# The Indian Libertarian

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Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Rationalist'
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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# EDITORIAL

## REGIONALISM VERSUS NATIONALISM

THE recent debate in the Parliament and Rajya-Sabha on Assam was highlighted by the speeches from the Government side, as also from the opposition members, strongly denouncing regional and linguistic parochialism that was fast replacing the national sentiment, so much in evidence during India's fight for freedom against the much maligned British. But none of the speakers seemed to have given much thought to the root cause of this malady. Most of the Congress party speakers including the Prime Minister, who roared and thundered against Provincial chauvinism were naturally hesitant to search their own hearts and reassess the doings of the present ruling party in the light of the recent tragic happenings in Assam and other parts of the country. Even the opposition members appeared to speak with all the weight of a guilty conscience. They were too painfully aware that their party members also had played not an insignificant role in the tragic Assam drama. This accounts for the pious and time-worn platitudes indulged in by the speakers about national unity being endangered.

There is no effect without a cause. If the sense of national solidarity has been rudely shaken and endangered, the fault must lie in the manner in which the country is at present governed and administered. The Sanskrit adage 'Even as the rulers, so are the subjects' holds equally good in this case. The people of Assam in the recent riots against the Bengalis, have exactly behaved after the pattern set before them by the rulers of the country as a whole, since the dawn of Independence in 1947. Drunk with the wine of power and authority, the Central Governmental authorities and their Provincial counterparts have been doing things and taking decisions in all vital matters, administrative, economic, political, etc., in 'a cavalier fashion' as Mr. C. D. Deshmukