bombay—4.

# Editorial

## GREAT POWERS AND INDIA

THE Prime Minister's policy is claimed to have two virtues. One — that it is in accordance with the national genius of India (supposed to be non-violence). Two — that it is supposed to be fully successful, as measured by the great influence that India is exercising on international affairs. The claims are also sometimes assessed, by way of results as having succeeded in winning the friendship of all nations.

Recently a more realistic note is heard in the utterances of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon, making an exception of Pakistan, which was proved impervious to our magic, and high ideals in international relations. The claim is made without qualification in regard to all other Powers. But sometimes, the Minister for External Affairs, falls into a self-revelatory mood, all unconscious of the devastating effect his off-guard statements might make on his countrymen. Recently on the occasion of the Independence Day celebrations in Delhi, Mr. Nehru is reported to have said in such a mood of self-revelation, that one or two great Powers are NOT reconciled to the achievement of independence by India, and the independent role she is playing in world affairs, and the rapid progress she is forging in economic development. He is reported to have gone to the length of saying that they were intent on "pulling India down." It is not clear if he meant that they wished to pull India down to her former position of slavery and dependence.

### An Extraordinary Statement

Now this is an extraordinary statement to make by any Foreign Minister. Even, if he had valid grounds to think so, diplomacy and maturity demand that such public expressions, attributing grave motives to foreign Powers, able to influence our destiny for better or for worse, should not be canvassed before mass meetings. Statesmen should know that the world of nation states today is not governed by moral principles. Power politics still play a predominant role. Nations have therefore to be always prepared to meet attacks on their sovereignty and independence from any quarter. Since individual nations (particularly recently enfranchised ones like India) cannot hope to stand alone "under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" (world of international rivalry and conflict and competition for power and influence), it is absolutely necessary for them to forge alliances with superior Powers to safeguard their national security. There is no security in neutralism in the world of today, when the whole world is divided into two Power blocs, that are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. There is NO third ground between the two, unless a third alliance of nations could be organised with power resources, substantial enough to rival the two colossal competitors—Soviet Russia and the USA. Such a third force is unrealistic. A third area, without a basis in military power as is contemplated by Indian diplomacy, is utopian and futile.

## Self-Confession

The Prime Minister's confession, that great Powers wish to pull India down, amounts to a confession of the total failure of his foreign policy. All India may back him in his foreign policy, as he wrongly claims. But if two of the great Powers wish to pull India down, there is no substance in his complacency. His assurances that we are on the right track are then delusory. The Prime Minister has condemned himself out of his own mouth.

Which are the Powers he is thinking of? Obviously not Russia and China. They must be Great Britain and the USA. This is disquieting indeed. If this is the real attitude of Britain and USA to India, there is no option for India but to take refuge with the Soviets. It should be clear, even to the blindest conformist and supporter of Premier Nehru, and of his party, that such an eventuality will spell falling from the frying pan into the fire.

Who is responsible for bringing the country into the dilemma involved in this situation—rejected by the free world and wooed by the communist empire—a position between the devil and the deep sea?

### Oman, Britain and India

As we noticed in our comments last time, India has once again blundered and poked her nose in matters outside her sphere of national concern. Prime Minister Nehru informed Parliament that he had informed Britain of India's deep concern at Britain's action in Oman. This is to keep the wound of Suez interference open in India's relations with the U.K. It is clear to all, except perhaps to India's statesmen, that it was India's support of Egypt in her quarrel with Britain over the Suez Canal issue, and her condemnation of her in accents of emotional intensity and self-righteous indignation, breathing a "holier-than-thou" sentiment, that angered British officialdom and public opinion and Press. India's equivocation and delayed criticism of Russia's ruthless suppression of the Hungarian national revolt alienated European and American public opinion. Nehru's role as the world's conscience keeper suffered a catastrophic collapse.

The Suez and Hungarian episodes mark a turning-point in the position of India in world affairs, a turning-point that ushered in a new era of world hostility, or at least, coolness to her. The Soviets, too, were not satisfied. They do not want judges but friends, who can be relied upon in the final conflict for survival and world empire. The free world, too, does not want judges but friends who can be relied on to support the cause of freedom in the world, freedom from absorption in international communism. From these points of view, India has no contribution to make hereafter to world affairs. She would be better advised to look to her own security instead of trying to save the world.

### Where Does India Come In?

But our Minister for External Affairs does not learn this lesson, even from his own experience, that induced him to confess publicly, that great Powers wished to pull India down. If it is true, he should, in the interest of national safety, endeavour to win back their goodwill and confidence, instead of creating prejudice against them by public statements in an agitational manner before mass audiences.

In Oman and Muscat, we have a quarrel between the secular Sultan who is the legitimate ruler and the theocratic chief or Imam. The Sultan has been under European influence for decades. His children are educated in Western schools and there is a modern atmosphere in his family and entourage. But the Imam is influential among the tribesmen in the interior. The Imam's revolt seems to have been encouraged by grants of arms and money from the King of Saudi Arabia, who is anxious for more oil-bearing lands. American oil magnates may be behind him. But the British, too, want oil. Their support to the Sultan has been given in response to an invitation. The outside world has no right to interfere in this local conflict. The Imam is supported by Egyptian radio and Egypt is pro-Russian. Russia has always had an eye on this oil area. The Nazi-Soviet agreement, before the war, assigned the Persian Gulf area to Russia as "her sphere of influence". The Arab world is now the cockpit of conflict between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia. There is no reason in terms of Indian interests to justify any interference in this dispute. But if the question comes before the UNO, India may certainly express her opinion, after due study of the intricate factors involved, and help to straighten the issues in conflict. But there is no reason to hurry to antagonise Britain or America by expressing concern in public and by implication condemning their action, taken in pursuit of their national interests. The highest morality, at present holding the field, is pursuit of national interest. Nehru and his party are not put in power to interfere in the conflicts of Great Powers and draw on India the vials of their wrath and then complain naively that they wish to pull India down. India brings down such hostile reaction from them by her own thoughtless offensive and self-righteous interference and ethical condemnation.

### Are Arab Nations Pro-Indian?

Nor are the Arab states sensible of the value of the assistance given to them by India to any tangible extent. Oman has refused to let Hindu employees of the British oil company in Qatar take their families there. It appears that the Arab potentate, living on the support of Britain and enjoying the moral support of India, has a policy of refusing Hindu families to live within his realm! India supports such obscurantist, selfish fanatics as against Britain and the West! Are we to admire and support Arabs as Arabs, Muslims as Muslims, without regard to their attitude to our people and our national interests?

It is to be remembered, as recently pointed out by Mr. A. D. Gorwala, that not a single nation—Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria—has sided

with India in her quarrel with Pakistan over Kashmir! The solitary exception is Nepal, after Dr. I. A. Singh took charge of the office of Prime Minister there. Yet Indian officialdom and Congress party circles are never tired of praising India's foreign policy as successful to perfection! They are not aware of the criterion of judgement in this matter or they have forgotten their own nation when they express their emotional approval of our foreign policy.

This is not a healthy atmosphere.

### Mangla Dam In Occupied Kashmir

It is reported that Pakistan is building a huge dam in occupied Kashmir across the Jhelum. India has duly protested to the UNO. What will happen to the protest? Just what has happened to all our previous protests to the world assembly. That is—Nothing. Silence will greet our protest as before.

Every people obtain the government they deserve. If Indians do not take some trouble and follow the course of our "idealistic" foreign policies (which means suicidal courses by reason of the neglect of realism) and develop an independent opinion, based on the realities of the world situation and changing factors in international relations, India will have to suffer heavily.

We have to enquire why the members of the Security Council are all against us or at least not for us, in spite of our case in Kashmir being so correct and legal and even moral. If the cold war is having an influence on the members, there is no use blaming it. We have to use the cold war and turn it into a factor in our favour. Powerful nations will not see justice when their national interests point to a contrary course. Justice needs the influence of powerful friends to take effect in the present jungle of international relations. Not to see this and harp on the justice of our cause is a sign of immaturity. It is wishful thinking.

### Walking Into Pak Trap

Pakistan's action is a reaction to reality. The reality in Indo-Pakistan relations is that India will not go to war to drive out Pakistani forces from occupied Kashmir and the UN will not declare Pakistan to be an aggressor, and force her to vacate her aggression, as she forced Britain to vacate her aggression in Egypt. In this situation, Pakistan is safe in annexing occupied Kashmir in perfect confidence. Also, building the Mangla Dam is a provocation to make India attack her. If she should, Pakistan will have the excuse needed to attack India, to repel aggression in which enterprise she will be perfectly entitled to use American arms! India has walked into this trap of her own accord. And this is by no means a sign of success in foreign policy.

### India's Preparedness Against Pakistan's Attack

It is something that the Defence Minister Krishna Menon has been reiterating India's military preparedness against all eventualities: that is against Pakistan's attack. But he displays a strange ambivalence. Every statement of his, expressing readiness to fight, expressing the preparedness of Indian armed forces to fight

(Continued on page 13)

# Gorwala on India's Policy Towards Pakistan

By "Fairplay"

**A** DRRESSING a meeting of The Indian Council of World Affairs on 12 August, Mr. A. D. Gorwala gave frank expression to a critical opinion on India's foreign policy, which is shared by a larger number of thinking people in the country than is apparent from the seeming chorus of approval, claimed by the authorities who say that criticism is confined only to a small handful. On most aspects of our foreign policy—the vanishing reservoir of goodwill for India in the U.K. and the USA, our flirtation with Soviet Russia and Soviet China and complacency in regard to the growth of the influence of international communism in our midst, our failure in South Africa, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Tibet and West Asia—resulting in the utter friendlessness in which the country finds herself—Mr. Gorwala presented the other side of the shield. His action in the very den of conformity which is our capital (New Delhi) is highly commendable.

But his reference to our relations with Pakistan betrayed a strange inability to appreciate the real inwardness of the situation. He is no doubt right in declaring that India has failed in evolving a workable policy in regard to Pakistan. He acknowledges that the behaviour of Pakistan is most "exasperating", but seems to think that a great part of the failure is due to India's handling of the relationship with that country. He said that India's interest lay with "the friendliest relations" with that country. He thought that while the Government of Pakistan was certainly unrepresentative of her people, it was the part of Indian statesmanship to have behaved in such a way as to develop friendly relations with her people, anticipating of a time when Pakistan would have a Government which more truly expressed her people's will. India should have seen to it that she did not cause any bitterness among the people of Pakistan. In particular, India should have established "some common ground of conciliation" at least with East Pakistan, which was more akin to West Bengal than to West Pakistan.

## The Initial Mistake

There can be no two opinions about our failure in dealing with Pakistan. The first blunder for which the ruling party and Government are inescapably responsible is Partition itself. Pakistan was created because Congress leadership bypassed even Mahatma Gandhi, who desparingly hailed it as "sarva nash hogaya" (everything is in ruin), in its culpable eagerness for power. They were hustled into accepting the division or vissection of the country by Mr. Jinnah's "Direct Action", and their inability to counter-act and control the activities of the Muslim League Ministers in the Wavell cabinet. It is a long story going back at least to the origin and foundation of the Aligarh Movement, a story of blindness and incompetence on the part of Congress leadership in regard to the psychology of the Muslims.

Congress leaders had (and have) no historical and

military consciousness. They were debauched by the mystic theory of non-violence as State and national policy preached by Mahatma Gandhi, and were strangely impervious to its dire consequences by way of Muslim riots, which increased into rising crescendo from the days of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in city after city throughout the length and breadth of India. The natural result was the demand for a separate national territory for Muslims to be carved out of India.

## Threatens the Very Security of India

The geographical and strategic frontiers of India were ignored and in the Northwest and Northeast, a bitterly hostile State of Pakistan obtained a foothold. The full consequences will be revealed as time passes.

This is a dispensation that threatens the frontiers of India for hundreds of years unless set right in some way. India's policy should be directed towards the de-militarisation of all foreign territories within her natural frontiers with the sanction of the great Powers. Instead of allowing Pakistan to threaten us with USA help in the matter of arms, India should have negotiated a "Monroe Doctrine" in regard to Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Pakistan, Nepal and Tibet and the Indian Ocean from the Suez canal through Australian waters to the Phillipines. But India was saddled with a leadership that had no military consciousness or even defence consciousness.

Mr. Gorwala does not seem to have developed his criticism along these lines. On the contrary he seems to have taken up the familiar minority point of view, a point of view popularised by the British demanding endless concession from the Big to the Little Brother, from the majority to the minority. He, in common with this group of critics who adopt their views from the British 'divide and rule' policy during their rule over India blames India for not appeasing Pakistan enough! It is not clear what more India should have done or granted, what further sacrifice of Indian interests at the altar of Pakistani greed, jealous and ill-will—that bottomless pit—should have been made to prevent the people of Pakistan from having "feelings of bitterness" for us. It seems on the surface a sound point that India should ignore the Government of Pakistan which consists of old Muslim Leaguers, who are insatiable and are dreaming of Moghul rule again in Delhi and cultivate the people of Pakistan at least those of East Pakistan, who are akin to West Bengalis. But this would amount to interference in the internal policy of a sovereign country and Pakistan would have found further grist to her mill of hate.

## The Sensible Thing

The only sensible thing in regard to East Pakistan is to have encouraged her people to accede to India, a consummation for which they are prepared. Mr. Fazlul Huq lost office after a thumping trouncing of the Leaguers in open election for publicly announcing a policy of closer liaison with India amounting to acces-

sion. He was accused of treason and his party was forcibly deprived of office and subjected to illegal pressure ending in its disintegration. And India was accused of interference with the internal affairs of Pakistan, though she was entirely innocent and incapable under her present leadership of such *real-politik*.

It would be a good policy to negotiate for exchange of East Pakistan for Kashmir without Jammu and Ladakh. India would then free her Eastern border from a hostile State within her strategic frontiers. Mr. M. N. Roy seems, at one time, to have made this suggestion. It is still worthwhile for India to take up this idea, and pursue it for what it is worth. But Mr. Gorwala does not seem to be thinking of any such move, with a view to neutralising and assimilating East Bengali people from the standpoint of national security. He seems to be thinking only of appeasing the Pakistanis more than we have already done. He seems to be unaware of the extent and nature of the concessions of one kind and another that India has been making to Pakistan from the day of her foundation. We, too, think that India's policy towards Pakistan has been a signal failure but for reasons different from those apparently in the mind of Mr. Gorwala.

#### Where We Differ From Gorwala

We think that India has been unrealistic and unpsychological in going out of her way in a mistaken spirit of generosity to help Pakistan. Indeed, without such support, it may be said with a fair measure of truth and probability that Pakistan would have collapsed long ago and Partition would have been annulled with relief for all, including the Pakistani people. And such a policy would have been in perfect keeping with the Gandhian Congress theory of one nation for Hindus and Muslims. But India has behaved after partition on the principle of two nations so far as Pakistan is concerned, but on the theory of one nation so far as Indian and Kashmiri Muslims are concerned! No wonder that the world is puzzled and even doubts our *bona fides*! Indian leaders have not understood Islam whether in India or in West Asia.

It is necessary to remind ourselves of the main items of appeasement on generosity with which India has unavailingly loaded Pakistan since her inception as a national state.

#### Series of Surrenders

India began by generously offering to take responsibility for that portion of the Public Debt of India going to the account of the new State, a sum of Rs. 200 crores. India gave five years' time after which Pakistan was to have commenced repayment in annual instalments during a period of 50 years! This was recognised as generous, even by British Treasury officials who were not exactly overflowing with goodwill for the former British empire and the naughty leaders who had wrested it from their hands, willy nilly. The first instalment was due in 1952. What has been Pakistan's response to this generosity? All the world, except Indian publicists, know that she has refused to pay. And India has contented herself with paper protests. The next item that cost the Mahatma his very life was the return of Rs. 55 crores on military stores account which was insisted upon by the Mahatma. Sardar Patel felt that the payment should be postponed in view of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir. He said in open meeting that any money

then given to Pakistan would return to India in the shape of guns and shot. But he was overruled, the Mahatma fasted to let Pakistan have her money, aggression or no aggression, and paid for it with his life through the bloody hands of Godse. No one should approve of assassination, but the chain of events revealing the futility of generosity to Pakistan should not be missed.

And it is not widely realised that in the division of assets like the railways. Indian authorities in the fever of fulfilment of their utmost ambition and the intoxication of power, instructed Indian officials on the Partition of Assets Committees to give away everything that the Pakistanis wanted and not to insist on fair division! India was to have received payment for certain military stores going to Pakistan's share but as could be expected, she has not received a pie so far. And when India stopped delivery in protest, Pakistan set up a shrill cry of Indian injustice and hostility in international capitals! It is not known whether India continued to give away arms without realising a pie of the agreed consideration. It is more than likely that she did, in view of her action in the similar case of the canal dues. Pakistan had agreed to pay a water rate for the waters she took into her canals from the headworks at Madhopur and other places in India till such time as she built her own works in her territory. As usual, she never paid a pie but out of the fullness of her Gandhian generosity, India has been keeping up her supplies all these years! Dues have accumulated but this does not cause any qualm to Pakistan, since she has no intention of ever paying them to India. India is Pakistan's milch cow but she is in the happy position of not having to pay for her feed and upkeep. She has only to enjoy the milk free of cost!

Commercial circles have often complained that the trade agreements between the two countries have been invariably in favour of Pakistan!

And when Pakistan refused to devalue her rupee in consonance with India's devaluation of her rupee, India told the World Bank that she refused to recognise this act of Pakistan. But after some years of firmness, Indian authorities suddenly ruled that we should accept the Pakistani rate of exchange, so arbitrary and unfair to our rupee, of Rs. 100 Pakistani rupees for Rs. 140 Indian rupees! This means that Indian merchants have to pay Rs. 40 extra as gift to Pakistan for every transaction in trade amounting to Rs. 100!

#### How Has Karachi Reacted To "Orgy of Generosity"

And what has been Pakistan's response to this story of uninterrupted goodwill and generosity? A total refusal to acknowledge any part of this *orgy of good* for evil meted out to her by her Big Brother! And yet Indian writers are not wanting who feel that India should have done something more "to prevent Pakistanis from having feelings of bitterness towards this country."

The story is not complete. It was agreed that the two countries should treat their religious minorities on equal terms with the rest of their majority population as equal citizens. But all world knows how Pakistan has treated her Hindu minority in West and East Pakistan. Karl Marx has familiarised us with

the primary accumulation of vast free wealth with which capitalism began her industrial revolution in England. Wealth from India was a large part of this tremendous loot, which enabled England to make full use of the new inventions in spinning and railways etc. Now Pakistan just annexed the vast wealth of the Hindus and drove them out in circumstances of unprecedented barbarity. Her leaders prided themselves on reviving the achievements of their ancestors Taimur and Chengiz Khan in the matter of loot, rape and mountains of skulls and corpses. It is strange that Indians should still imagine that leaders, with this psychology in Pakistan, could be persuaded by further orgies of appeasement or concessions in a unilateral way.

Sind, North-West Frontier province and West Punjab are now denuded of Hindus who perhaps number now some 2% of the whole population. Their immense properties, vastly greater than the official estimate of Rs. 1000 crores, have been annexed by leaders and people. Negotiations for a fair settlement of this tragic affair have foundered on the rock of Pakistani intransigence. And some 40 to 50 lakhs of Hindus have been driven out of East Pakistan. And they are still coming. The dimensions of the unsettlement caused by this huge exodus have exceeded by many times those caused in Europe by World War II! The way that India has handled this question has been sympathetic to the aggressors to a degree unknown in the annals of history. And yet there are publicists whose imagination is concerned with further concessions to win the goodwill of the people of Pakistan!

#### The Solution

We agree with Mr. Gorwala that India has failed in her dealings with Pakistan but for a different reason. We feel that if India had been **FIRM** with Pakistan and insisted on **reciprocity and justice**, India would have got Pakistani leaders to a more reasonable frame of mind. It is the passion for Kashmir on the ground of the Muslim population there that has blinded Pakistanis to India's generosity. Either we should accept their argument and let them have Kashmir without Ladakh and Jammu, at the same time sending out the rest of Muslims from India or repudiate the two-nation theory consistently and work for the free unification of India and Pakistan. The central principle is assimilation of Muslims and other minorities to national patriotism on the basis not of privileges for them but of strictly equal rights for all. Appeasement and privilege only develop insatiable appetites for more, and can never issue in satisfaction.

Far from blaming India for insufficient generosity, people like Mr. Gorwala have to consider the effects of the present policy on the national economy and security. They should ask themselves as to the source from which these concessions have to be paid. Is the Indian tax-payer to foot ever-increasing bills to satisfy the insatiable passion and greed of Pakistanis for all time? If we reckon what India has already paid in cash and waiver of dues, official and non-official, relation to both West and East Pakistan and Kashmir, the amounts paid and foregone by the Indian tax-payer would approach Rs. 5,000 crores at a modest estimate! Indian economists should calculate the heavy cost of Indian policy towards Pakistan.

# HUMANISM

By S. A. Das

(Officer D'Academie, Paris)

**S**PEAKING at Nairobi a few months back, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the philosopher Vice-President of India, said, "Many people, other than humanists, are also repelled by the dogmatic creeds and artificial practices of organised religions. Therefore many intelligent men are inclined to adopt some form of Scientific Humanism."

What is Humanism? Humanism means, the dictionary says, "Devotion to Human interests, or a system concerned with the Human Race; it also means the Religion of Humanity. Humanists however would prefer to define it as the doctrine of man."

Humanism should not be confounded with humanitarianism, which generally implies the doctrine relating to the study and protection largely of beings other than human, or what is known as "ahimsa". Mahavir and Gautama Buddha were two of the greatest protagonists of humanitarianism. Jainism has its champions in the Shama Munivars of South India. They have written voluminous works in Tamil on Jain ethics.

Neither Jainism nor Buddhism can be called humanism, in spite of certain similarities found in those

systems of thought. The chief points in which they agree are the elimination of the divine from their teaching, and laying emphasis in the causes and ideals that seem to human beings to have significance in their personal and social quests.

#### Nor Materialism Nor Socialism

Also humanism should not be confounded with materialism. Materialism tends to reduce everything in terms of the laws of physical science and believes that nothing exists but matter, and that consciousness and will are wholly due to material agency. Humanists differ in as much as they hold that man is not a fixed part of nature. He is highly flexible and plastic. He is a creator in a unique sense. He is a dreamer with the ability to move in the direction of his dreams. Not only is he able to cooperate with processes of the universe, but also within limits to guide, control and direct these processes towards desired ends. Moreover the humanist's philosophy, ethics and ideals radically differ from those of the materialists.

Again humanism should not be considered identical with socialism, for the simple reason that socialism

asserts that individual freedom should be subordinated completely to the interests of the community. Although the socialistic programme and pattern of life are commended by humanists, they differ fundamentally from the socialist as they hold that the thing of first importance is the fostering of the maximum of personal liberty that is consistent with the right of other persons to the exercise of the same liberty.

The well-being of each individual should be thought of and planned. This is in definite contrast with the so oft-repeated slogan of the socialists, "The greatest good of the greatest number," which is a vicious one, as it reverts to the days when it was assumed that a few must be doomed for the good of many. They do not stop to think that the few in question may be in greater need and really more deserve to be helped than the favoured many.

The chief concern of humanistic enterprise is the effort to discover and enhance ways of behaviours and qualities of living that will meet human needs with maximum satisfaction, irrespective of caste, creed, religion, nationality and other barriers that separate man from man, all over the world.

F.C.S. Schiller may be regarded as the pioneer of modern humanism, which in reality is the outcome of the scientific and humanitarian tradition.

#### Protagoras

Long before the advent of Jesus Christ, just about the time when Gautama Buddha was preaching his first sermon at Sarnath, a group of Greek philosophers called Sophists were influencing Greek thought with humanistic ideals. The greatest of them was Protagoras. It was he who gave us the maxim—"Man is the measure of all things." He was neither a theist nor a materialist. He boldly expressed his doubt about the existence of Gods in whom his compatriots believed. He held that reality is to be altered for human ends, and taught the relativity of truth. He also taught that knowledge is instrumental, and education is a real change of attitude and not a mere accumulation and possession of facts.

A fairly good case can be made for the humanism of the early Buddhists and Confucianists. Though not in a direct line they were nevertheless non-theological and therefore within limits belong to the humanistic category. Also early Christianity, which frequently used the text, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

#### In The Christian Gospel

Let us see what Jesus himself has said about the humanistic basis of the Last Judgement. Verses 31 to 46 of the 25 chapter of St. Mathew read as follows: "When the son of man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats, and he shall set the sheep on his right hand but the goats on the left.

"Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, come ye beloved of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was anhungered and ye gave me food; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger

and ye took me in, naked ye clothed me, I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came into me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee anhungered and fed thee? or thirsty and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? or naked and clothed thee? or when saw we thee sick or in prison and came unto thee? And the king shall answer and say unto them, verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done unto one of the least of these my brethern, ye have done it unto me.

"Then shall he also say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into ever-lasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. For I was anhungered and he gave me no food, I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink. I was a stranger and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison and ye visited me not.

"Then shall they answer unto him saying, Lord, when saw we thee anhungered or athirst, or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, verily I say unto thee, In as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away to everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal."

#### The Renaissance

No better case can be made for humanism than the above, in spite of its theological setting. But church Christianity has not followed its Master's teaching in this and other respects. Although humanism is influencing Christian thought today, it is certain, theologians will marshal their forces and endeavour to turn it into another of their socialistic parlour movements.

During the fourteenth century after Christ, known as the Renaissance, due to the revival of art, letters, etc., under the influence of classical models, a diverse group of humanists began to make use of the Greek and Latin classics, which attend more to the human situation and less to so-called divine matters.

They restored the experimental method and secularised culture and regarded knowledge as instrumental. They abandoned the supernatural in order to expand the natural, thus committing man to the causes and ideals that seemed to him to have significance in his personal and social behaviour.

#### The Decline of Belief

From time immemorial man has been evoking the aid of a supernatural being or beings, chiefly out of fear, to make his life on earth worth living and his future secure in Paradise. During the time of plague, pestilence, fire, flood, famine, etc., attributing these calamities to divine punishment for wrong or sins he had committed, knowingly or unknowingly, he fasted and prayed, and offered animal or even human sacrifices to appease the wrathful deity. As time went on and matters did not improve, thinking men began to inquire into the causes of these afflictions. Rejecting explanations given by holy men and custodians of religious faiths, they began to look elsewhere for satisfactory explanations. Fortunately, science came in due time, with startling facts and amazing discoveries, and adduced proofs and explanations in respect of events and phenomena until then considered sacred or supernatural.

(Continued on page 12)



# Are Our Security And Defence Measures Adequate?

By J. K. Dhairyawan

**R**ECENT developments in the Indian subcontinent and the latest utterances of our Defence Minister Krishna Menon and Prime Minister Nehru give cause for serious doubts about the Government measures for the security and defence of the nation. Specially are unintelligible the statements made by Mr. Krishna Menon, both in Kerala and at Bombay, that despite the latest acts of violating the Indian territory by the Portuguese authorities in Damaun and on the Sawantwadi border of Goa, the Indian Government does not propose to take strong or military action against these violations. Our Armed Forces, it seems from Mr. Krishna Menon's statement, are not meant for "offensive" purposes. It is an unintelligible statement, coming from a person who holds the portfolio of the Defence of the nation. The pro-communist Defence Minister seems to have donned the mantle of the Mahatma or the Buddha. Well may the Indian Defence Services have for their motto "We Don't Fight."

## Portuguese Reply

Quick on the wake of these statements came fresh provocations from the Portuguese. There were incursions by the Portuguese soldiers into the Indian territory, both at Damaun and on the Sawantwadi border, who indulged in random shooting and killing one Indian national by dragging him under a jeep, and injuring several. When asked in the Parliament, Prime Minister Nehru confessed that he did not know what was expected of him by the people. Surely this is a very damaging statement coming as it does from the head of the Government. Mr. Nehru admits that Protest Notes are useless and YET he is not prepared for retaliation.

If a cursory review of the last year is taken, and the various acts of provocation by Pakistan and the Portuguese are seen in their proper perspective, the conclusion is irresistible that somehow or other New Delhi seems to be impotent to meet this challenge from our inimical quarters. This is a very serious matter and calls for the closest and serious attention on the part of the publicists of ALL parties, irrespective of their political affiliations but purely from the national point of view. It was this awareness that made Pandit Kunzru, an elder, moderate and sober statesman to bring to the notice of the Government the need of arming our Defence Services with modern atomic missiles and atomic weapons. As usual, his plea went unheeded. How necessary it is to bring the weapons and equipments of our Defence Forces upto date in conformity with modern developments, especially so when even our Defence Minister admits that the potential of the Pak. Army and its attacking strength have been increased "phenominally". Our Defence Minister also admits that guerillas and commandoes are being trained by the Pakistani Government, and that military training is imparted to the school boys and girls in Pakistan. Surely Pakistan is doing all this not for

mere fun and sport BUT IS PREPARING FOR AN ATTACK ON INDIA at the right time. Naturally the question arises in the minds of the patriotic Indians, how adequate are our counter-measures to meet this menace from Pakistan. To that there is no information from the Government quarters BUT effete and unmanly statements from our Ministers whose duty it is to see that free India is prepared and ready to meet any challenge from any quarter. Merely saying that in case of an attack from Pakistan, Indians will fight to the last man and last soldier and that the Pakistanis will get more than what they deal to India, as as stated recently by the Defence Minister, has very little relation to the actualities of the situation. Surely without modern arms and equipments Indian soldiers cannot give a good account of themselves.

## Today War Is Totalitarian

Again in modern warfare, no nation can entirely depend on its armed forces. The whole nation has to be prepared and ready to give battle to the enemy in cities, towns and in villages and that means that the young and able-bodied population, both men and women, must be militarily trained and accustomed to use fire-arms and modern weapons. Are any attempts made by the Government in that direction? There are no signs as yet, even to make military training compulsory in ALL schools and educational institutions. We have allowed ten long years to be wasted preaching the gospel of "co-existence" and "panchasheela" to the whole world, and neglected to take steps to make our defence and security measures fool-proof against any menace from any quarter.

The reason given recently by our Defence Minister as to why India was not arming herself with atomic weapons was that India has announced to the world that she is against the use of atomic weapons! It is to say the least, one of the most amazing statements to come from the mouth of the Defence Minister of any State that has the slightest concern for its integrity and security. India may be preaching, for aught one knows, against ALL warfare, but that does not mean that she can give up having the Defence Forces. If one has to have the Defence Forces, then one must supply them with the latest weapons. Surely our Defence Minister does not seriously think that a modernly equipped attacking force could be turned back by the preaching them sermons on "co-existence" and "panchasheela"!

In addition to these effete statements coming from both the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister, the revelations of the state of sabotage and fifth-column activities throughout the country as disclosed by the different and numerous bomb explosions, specially at Delhi and in Jammu and Kashmir State, and the state of near anarchy as disclosed by the Bombay weekly, Blitz quite recently, are certainly alarming. All these give a dismal and sorry picture of our Defence measures. Specially these revelations of the Blitz,

coming as they do from a paper that cannot be called a "communal" paper, but one that has consistently supported the Prime Minister and his Government. One expects that these disclosures made by the **Blitz** should open the eyes of the Government to the state of affairs in the Naval Dockyard at Bombay and the Indian Navy as a whole. If these disclosures have any foundations, and we are sure that they have, then it is the urgent duty of the Government immediately to order a judicial inquiry into the matter and court-martial the officers and men responsible for sabotage on such a large scale.

#### "Blitz" Exposures

In February the **Blitz** made some startling disclosures of the state of affairs in Bombay Dockyard. It stated that some Muslim employees in the Dockyard were engaged in sending secret messages to Pakistan, that they were equipped with wireless transmitters and that a large amount of naval equipment from the Dockyard was missing. As a result of these disclosures the Navy appointed a committee of inquiry. The inquiry committee headed by Lt. Commander Moorthy, is stated to have corroborated many of the disclosures made by the **Blitz**. There was a sort of general "Operation smuggling" carried on in the Dockyard at Bombay, and a certain Muslim officer, now turned Christian, was one of the ringleaders of this sabotage racket. It was also disclosed that a Pakistani naval officer was staying for some time with this Muslim-turned Christian officer in Bombay, and that as soon as the Moorthy Committee was appointed the Pak Naval officer made himself scarce. These revelations of the **Blitz**, which remain uncontradicted so far, give an alarming picture of the state of affairs in the Indian Navy, that the Indian Navy is honeycombed with fifth-column and anti-national elements, and, therefore, in times of emergency the efficacy of the Indian Navy would be reduced to zero. It will be another repetition of the Egyptian Army debacle against the State of Israel, because the equipments, of the Cairo forces were phoney and useless. The seriousness of these disclosures in the words of the **Blitz** are as follows:—

"... the recent objectives of the largescale thefts appear to be the creation of a "strategic vacuum" in the Naval Stores efficiency sufficient to paralyse the Indian Navy in case of an emergency such as a Pakistani attack on India.

.... It is important to note that the main store under attack is **THE HEART OF THE INDIAN NAVY.**"

But what would certainly irritate the patriotic Indians is the fact, that after the findings that many of the revelations that the **Blitz** had made in February, were substantiated by the Moorthy Committee, there is a sort of a wet blanket over all these doings. It is stated that the Moorthy Committee reports has yet to see the light of the day, and that No Action seems to be contemplated against the guilty officers and men.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the fifth-column activities are not confined to the officer class **BUT ARE** equally indulged in even by a section of the Ratings, mostly Muslims. A year back on the Republican Day a Pakistani flag was hoisted in the Bombay Dockyard. The result was an inquiry and one Muslim rating was dismissed from the Navy. It

seems that there are Pak agents permanently stationed in the Indian Navy, or Indian officers, mostly of the minority communities that lend themselves to these anti-Indian activities. In any other free country such behaviour on the part of the members of the Defence Forces would be met with immediate death and court-martial. Our Gandhian Government seems to have some different code of of behaviour and conduct than the one followed by free nations of the world.

If such large-scale sabotage and smuggling is rampant in Bombay Dockyard, the heart of the Indian Navy, and when one adds to these disclosures the arrest and detention of some Air Force and Naval officers in Saurashtra, in connection with the gold smuggling racket, it is high time a probe should be made into the Defence Services and an end put to these anti-national and unpatriotic activities on the part of the members of the Defence Forces. They deserve no mercy or compassion.

Every patriotic Indian would share with the **Blitz** in its demand for a judicial inquiry into the affairs of the Bombay Dockyard, and the publication of the Moorthy Committee report. We would further request the Government to carry out a thorough inquiry into other branches of the Defence Services, and see that the anti-national and anti-Indian elements are completely weeded out of the Services. Complacency on the part of the Government over this matter will amount to serious dereliction of their duty towards the nation. In this connection the suggestion of Pandit Kunzru to have a Defence Committee of Members of Parliament to co-operate and be associated with Defence Ministry becomes more than imperative. Mere assertions by the Defence Minister or the Prime Minister that every thing is rosy in the garden of India carries little conviction. Members of Parliament should know at firsthand the state of efficiency and readiness of our Defence Services.

Side by side with this alarming state of affairs in Bombay Dockyard are the sabotage activities, carried on in other parts of the country, mostly by Pakistan, are another serious menace to the security of the nation. The different bomb explosions at Delhi and in Jammu and Kashmir State are the pointer. The nation has yet to hear that there is an end to these sabotage activities. Some persons have been arrested, we are told, in Delhi and in Kashmir. But what has happened to them is not yet published. Similarly it was stated that there is a large number of Pakistani nationals who have infiltrated into India either without the visas or overstayed their time. And when Police investigations are started these Pakistani nationals are reported to have gone "underground". It is a strange phenomenon that can only take place in "secular" India. What is the meaning that these Pak nationals have gone underground? It simply means that there are "Indian" nationals, willing to give shelter to these saboteurs and Pak agents. And it does not take much intelligence to see who these "Indian" nationals are, who harbour anti-Indian agents. This is a serious matter and a grave danger to the security of the nation in an emergency like an attack by Pakistan. But our Government engaged in

*(Continued on page 11)*

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

Edited by B. S. Sanyal

No. 7

## Full Employment and Monetary Policy

By Ludwig von Mises

*(One of the world's greatest teachers of economics  
refuses here to beat around the bush and bluntly asks:  
Are Labour Unions Desirable?)*

AS the price determined in an unhampered market all those who consider it satisfactory can sell and all those who are prepared to pay it can buy. If commodities remain unsold, this is not due to their "unsaleability" but to speculation on the part of their owners; they expect that they will be able to sell later at a higher price.

It is different when the authorities try to influence the market by compulsion. If the government decrees and enforces minimum prices higher than the potential market prices a part of the supply offered for sale at the official minimum prices remains unsold. This fact is well known. Therefore, if the government wants to push the prices of a commodity above the potential market price, it does not simply resort to the fixing of minimum prices. It rather tries to reduce the quantity offered for sale on the market; for instance, by purchasing and withholding a part of the supply available.

All this applies to labour. At the wage rates determined in the labour market everybody who looks for a job can get it and everybody who wants to employ workers can hire them. In the unhampered labour market, wage rates always tend toward full employment.

Market wage rates rise when the marginal productivity of labour outruns the marginal productivity of capital goods or more simply, when the per-head quota of capital invested increases. This is effected either by the accumulation of new capital or by a drop in the number of workers. An increase in the amount of capital is the result of saving and consequent investment. A reduction in the supply of labour on the market can be brought about by restricting immigration. In the age of liberalism (in the traditional classical connotation) there were practically no migration barriers. In this age of welfarism and unionism wellnigh all governments have either completely prohibited immigration—as for instance USA and other American Republics—stipulated definite quotas. Beyond that, some American unions have tried to reduce still more the number of job-seekers in their segment of labour market by excluding coloured people from some kinds of employments and by rendering entrance into certain branches extremely difficult.

There is need to emphasize that only such "artificial" or "institutional" reduction of the labour supply

makes it possible for the unions to raise their member's wage rates. Their success in raising the wages of their members is won at the expense of those whom they have excluded. These outsiders are forced to look for jobs in industries in which remuneration is lower than what they would have earned in the field that is closed to them.

### EFFECTS OF LABOUR UNIONS

Labour unionism as we know it today is the outcome of a long evolution. In the beginning only a few branches were organised, mostly those with the best paid skilled workers. At that time, those who could not find a job in an unionised industry because wages have been pushed above the potential market height, and thereby the demand for labour had been reduced, were forced to go into ununionised branches of business. Their influx into these branches increased in them the number of jobseekers and thus tended to depress the height of wage rates. The higher wages of the unionised workers brought about a pressure upon the wages of the non-unionised workers. The more unionisation spread, the more difficult it became for those who lost their jobs on account of union policy to find other jobs they remained unemployed. Wherever and whenever the unions succeeded in raising the wage rates above the potential market rate, i.e. above the amount the workers would have earned without union interference, "institutional" unemployment developed as a lasting phenomenon.

As the union leaders see it, the determination of wage rates is the outcome of a struggle for power between the employers and employees. Their interpretation does not realise that wages depend on the state of the market and that the workers who receive the wages from the immense majority of the consumers out of whose pockets the wages are ultimately paid. The average wage-earner considers it unfair that the movie star and the boxing champion are paid a hundred times more than the welder and the char-woman. He fails to see that his own behaviour and that of his kind contribute to this result. An entrepreneur cannot pay any more to a worker than he expects to collect from his customers for this man's performance. Even the most infatuated supporters of the exploitation doctrine are finally forced to admit that at a certain height of wage rates, lasting

unemployment of a considerable part of the potential labour force becomes unavoidable.

The market economy is ultimately controlled by the conduct of the consumers, i.e. by the conduct of all the people. In buying or desisting from buying, the consumer determines what ought to be produced, or what quality and in what quantity; he determines who should make profits and who should suffer losses; he makes rich men poor and poor men rich. The consumers are continuously shifting control of the material factors of production into the hands of those entrepreneurs, capitalists and landowners who are most successful in supplying them (i.e. the consumers) in the cheapest and the best possible way. Thus, in the capitalist economy control of the factors of production is, as it were, a revocable mandate granted by the public. The operation of the market, is a daily repeated plebiscite, assigns to everybody the place in which he has to contribute to the united effort of all and determines the height of everybody's income.

### THE ALTERNATIVE—SOCIALISM

The individual finds it hard that he is forced to adjust himself to the conditions of the market and must forego many of his own wishes and inclinations. However, it is not obvious that the immeasurable benefits that co-operation under the system of social division of labour affords to everybody must be paid for by some sacrifices. Whatever society's economic organisation may be, it must always prevent man from behaving without due consideration for the existence of others. The alternative is the hegemony of the market under capitalism is not absolute freedom, but unconditional surrender to all to the supremacy of the socialist planning authority.

Society cannot do without an institution that channels the available workers into those branches in which they are most urgently needed and withdraws them from those in which there is less need for them. The labour market serves this purpose, in raising wage rates, in expanding industries, and in reducing them in shrinking industries. The alternative is to assign to each man a job by government order.

The tyranny of the labour market is milder than that of the socialist regimentation. It grants to the individual a margin within which he is free to disobey. If he is prepared to put up with a lower income, he can choose vocations in which he can either dedicate himself to his ideals or indulge his inclinations for laziness. But the command of the socialist dictator does not brook contradictions. There is only one method to abolish lasting mass unemployment, viz the return to the freedom of the labour market. Lasting mass unemployment is always institutional. It is the inevitable effect of the enforcement of wage rates that are higher than the potential market rates at which all jobseekers could find employment. It does not matter whether these minimum wage rates were directly decreed by the government or indirectly induced by the fact that the government is not willing to protect the enterprises and the strike-breakers against the violence of the unions. The political power of the unions has succeeded in suppressing the dispassionate discussion of these problems. But it

could not prevent the undesirable consequences of the unions' policies from wreaking havoc. In the twenties, in many European countries mass unemployment became the main political embarrassment. It was clear that these conditions could not continue indefinitely. Something had to be done. Smart politicians thought that they had found a solution. As it was deemed impermissible to antagonise the unions and to tamper with the wage rates dictated by them, they resorted to currency devaluation. England took the lead in 1931. Very soon other countries followed.

For a while the nostrum worked. Some time passed before the unions began to pay full attention to the drop in the monetary unit's purchasing power. But when the index of the cost of living became the main issue in wage negotiations, the monetary method of eliminating mass unemployment had exhausted its serviceableness.

### A NEW MESSIAH

It was precisely at this juncture that Lord Keynes entered the scene with his good tidings, the allegedly new economic doctrine designed to supersede all previous economic teachings, including those of earlier writings of Keynes himself. Following in the wake of the politicians who in 1931 had demolished the British gold standard, and of their imitators he pointed out that "a gradual and automatic lowering of real wages" that results from a lowering of the monetary unit's purchasing power will be less strongly resisted than attempts to revise money wages. But in 1936 when Keynes' book was published, this no longer agreed with the facts.

Keynes' *General Theory* and his later writings are hardly different from the bulk of inflationists literature which for more than a century has flooded the world. Like the authors of all these pamphlets Keynes tries to dispose of all those who do not share his opinions by calling them "orthodox"; he never tried to disprove their teachings rationally. He enriched the prosaic language of diplomatic correspondence by terms borrowed from the messianic jargon of the monetary cranks; for instance, when—in the British document that inaugurated the events which finally led to the establishment of the International Monetary Fund—he declared that credit expansion performs the "miracle" of "turning a stone into bread." But he did not show how to add any new idea to the old, long since entirely refuted and discredited arguments of the inflationists. All he accomplished was to coin a new slogan—"full employment". It became the motto of present-day policies of inflation and credit expansion.

This full-employment doctrine underlying these policies, complete accord with the teachings of the *Communist Manifesto*, declares that the very operation of the capitalist mode of production inevitably generates the emergence of mass unemployment. Unlike the creed of the Marxians it does not, however, contend the return of the periods of economic depression and large-scale unemployment is absolutely inevitable in market economy. It attributes to the State (with a capital S) the power to create jobs for everybody. All that the State has to do is to put more money into the hands of the people and thereby to increase demand. It is wrong, this official full-employ-

ment doctrine goes on to assert, to call an increase in the quantity of money created for this purpose, inflation. It is just full-employment policy. Those "reactionaries" who ramble about monetary stability and the return to gold are depicted as the worst enemies of civilisation, public welfare and the common man.

The climate of opinion in the United States is fully dominated by these ideas. The unions are always in a position to succeed in what are euphemistically called wage negotiations because the laws are loaded in their favour and because the Government is always prepared to use its power to their advantage. (In this regard it does not make much difference whether the Administration is Republican or Democratic.) From time to time unions ask for raises. The employers are forced to yield. As soon as business begins to slacken and workers are discharged, public opinion asks vehemently for more "easy money". After a short period of hesitation the Administration gives in and puts pressure on the Federal Reserve Board.

#### A FEW DISSENTERS

Fortunately the inflationary policy is still seriously resisted by a group whose members are not numerous but conspicuous by their competence and familiarity with problems involved. Among these dissenters there are several eminent writers, a few influential businessmen, and what is worthy of notice, also some members of the Federal Reserve Board. This handful of men do not have the power to put an end to this nefarious monetary and credit policy. Yet their weighty reasoning has in the last year, specially under the Eisenhower regime, succeeded in keeping the inflationary venture within narrow limits. It is the merit of their warning voices that the world's richest country has upto now not embarked upon the pernicious policy of runaway inflation.

The full significance of this success can only be appreciated if one takes into account the vehemence of pro-inflationist propaganda of the university teachers and of "progressive" politicians and journa-

lists. Some of the utterances of these people are really amazing. Thus several years ago the then Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York declared: "Final freedom from domestic money market exists for every sovereign national state where there exists an institution which functions in a manner of a modern central bank, and whose currency is not convertible into gold or in some other commodity." The lecture that contained this statement had the characteristic title: "Taxes for Revenue are Absolute". In the same vein a professor of economics pointed out, in a voluminous work, that the government "can raise all the money it needs by printing it"; the purpose of taxation is "never to raise money" but "to leave less in the hands of the taxpayer".

The weakness of the small group advocating sound monetary policy and fighting all inflationary measures is their clear disinclination to attack the full employment doctrine openly and directly. It is, of course, practically impossible to bring up this issue before the public. There are certainly men with the courage to risk their personal safety or even their personal careers. But there are neither newspapers nor publishers who would dare to publish the doctrines that criticise and reject the institution of unionism in principle.

Even those writers who occasionally expose blackmail and embezzlement on the part of individual union officials, emphasize again and again that they consider the institution of unionism as such, and the policies of the unions, as beneficial to the welfare of the wage-earners and of the whole nation, and that they merely intend to free the unions from dishonest leaders.

At the most recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund there was much talk of the danger of inflation. Well, in order to fight this danger, it is no longer enough to work for a better understanding of the monetary problems. It is no less important to enlighten public opinion about the absurdity of the full-employment doctrine that today guides the conduct of all governments and all political parties.

—The National Review (USA)

#### Editorial Note: WHERE LIBERTARIANS DIFFER FROM von MISES

We are giving the article by von Mises which we consider to be topical on account of plethora of strikes taking place here and there in India. We are not against Trade Unions as long as Capitalists have their associations like Chambers of Commerce, Mill Owners' Association, House Owners Association etc. But Unions should resort to strike only when all the avenues of settlement with the industrialists or the government have proved unsuccessful. Labour should be reasonable and not coercive. Their wages should depend upon productivity.

Ludwig von Mises belongs to the Austrian school of Economics who are orthodox followers of Adam Smith and Ricardo. We do not agree with his fundamentals of "laissez faire" Economy, as it leads to inequality and disproportional distribution.

The real trouble with "laissez-faire" Economy is that it allows accumulation of capital by a few big business industrialists and bankers. The only way by which there can be equitable distribution is for the State to prevent monopolies, privileges and cartels

through which money and capital are accumulated and which give them political power to control the economic life of a country.

We believe that income derived through the unjust class organisations are the causes of unearned income.

Free Enterprise can be feasible only where there is almost perfectible competition and facility in getting easy credit from the Banks only at the cost of administrative expenses and no more.

The other source of inequality is in absolute ownership of land. Land is the production of no human being. It is a natural resource from which we get our living and so it must be made communal or social. By this we mean that no person has a right to own any piece of land, agricultural or residential, big or small which the owner uses or misuses as he likes. The society or the community should be the owner and it should be let out to persons for their residential, industrial or agricultural purposes. They will have to pay tax instead of rent. This tax will entitle the possessor to

(See page D)

# THREE GREAT DECEPTIONS: Last Two Analysed

By William Henry Chamberlin

**I**T is high time to recognize for what they are—great deceptions—three ideas in economics which have enjoyed much support and wide practice in our time.

The first deception was given in our last issue. Here are the remaining two:

## DECEPTION 2: Welfare State benefits are free:-

It is not only from communist states that people sometimes migrate. Since the end of the war, there has been a trickle of outward movement from Great Britain. Among Britons who have made their homes elsewhere is a disproportionate number of persons with above-average earning power, in literature, in the arts, in business.

Since the failure of the intervention in Egypt, the trickle has become a flood and a subject of anxious comment in Parliament, in publications, in cartoons. Day after day long waiting lines of applicants have been forming before the Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand immigration offices. To take care of this rush that exists in Great Britain the Australian government recently chartered eleven liners.

## FLIGHT FROM "WELFARE" STATES

But a movement of some 200,000 Britons to overseas countries seems quite possible. This is causing concern because the emigrants are not a normal cross section of the population. They are, in the great majority, the younger, the more active and ambitious, the more productive.

People migrate for a variety of reasons. No doubt hurt national pride and fear for the future of a country dependent for vital oil on the caprices of Arab politicians helped to touch off the recent rush. But there is also unmistakably an element of flight from the Welfare State.

## WHAT DOES SOCIALISM OFFER?

Here is the case against the Welfare State, put forcefully and briefly by a Mr. Peter Whitby of Manchester, in a letter to the British left wing weekly, *The New Statesman*. Mr. Whitby's viewpoint is more impressive because, according to his letter, he has a working-class background and went to Oxford on a scholarship.

"What", he asks, "does socialism offer to people like me?" And he answers his own question:

"The continuation, with a possibility of some increases, of the present system of penal taxation, which will prevent most of us from making any adequate return to our parents for six or seven years' sacrifice, or providing properly for our own old age, discourage us from marriage and deprive us of any incentive to

(From page C)

have such rights as are possessed by tenants of any property-holder who is entitled to continue in the sole possession as long as he pays stipulated tax similar to what prevails today as 'quit rent'.

This is the solution of land and money problems which we give in short as Libertarians.

Although we largely agree with von Mises we take this occasion to give an idea of how Libertarianism differs from the "laissez-faire" or Collectivist Economy which is not free.

do more than the minimum of work or accept more than the minimum of risk and responsibility."

Not a very helpful psychology for a country that must earn its livelihood in a competitive world. If many Britons feel as Mr. Whitby does — and his voice is far from being a lone one -

## BRITAIN IS LEARNING THE HARD WAY

Britons are learning the hard way that the State, which creates no wealth itself, cannot "give" social benefits. It can only take from some to give to others, as some of the more rugged individualists among British thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer, would have foreseen.

As a result, society becomes divided into "producers" and "consumers" of social security. The former are the abler, thriftier, more ambitious.

## DECEPTION 3: People become richer by expanding the supply of paper money:

Americans are just beginning to understand what Europeans, with more poignant memories of inflation, have known for a long time. A mere multiplication of paper symbols of wealth does not make as individual or a country richer. As wages and prices chase each other up in an ascending spiral, as the cost of everything, from admission to the movies to a college education, moves in only one direction—upward, it becomes clear that something has been added to our economic system. That something is continuous — if so far gradual — inflation.

There was a time when the system was provided with brakes as well as accelerators. Then John Maynard Keynes became the supposedly infallible prophet, and government action — much expanded in the economic field — was geared to the assumption that the only evils to watch out for were those of stagnation and depression.

So one brake after another was removed. The gold standard of currency exchange, the surest automatic check on inflation, was abandoned. Artificially cheap money, with its inflationary possibilities, became a fetish. Big trade-unionism acquired monopolistic powers and used these powers as any other—monopoly would, to force up the price of labour without regard for improvement in productivity. One scheme after another was tried to keep up prices of food and other farm products.

## U.S. COST OF LIVING RISES UP

It is not surprising, in view of these circumstances, that the United States, since the late thirties, has experienced such a continual over-all increase in the cost of living that all former rules of prudent investment have been upset.

Here, then, are the three great deceptions against which constant intellectual inoculation is needed. They are not really new; one can find experiments in socialism and forerunners of the Welfare State in very ancient times. And economic history is full of instances of inflationary soap bubbles. But these deceptions die hard and have been especially prevalent in modern times.

—Condensed from *Freeman*

# REMOVAL OF STATUES

By A. Ranganathan

SINCE Independence, there is a growing tendency to remove statues in an organized attempt to "wipe out the traces of British Imperialism". While it cannot be denied that it provides an outlet for the passions and feelings of people, who have not got anything better to do, it must be remembered that such acts can neither change nor distort history. Mahatma Gandhi once said that he had no quarrel with the Englishman in India, but only with his system. But this idea was completely misunderstood by the "masses" to whom it was explained. There may be a principle involved, in removing a particular statue of a General, whose name is obnoxious to the people. But this attempt to do away with every statue can hardly create racial harmony, which has been the distinguishing trait of India through the ages. The centenary of the great revolt of 1857 was celebrated to satisfy the nationalistic instinct of our people. But it has been interpreted by interested parties as an exhibition of our hatred against the British.

## Dr. Bhagwan Das' Views

Dr. Bhagwan Das, one of our greatest men, has made a significant contribution on this topic, in an article published recently in *The Leader*. In the beginning, he gives us an idea of the general state of our people during his father's generation. It was a sigh of relief, after a period of anarchy. Dr. Bhagwan Das states that when Queen Victoria took over the East India Company, the sentiments of the people were explained in the following lines:-

"Queen Victoria reigns now. It is not the Nawab today. The tiger and sheep drink water side by side."

Apart from this feeling of relief, the period of Indo-British contact was not a dismal one. As Dr. Bhagwan Das points out, we owe to the British, the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and the lovely hill stations of Simla, Ooty, Naini Tal, Mussorie and Darjeeling. The beginnings of the Congress movement can be traced in the dedicated works of A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Gesorge Yule and a host of others, some well known and others not so well known. Who can forget the humanitarian work of missionaries like C. F. Andrews and the efforts of thousands of doctors providing relief to the needy? This does not mean that Dr. Bhagwan Das, or for that matter anyone, is trying to minimise the evils of foreign rule, which no self-respecting people will tolerate.

*(Continued from page 10)*

peddling "co-existence" and "panchashesha" all over the globe is sleeping snugly over this national menace.

Anti-national activities, from whatever sections of the Indian population, have to be put down with a stern hand. Phoney secularism and misplaced consideration for the minorities should not make the New Delhi authorities, even unconsciously, to countenance fifth-column activities in the country. Things in the country have reached a state of dangerous complacency.

rate. As he says "let us remember the good, not the evil". And he even goes to the extent of asking us not to be ungrateful, but to be grateful to the British. Bharata Ratna Bhagwan Das is surely not an "imperialist" or a petty apologist of British rule in India. A great scholar and philosopher, he has been admired throughout India for his intellectual and moral calibre.

It is well to remember that there is the Gandhi Memorial Hall in the London Y.M.C.A. Is it a tribute to "the half-naked fakir" in the land of Churchill? Not many in India know that the Indian mausoleum, which has been raised over Raja Ram Mohan Roy's grave in Arno's Vale cemetery at Bristol, is a place of pilgrimage in England. Surely the British people do not agitate to remove such monuments. It is also forgotten that many of our country men gave voluntary gifts to erect some of these statues which are the landmarks in our country. Instead of frittering away our national energy in such purely negative pursuits, it would be far more useful to the nation if we could erect statues of our great men and historic personages as a mark of respect to the departed. Say a statue of Tagore will be a symbol of beauty and a permanent reminder of the message of human brotherhood. There is a need to erect such statues, to inspire our country men in an effort to rededicate themselves to the ideas enshrined in the deeds of our great men. Let a hundred statues be preserved! Let a hundred statues be erected! India is an historian's paradise. Just as the ancient ruins and the mediaeval monuments are valuable to the historians of ancient India and mediaeval India, the British statues are necessary from the point of view of the historian of British India. The ultimate consequence of this latest tamasha will transform these feelings into a cult of petty-mindedness. And no nation can thrive on such a cult and certainly not our nation with its tradition of "live and let live". Insulting the dead was never a part of our tradition. The sooner we put a stop to it, the better it would be for a mature people like us with a glorious heritage. The present and the future can be made by great deeds; but the past cannot be wiped out by the removal of statues.

## MOTTO FOR INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

THE ownership of land is the great fundamental fact that ultimately determines the social, the political, and consequently the intellectual and moral condition of the people. And it must be so. For land is the habitation of man, the storehouse upon which he must draw for all his needs, the material to which his labour must be applied for the supply of all his desires: for even the products of the sea cannot be taken, the light of the sun enjoyed, or any of the process of nature utilised, without the use of land or its products. On the land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again—children of the soil as truly as is the blade of grass or the flowers of the field. Take away from man all that belongs to land, and he is but a disembodied spirit.

—Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

(Continued from page 8)

As far as humanists were concerned they had discredited the stories relating to the creation of the world, incarnation, atonement, etc. They had regarded tales and theories concerning the origin of caste, creed, etc., as an insult to human intelligence. They had begun to think in terms of human equality and freedom, in terms that span the continents and seas and that cross the boundaries of race, in terms that include the whole range of man's physical, intellectual and aesthetic interests, and in terms of a unified world wherein all activities and institutions exist for man.

#### **The Natural Order**

Humanists believe that humanity with all its faculties is a part of an all-embracing natural order, and that human beings are the highest product of the creative forces of the universe. In other words, human beings have emerged as a result of a continuous process covering countless centuries. They therefore reject the idea of the existence of a being behind or within the fleeting aspect of nature. They feel that the quest for the understanding of the primary origin of nature and the goal of the universe is futile. They assert that the universe is an objective order. It goes its own way without any regard for the human venture, and without any interference from the so-called divine being or supernatural agent. They assert that man being the highest of all creatures can subdue and control all forces of the universe to meet his ends. The scientific knowledge man has attained today strongly supports their assertion.

They also assert that man today is an entity to be reckoned with. The traditional idea of the dualism of mind and body is discredited by them. They further assert that he is an indivisible whole possessing intelligence and forces within him with which he is capable of building up a new world in the growing prevalence of today's scientific endeavours and methods and that he is equally capable of destroying himself and the world in which he lives, by his ingenuity, scientific knowledge and the resources at his disposal.

Science in the hands of dictators and demagogues, they affirm, can destroy the world, but in the hands of an intelligent and social minded generation can remake the world according to the pattern of the heart's desire.

#### **Humanist ethics**

As for the ethics of humanism, it believes that moral values have their basis in the human setting. It is therefore unnecessary to dig for them in a prehuman experience or condition them to a super-world order. Some systems of ethics have been founded on so-called natural law, others on abstractions, such as the good, the true and the beautiful, and still others on the arbitrary will of a super being or beings. Humanists contend that right and wrong, good and bad are based on the needs of human nature and are valued only in a human setting, and that they grow out of human nature and social experience and the interplay of man and the world.

They hold that moral values are experimental and tentative, that there is no short cut to valid ideals, and that no code is a final authority. Ancient laws

had their day and have no binding effect today except in so far as they meet the test of modern experimental living. However ancient and honourable they may be, they are doomed by their own failure to survive the all-important empirical or experimental test. It is therefore unwise for any to be fooled about the infallible nature of their own deepest convictions and their most cherished ideals.

We live in an ever-growing world where, as Bergson the great French philosopher has said, "change alone is constant."

From all this it is plain that the ethics of the humanists is natural and not transcendental, human not cosmic, experimental and not final.

#### **Humanity is our Concern**

As for the philosophy of humanism, it is a theory of life centring in human nature. It believes that a person's philosophy is the outgrowth of his nature and experience. It appreciates the uniqueness of each person's outlook. It does not therefore seek a universally valid cosmic point of view. The humanist is egocentric. He looks upon life through his own window. He is modest enough not to read his own nature and experience into cosmic life.

He regards philosophy as basically personal and as subject to improvement. He affirms that the evolving nature of life is still in the making and that nothing is final or fixed. He takes evolution seriously. To him creative evolution is a fact and not a figure of speech.

Humanism therefore is not to be thought of merely as a method of solving problems of knowledge, but as an attitude towards life, a way of making life rich, full and glorious.

Evidently, humanism evaluates everything in the light of its service to human ends. The primary object of it is to find out what human needs are, how they may best be met, and then meet them. As a philosophy of life, humanism therefore is still in the making.

#### **Religion a Social Product**

As for religion, the religion which humanists disregard, to quote again Dr. Radhakrishnan's words, "is the one based on incredible dogmas which divided man from man, which robbed man of his initiative and supported social inequalities and vested interests."

Humanists view religion as a social product, a way of life, or the natural functioning of a normal person in the effort to achieve a full, a free and a socially useful life in ordinary circumstances. It is loyalty to the values of life and cooperation in the human quest for a good life. The spiritual man, according to humanism, is he who is fighting loyally and courageously for the values of life and he who is cooperating for human welfare and he who is projecting ideals and struggling to attain them and making room for sympathy and love.

The essence of religion is interpreted as the integration of the human personality around and loyalty to the same ideal. It is a religion without a supernatural being. Its tenets are that human needs have to be satisfied, human love has to be fostered, human friendship has to be cultivated, and human, physical and mental requirements have to be met. Intelligence and technique have to unite conscientiously to meet these needs.



(Continued from page 4)

the invader, is immediately accompanied by an assurance that fighting is not our creed, that we do not use arms for aggression against anyone, that our use of the army is Gandhian as in Korea, Indo-China and Egypt etc.

We have to ask why the Defence Minister should be so unhealthily anxious to declare our peaceable disposition. It discourages the army. The army has a distinct, inescapable and indispensable social function to perform, as honourable as any other in society. Indeed its function is strictly basic to the very existence of the nation as a sovereign entity. There is no reason to be apologetic about the maintenance of efficient armed forces.

It is not enough to declare a state of preparedness. The public should be taken into confidence. It is something that Mr. Menon said in Bombay last week that the Territorial Army is intended to be a front line, first-class fighting force. He asked industrialists to help their employees to enlist in the territorial army by giving them time off on full pay to attend training camps.

#### Need Of Arming The Nation

This is not enough. The entire manhood of the country should be trained to take a part in the defence of the country. Civilian defence should be adequate, to release both the regular Army and the territorial forces for front-line fighting. In case of invasion, civilians should be able to resist the advance of the enemy within the country. Sniping, street fighting, guerilla fighting, anti-aircraft gun use etc. should all be prepared for. Older people should know their work in helping the armed forces in assembling arms and transport food and other supplies to the army. Boy scouts can run essential signal and messenger services. Women can help in nursing and hospital work. Doctors can help in first aid and regular medical service to the wounded, civilian and military. But where are our rifle clubs and anti-aircraft guns? To ask the people to be ready to defend the country to the last drop of blood, and to the last man, is sentimental nonsense. We have to prepare to drive the enemy out or defeat him, and finish him if he dares set foot on our sacred soil. There is no use contemplating our decimation to the last man. They have to live and work for the country's safety. Death is an incident, not to worry about if it comes in the course of fulfilling our duty. There is no sense in fighting without attachment to results. We have to fight with devotion to the result of success or victory and the defeat of the enemy.

Instead of saying with faltering accents that our armed forces will give more than they get and that we do NOT use them for aggression, we have to say (and make good what we say) that if Pakistan should dare to attack our land, it would be considered a golden opportunity that unhappy state has been delivered into our hands as the instruments of poetic justice! We should make use of that opportunity to cure her of her war fever and settle our defence problem and secure natural frontiers once for all, through a treaty resembling a Monroe Doctrine filling the power vacuum from Alexandria to Hongkong.

#### Menon's Disturbing Admissions

Mr. Menon's revelations are disturbing. He said that the whole of Pakistan is an armed camp and that Pakistan's air forces are phenomenal etc. But he discountenanced the theory of Pakistan having acquired atomic weapons from the USA. But he did not say whether we are prepared for such weapons if Pakistan should get them and the US should look the other way.

Mr. Menon also revealed that Pakistan is training "Azad" Kashmir people in guerilla tactics but said that India does not wish to imitate her in this respect. Why not? If a hostile force should enter the country, the regular forces cannot be present everywhere. If people are trained in guerilla tactics, they could harass the enemy long before regular forces come into contact and weaken and disperse the enemy. Why taboo any form of warfare? The form of war depends on circumstances and it is the part of wisdom to be ready for all types of conflict.

#### Danger Signals In Kashmir And Goa

Akbar Khan's infiltrators have begun to work in Kashmir as evidenced by bomb explosions and border clashes. What is India's answer? Protests again? This game will not do when the drums of war beat the call to arms. The people will rise against their rulers en masse if they falter and have no answer to the challenge of the enemy.

Along Goa's border, too, we have reports of Portuguese police transgressing into Indian territory and firing on the Indian people. The policy of protests is discredited thoroughly. To ask the poor Goans to fight alone against the oppressor is not a policy. If they fight and win liberty, India will have no claim on the allegiance of Goans. They will become independent, which will be a loss to Indian nationalism.

The real remedy is reciprocity, shot for shot, irrespective of consequences. Once this policy is put into force, both Pakistan and Goan rulers will come to heel. The present policy of declaring beforehand that we shall under no circumstances employ force, either to recover occupied Kashmir or to drive the Portuguese out of Goa, is unwise in the extreme. A vast country like India should have such prestige that even Big Powers should be chary of infringing her rights. Force is a necessary part of a nation's prestige. In these ten years, India has lost all opportunities of developing such prestige.

#### A Lost Opportunity

When India took the initiative in calling an Asian Conference to reinforce the freedom claim of Indonesia, Americans expected that India would declare a Nehru Doctrine on the lines of the famous Monroe Doctrine. The Indian doctrine would have claimed a sphere of influence from Cairo to Hongkong. If we had pursued a more discerning policy, with greater understanding of real-politik, we could have got our way. We could have prevented American Arms Aid to Pakistan and prevented even the formation of SEATO. We could have filled the vacuum ourselves, as Chester Bowles and others hoped we should do. Our present policy is one of hugging weakness and despising force which will not bring any dividends in international relations.

# Oman, Oil And The Imam

By B. S. Sanyal

---

**A** VERY complex situation prevails in Oman.

To clarify it, we may as well begin with its geography. It is a part of Muscat, and Muscat stands at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The topography is simple to the point of an oasis but rich in oil. The hot desert climate with its maximum 114° F. and less than 10" rainfall makes it a sultry summer, with a vapid touch when it rains. The flora is what you don't see; even the cows eat fish. Even the fauna eludes the eye; mutton and beef are rare dishes. But you get lots of date and fish, enough to buy you foreign exchange.

The human geography lends a motley grace to the non-human part. The Sultan claims Turkish descent; the natives are Arabs; the Indian merchants are mostly Sindhis and Gujeratis. Besides, there must be a handful of British and Americans in the key-positions. Are there any Russians? The Arabs are a conservative stock of Muslims. The Indians must be god-forsaken Hindus. And the Europeans, the white men, are good Christian democrats. But communism has cast its shadow: look at the militant nationalist Imam and you get an idea of it.

## Here Hangs The Tale

The economic geography may be spelled thus: untapped oil deposits. And here hangs our tale which is political.

It is a poor state as all Asian states are. But the tapping of the oil gives them the hope of prosperity. Who will do the tapping? Britain had done the prospecting. She has had excellent relations with the Sultan of Muscat. Of course, with some influence over him. But then Britain deserves it. She has given Muscat the following things: aerodromes, a post office, a branch of the cable and wireless company Ltd., military advisers, help in organising customs, finance and currency, and, above all, an enlightened ruler in the Sultan. The Americans have given her the only hospital she has.

The Sultan is a man westernised in habits and is pro-West in his views. The Imam of Oman, Ghalib Bin Ali, does not like the Sultan. The Imam is a religious head, shaves his moustaches and grows a beard. But the Imam, though, may have nothing against the Sultan on dress and appearance. The Imam is a nationalist and does not like the intrusion of Britain in Oman affairs.

On appearance, all sympathies may well go to the Imam. But that can only be on a superficial understanding. For the Imam is pro-Soviet, as all Asian nationalists are. The Sultan is pro-West as a matter of policy, in the economic interests of the nation.

Soviet Russia supports the Imam. This is natural enough. The Russian aim is world empire, and the Imams are a necessary and integral part of her infiltration. The Imam being a nationalist is another Nasser.

A nationalist inevitably creates a power vacuum. Besides, the Imam is pro-Soviet, as we said. Soviet Russia, with characteristic snakiness, cannot miss this excellent opportunity to smear the West. That is what she is up to now, and has already called attention to "British aggression in Oman."

## The Position of Britain

Britain's position is difficult and must be appreciated. She has at her stake mainly oil interests. She has sunk crores of £'s into the geomorphology of Oman. Oil means very life to Britain. Under the circumstances, she is willing to do anything to keep the Sultan in his place. The Sultan is agreeable to this, for it is good, both politically and economically. Britain's legal position is safe. For she has been invited by the Sultan to suppress the Imam rebellion.

But the U.S. is not sure of anything. The U.S. wants, on the one hand, to check communist expansion and, on the other, to be in the good books of the Arab countries. The Arab countries are divided over the issue, which makes it worse. Some favour the Imam and others are all for the Sultan. America could side with Britain and the Sultan. That would be the obvious thing to do. But that would mean estrangement with some of the Arab countries. America is probably right. She does not wish the issue brought before the U.N.

India, as usual, commits her characteristic blunder. Nehru has criticized the action of the British and placed our sympathies at the disposal of the Imam.

The expression of concern that India has sent to Britain hardly breathes the spirit of neutrality or non-involvement or non-alignment. It is acknowledged that legally the Imam is subordinate to the Sultan but that any claim for independence that he may prefer now is dependent on the degree of practical autonomy he has been exercising in recent years. But it is reliably surmised that stimulation from Saudi Arabian assistance and encouragement has not been without influence in his defiance of the Sultan. When issues are legally so clouded and when Egypt and Syria, known to be pro-Russian are backing the Imam, Indian action cannot be absolved from the charge of being pro-communist and un-neutral. Also, why should India take sides in the quarrel of Arab with Arab? And if India can be said to have an interest in Arab friendship, why should she choose the side opposed to the West?'

## FALLACY OF EQUALITY

No doubt all the trees in the forest fundamentally have equal rights and privileges. But they don't all grow to the same height, and it would seem rather foolish to cut the tall trees down to the level of the lesser ones to satisfy the theoretical demands of an unnatural formula.

—Freeman.

## Second 'Jallianwalla' Under 'Non-violent' Congress Raj

**F**IVE hundred and sixty Satyagrahis—out of about about 1000 then in Punjab jails—were recently moved to Ferozepur Central Jail. The "Malva" area in Ferozepur District is notorious for its criminal tribes which keep beard. The jail is full of dacoits, murderers and life convicts of sorts. Shri Algurai Shastri, M.P., and General Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party told the press in Ferozepur that he was convinced that the Satyagrahis had been deliberately sent to Ferozepur Jail for this pre-planned massacre of men in custody.

There is no truth in the press reports that there was a quarrel over a broken stool. On the morning of the 24th WITHOUT ANY RHYME OR REASON, some 250 murderous convicts descended on the Satyagrahis, armed with fire wood, charpai sides, iron bars etc. The Satyagrahis were engaged in their morning ablutions, bath or prayers. They beat Satyagrahis on the head shouting: "So, you want to learn Hindi? All right learn it"—as a thunderous blow broke the skull or arm, ribs or collar bones.

One Satyagrahi was in the privy. They pulled down the W.C. and left him senseless with seventeen wounds on his body. Sunder Singh, Sikh leader of the Satyagrahi batch from Dehra Dun, had his right arm fractured in three places. Hemraj, Satyagrahi from Kangra, was running high temperature, something like 105. Dr. Verma was examining him. Pat

came a rib smash for Hemraj, and a head crack for Dr. Verma.

Sumer Singh, 26, was an M.A. he was a great idealist had declined to marry, and had proposed to spend his days in the service of the Mother. He was reading the "Satyarth Prakash", when he was struck on the head. Before he had time to realise what had happened a rain of lathis left him in a pool of blood. Later when his end seemed near they sent for oxygen equipment from the local Civil Hospital. When oxygen arrived they did not know how to apply it. Before advice could be sought from the Civil Hospital, Sunder Singh had breathed his last—in the service of the Mother, so soon!

When Kairon's killers had left, 372 Satyagrahis were found badly mauled, 60 of them with one or more fractures. These figures were supplied by Dr. Thappar IN WRITING. Five days later after the "Second Jallianwalla" only 39 of the 60 serious cases had been admitted to the Hospital and X-rayed. The rest lay on the jail floor, unable to cry in the extremity of pain, hovering between life and death.

The three distinguished visitors asked to see the 26 convict "officials" who had been alleged to have been injured. The Jail authorities COULD NOT NAME OR PRODUCE, EVEN ONE! The visitors also noted that the PRIVATE PARTS of the Satyagrahis HAD BEEN THE SPECIAL TARGET of Kairon's killers.

"M" in the *Organiser*

## Our Foreign Policy\*

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

**T**HE fall of Sheikh Abdullah and his henchmen in positions in the administration was followed by the meteoric rise of Communism in Kashmir. The communists in Kashmir are the virtual rulers today, though nominally they share power with the Bakshi group. For the first time in Kashmir's history, the communists are approaching full possession of the citadel of power. However, they confuse people by shouting down anyone who dares to expose the communist machination in the State as "communalist", "Reactionaries" and "American agents." Kashmir under its present rulers is a growing menace to India. When the communists muster sufficient strength in the State, there is every possibility of Kashmir developing into an Indian Yenan, affording to the Communists in India a vast land base in contact with Communist China and Russia. Kashmir will then become a base of operation for the "liberation" of both India and Pakistan. The geographical proximity of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Soviet Empire, which includes Red China, makes it imperative to be vigilant

about men and matters in that State. Foresight now is better than regrets later. In the interests of India and Pakistan as a whole, we must undertake a bold and unconventional approach to the future of Kashmir.

### Goans Betrayed

It is now nearly nine years since we achieved Independence and it is really a matter of shame that free India has not yet been able to drive out the Portuguese imperialists from Goa. We just cannot understand what exactly our Government's policy towards Goa is. On one hand, we are told that Goa is a part of India and that the liberation of Goa is the concern of all Indians. On the other hand, we are told that Goa must be liberated by the Goans themselves. Again our Government maintains that Indians have every right to enter Goa to offer satyagraha, but then it does not favour mass satyagraha. While our Government allows individual satyagraha by Indians, individual satyagraha by Congressmen is not allowed, as if Congressmen were not Indians.

If neither "Police Action" nor peaceful Satyagraha is the Congress way of liberating Goa, we would like

\* This is the concluding part of the article. The previous parts appeared in our issue of August 1 and September 1.

to know what other alternative the Congress contemplates for the liberation of Goa. Even our economic blockade of Goa has failed miserably in view of Pakistani's support to the Portuguese.

Salazar, the Portuguese Prime Minister, has said categorically more than once, that he is not prepared to discuss with our Government the question of transfer to India of the sovereignty of the Portuguese territories in India, that under no circumstances would Portuguese quit Goa without a fight. How can a dispute be solved peacefully when one of the parties to the dispute repeatedly says that the dispute cannot be solved peacefully and rules out any possibility of peaceful solution of the dispute?

#### **PATHETIC**

The distinction that our Prime Minister makes between Goans and Indians is pathetic. If Goa is a part of India, we fail to understand why this distinction should be made between the Goans and Indians, thus lending support to the argument of Salazar that Goa is not a part of India but belongs to the Portuguese. If the Goans are not Indians, it is not the business of Prime Minister to talk of the Liberation of the Goans at all.

If the success or failure of a country's foreign policy is to be judged from the point of view of its national interest and security, our much-boasted foreign policy has failed miserably. While our Government goes about solving "International Problems" which do not

concern us in any way, it has failed to solve our own disputes with neighbours.

Whether it is Kashmir, Pakistan, Goa, or Ceylon in which case the Nehru-Kotelawala pact resulted in the banishment of lakhs of Ceylonese of Indian origin contrary to all decent international usages in the matter of citizenship rights, it is because of our craze for international prestige, fame and name, and our policy of looking at every issue from the "international angle" and in the interest of "international peace", that we have failed to solve our disputes with our neighbours. Our international fame has not helped us in any way to solve the problems of Goa and Kashmir. Our foreign policy appears to exist to solve the problems of other countries and not our own. As Dr. Lohia says, our foreign policy is the "glittering gilt of imaginary achievements."

India must adopt a foreign policy in accordance with her moral professions and from the point of view of national security instead of the present adventurist foreign policy in relation to the cold war which endangers her national independence. The paramount objective of our foreign policy must be to secure our national independence, our national culture and our democratic set-up, and so priority must be given to our defence. Our foreign policy must be based on reciprocity in accordance with our national issue; due respect and consideration must be given to the views of opposition parties, learned men and experts.

## *Book Review*

### **TECHNOCRACY: NORTH AMERICA'S ONLY SOCIAL DYNAMICS**

- **Technocracy Digest**—1166 W. Georgia St., Vancouver 5 B.C., Canada.
- **The North West Technocrat** — Vols. 186-7; 2208 Eighth Avenue, Seattle 1, Washington.
- **The Technocrat** — 8113 S. Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles 44, California.
- **Technocratic America** — No. 146; 16439 Harvey Dr., Fontana, California.
- **Technocratic Briefs** — No. 28; 2208 Eighth Avenue, Seattle, Washington.
- **Technocratic Trendevents Research Bulletin** — Nos. 74, 76, 78-80; 8113, South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles.

**A**S we know, hundreds of years ago, human toil was the only available means by which man could acquire control over his environment and survive. His production was limited; his working day was from dawn to dusk. Eight

men working on a twelve hour day shift were required to spade one acre of soil. Scarcity prevailed and the emphasis, always, was on eking out an existence on producing enough to survive. There were no means to change the rate of doing work, and this resulted in the stagnation of the social and economic conditions. Man's finite capacity limited his standard of living to mere existence, and confined his problems to production for survival on a more or less individual basis.

But in recent times, the advancement of science and technology has been transforming life with an ever-increasing velocity and it has proved itself to be an incredibly powerful revolutionary force. It has metamorphosed life.

The use of extraneous (non-human) energy has taken man's nose off the grindstone. A new kind of slave has taken over the

old slave's jobs by the millions. These new slaves are very different from the old. They neither buy nor consume the goods they produce; there is no limit to their working hours; they do not tire, and they can accomplish things the old slaves never dreamed of or thought possible. The new slave is the kilowatt-hour; the old slave is the man-hour. Man works less to produce an abundance. When man did 98% of the work he did not have enough goods and services; now, when he does only 2% of the work, he produces so much that he does not know what to do with it (under a price system, of course).

This problem of abundance has become baffling to North America. Price system, believes Technocracy, would break down miserably under new conditions created by automation. Consumption of the people is not increasing in the same proportion as mass-production.

Technocracy alone has a programme for the scientific distribution of abundance to all the citizens of North America. Techno-

cracy examines the various social and technological trends in North America to-day which point to the —necessity for a new social mechanism that will provide security and abundance, with a minimum of working hours to every citizen of that Continent.

Technocracy is a broad concept, embracing all socially significant factors of physical science—its application through engineering which produced our modern industrial growth, the effects of technology on the price system, and a study of human behaviour. It provides a basic frame-work of factual knowledge to which an individual can add by class and individual study. It develops a social perspective in this manner which is not easily available anywhere. The person conversant with the tenets of Technocracy becomes increasingly capable of entertaining and understanding the Design of Technocracy which provides answers to the many problems created by technological revolution in that Continent. The central task of Technocracy is to equip the individual mentally to understand vast and sweeping social changes now taking place in North America.

Technocracy believes that America has embarked on a one-way journey on a fast express and there are no stopping off places and no changes of direction. That is why Technocracy professes to provide a programme of social and economic reconstruction which is in complete intellectual and technical accord with the age in which we live.

Finally, it would be correct to point out that Technocracy lays great emphasis on merely the technological aspect of everything. It ignores the cultural and political implications of the technological revolution that has now pervaded the entire North America. It does not provide a solution to the problem of unemployment which would assume alarming proportions due to automation in North America. It ignores the impact of this technological revolution in North America on the international area. It does not analyse the impact of the break-down of the Price System in North America on the world market. Anyway, it has some informative value in that it educates the public about new ideas.

C. S. Sheth

## Indian News Parade

### NO PARTISAN ATTITUDE BY U. K. AND U. S ON KASHMIR

NEW DELHI: Latest indications from the United Nations are that despite Pakistan's bid for an early debate the Jarring Report will not be discussed by the Security Council until the last week of September.

There are also reports that United States and the United Kingdom might not adopt a bellicose and provocatively partisan attitude.

All that the Security Council might do is to put forward an affirmatory resolution with a view to maintaining the status quo in Kashmir rather than side with Pakistan or India.

India all these years followed a conciliatory policy in the larger interests of Indo-Pak amity, is now left with no other alternative except to play tough and confront Pakistan with its inescapable guilt of aggression and annexation which cannot be publicly justified by the Big Powers, even in the context of cold war politics.

—Times of India

### EMERGENCY BILL PASSED IN KASHMIR

SRINAGAR: The Legislative Assembly today passed the Bill to amend the Emergency Provisions Ordinance.

The Bill empowers the Government to take action against any person in possession of a prejudicial document or film without valid excuse.

Premier Bakshi in supporting the Bill said that there was a large-scale infiltration of saboteurs across the cease-fire line. In the circumstances the Government had to be armed with adequate powers.

—Times of India

### CPI'S SUPPORT TO KASHMIR DISSIDENTS EMBARRASSES THEM

SRINAGAR: The Indian Communist Party's full support offered by A. K. Gopalan at a public meeting in Amballa to the National Conference dissidents, led by Ghulam Mahomed Sadiq, has "greatly embarrassed" the Sadiq group. It feels that nothing could have better established the group's ties with the

Communist Party move clearly than Gopalan's support even before the new party has actually been formed.

Some of the group's important workers have described Gopalan's pronouncement as "unfortunate" and "ill-timed." —Times of India

### "ORDERED" DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

KARACHI: With the National Assembly session commencing tomorrow, President Mirza has amended the Rules of Procedure which reflect on the conduct of the President and Provincial Governors as distinct from the Government of which they are the heads.

—U.P.I.

### POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK

NEW DELHI: The Communist Party of India has accused the Catholic "oligarchy" in Kerala of a conspiracy to subvert the communist Government in the State by "unconstitutional, undemocratic and violent" means.

The Secretary of the Kerala State Communist Party, who made this allegation at a press conference, said that attempts had been made by the Catholic leaders to bribe two MLAs of the communist bloc to absent themselves from the State legislature during the discussion of the Education Bill.

He alleged that three communists have been murdered and an attempt made on the life of the communist Education Minister.

—Times of India

### PAK ELECTIONS FURTHER POSTPONED

Karachi: Pakistan's Election Commission in a statement rules out the possibility of holding the first General Elections in the country before March 1958, as was promised by the Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy.

The three-man Commission, which a statutory body, without naming the Government, blamed it indirectly for not passing the necessary legislation to start the preparation of the electoral rolls in time to hold the elections next March.

—Reuter

## MR. R. B. LOTWALLA ADDRESSES HOSTEL STUDENTS

### *Advocacy Of Libertarianism*

A meeting of the students of the R. L. Trust Hostel and the R. L. Trust Research Department was held at Arya Bhuvan on 8th September when Mr. R. B. Lotwalla presided.

Mr. M. V. Balkrishna Rao read his paper on Silvio Gesell and his Free Economy programme. He said: "Gesell's Free Economy has the twin wings of Free-Land and Free-Money, presented each in a two volume set-up. In the Free-Land proposals there is the recommendation, in favour of communal ownership of land. Also, Gesell introduces his ingenious complementary theory of Free-Money, a money which could not be hoarded. It is a depreciating currency according to an officially determined rate (about 5%)

Mr. Rao raised two likely objections to Gesell's proposals (a) hoardability is a confused term, more psychological than economic, (b) depreciating currency does not distinguish between units of currency or price or purchasing power of money.

In fine, he said, "What remains of Gesellian Free Economy is the land reforms with institutional set-up which keeps them running."

#### ADVOCACY OF LIBERTARIANISM

Mr. Lotwalla then addressed the audience. It was almost a thrill to watch the veteran thinker raise himself to a remarkably stiff height and talk. As might have been expected he went off at a tangent, but did not miss the point which was anti-monopoly capitalism, which the Libertarians advocate. "This is the fundamental problem which socialism altogether misses," he asserted. "The problem is monopoly which is the cause of all evil. If monopoly could be eradicated, the capitalist economy would at once be free and socialism and other totalitarian programmes would be superfluous," he concluded. Mr. Lotwalla was opposed to mixed economy as ultimately it will swamp private economy.

"Mr. Lotwalla is one of the most

remarkable men I have had the fortune of knowing," stated Mr. Hemendra Shah in his concluding remarks. "I remember him as he was in his youth. He was a virtual addict to books, and used to read almost every book he could lay his hands on." Mr. Shah however, advocated mixed economy, but here his arguments were feeble.

Mr. Lotwalla, answering questions, pointed out the fallacy in Mr. Shah's thinking. Mixed economy meant public sector and private sector. The public sector always expanded at the cost of the private sector. This tendency was universal and could not be checked.

Answering another question, Mr. Lotwalla said that the Kerala communists were an instance of the anti-democratic activities in India. The communists were anti-demo-

crats and it was unconstitutional for India to permit them to form a government.

The impression that I gathered at the meeting was not happy. The tendency in the audience was pro-Marxist to some extent. The audience appeared to be smug and it was impossible to shake them by off-hand speeches. Mr. Sanyal discussed with several members of the audience and was deeply pained with the dogmatic attitude of most of the participants. The sense of decadence in the cultural milieu has already set in and a despondent air assailed the writer.

Mr. Sanyal, in his discussions with the members, defended the view advanced by Mr. Lotwalla regarding Kerala communists. The major argument that Mr. Sanyal was confronted with was of the liberalist carrying his liberalism too far.

The meeting lasted for nearly two hours. After a vote of thanks to the speakers, the meeting terminated.

Kishore Valicha

## DEMOCRACY IN WORKING

### PROF. HEMENDRA SHAH ADDRESSES R. L. HOSTEL STUDENTS

Prof. Hemendra Shah, MA., LLB, Superintendent, R. L. Trust Hostel, addressed a gathering of students on "Working of Democracy" in India in the R. L. Trust Hostel on August 23. He began by pointing out that democracy is not new in modern times. It existed in India as long back as twenty-five hundred years.

Democracy in England originated with the nobility, the learned and the privileged gentry. The concept underwent tremendous change, until we come to the modern concept, where the full rights of the citizen are protected and where the individual is given full liberty to live as he likes. Democracy is not just political and economic, but social and religious as well.

Reviewing democracy in India, the Professor remarked that the so-called donated freedom would not last long. "That we have survived for ten years is self-evident truth that our freedom is not donated. The Indian Constitution emphasises the social, economic, political justice. Intellectual freedom, equality

of opportunity, the dignity of the individual, and the unity of the nation are duly stressed. They are the five pillars on which the democratic government is based. Government is not an algebraic formula that one can get solutions as one wants. The people get the government they deserve. It is the people of the country on whom depends the success or failure of democracy."

#### CRIMES IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY

Many crimes are being committed, continued Prof. Shah, in the name of democracy. In modern days many crimes are committed in the name of the people. The people have to imbibe the power of tolerance and the spirit of discipline and the sense of responsibility.

Many a time the people have to correct their leaders. In the recent experiences in the General Election in India, the people did show some political maturity. Exceptions like the Preventive Detention are necessary for liberty may be restricted when the safety and security of the

larger people is concerned. In British democracy, things like these will not be tolerated by the people. The indiscriminate firing is another feature of the wrong perpetration on the people by a democratic government.

Besides, our leaders have cut themselves off from the associations and with the common people. The sense of simplicity and dignity of work, we have to a great extent, forgotten.

Prof. Hemendra Shah also pointed out that the sense of integrity in the government was not beyond doubts. What is necessary is that justice should be done; there should be no shrinking and pretending here. The standards of justice are different for the government and the governed. It is necessary for the proper working of democracy in India that those who hold the reins of the government must be, like Caesar's wife, beyond all doubts.

Thus, the Professor concluded, if the working of democracy is to be successful, we must be vigilant about it, for eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty but of democracy too. Then and only then will democracy be safe and successful.

---

## Letter

To  
The Editor

---

### A QUESTION FOR M.P. TO ASK IN LOK SABHA

Dear Madam: Saving a few lacs of rupees by 10% cut in Ministers' salaries is a cruel mockery of the starving people when crores of rupees are vested in name of development and planning.

It should be noted that for all the plans and projects necessary, grants are made in the budget during March, but the actual amount reaches to the respective department as late as or even later than November. The amounts involved are crores of rupees which must be spent before next March falling which they would lapse. The result is the spending spree and a colossal waste of public money.

### AUSTERITY OR SPENDING SPREE

To squeeze more money from the Treasury, all such institutions like Khadi & Village Industries Commission, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Social Welfare Board and Community Project Department employ high salaried publicity officers, statistic experts and persons who are past masters in playing confidential tricks to extract money from the Government. The Khadi Commission has got a mill-owner as its secretary, who sees that crores of Rupees are squeezed from the Finance Ministry for their fantastic schemes. For the year 1956-57 alone it has been able to get sanction for more than 13 crores of which about Rs. 4 crores is for the Amber Charkha programme. In order that the grants do not lapse at the end of the Budget year, they staff their department with such persons, who have only one qualification, namely to spend the money within a couple of months and could show the accounts to satisfy the Audit Department.

### DOWN THE KHADI DRAIN

For instance the Khadi Commission's secretary was able to extract about Rs. 4 crores for its Amber Charkha scheme. As usual, the

amount was sanctioned in March 1956 but the actual money reached to the Commission in about November and in order to spend this huge amount within a few months, they have started to manufacture Amber Charkhas in thousands. This charkha is not a simple thing, but a complicated machine which requires seasoned wood in its manufacture. But since the main aim of the Commission was to spend the money in the shortest time possible, they used any type of wood that came to hand and the charkha costing more than Rs. 100/- becomes useless within a few months. The public is told that so much money was spent over the scheme and so many thousands of Charkhas were manufactured. However the public is kept in the dark as to how many thousands of charkhas are rendered unserviceable every month.

This is the shape of things with almost every scheme and plan and the public is misled with cooked-up figures and asked to tighten its belt to pay heavy taxes. In his way there is colossal waste of public money, and the people come to know of it too late to mend matters. Is it austerity or spending spree? Will some M.P. raise this question in the Lok Sabha?

*Pro bono publico*

## A Competition For Our Readers

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Editor,  
Indian Libertarian,  
Arya Bhuvan,  
Sandhurst Road,  
Bombay 4.

# The Duncan Road Flour Mills

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to:

THE MANAGER  
DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS  
BOMBAY 4

Telephone: 70205 Telegram: LOTEWALLA

Agents at Poona

LALDAS AMARSEE & SONS,  
437, Raviwar Peth,  
Poona—2.

Telegraph add: 'STELLATEA' Telephone: 2468

Before making any of your  
INSURANCE CONTRACT  
kindly consult:

**Bhaichand Damodar Esq.**  
BOMBAY — CALCUTTA

*A successful and immense underwriting is  
done since 20 years with cent per cent  
competency and sound experience.*

Telephones:

38081/38082  
Bombay

6181 City  
Calcutta

A BOOK IN A THOUSAND

*Very Frank and Correct  
analysis of Political  
Trends in Asia*

## THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

BY DR. RALPH BORSODI  
*Chancellor of Melbourne University*

Price Rs 15

*Concessional Price of Rs 12 to Members of the  
Libertarian Social Institute and to the Subscribers of  
"The Indian Libertarian"*

Available from:

Libertarian Book House  
Arya Bhuvan Sandhurst Road  
Bombay, 4.

READ

## THE FREEMAN

*The American Journal that advocates  
FREE ECONOMY*

AND

LIBERTARIAN PHILOSOPHY

Copies Available from:

The Libertarian Social Institute,  
Arya Bhuvan,  
Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Price: Rs. 1/- per Copy

Annual Rs. 12/-.

### MAIN CONTENTS OF JULY ISSUE

Freedom Manifesto  
Socialism at its Best  
The Price System  
Governed by God

U.N.—Competent only  
for Mischief.  
The Right to Work  
Duty to Interpose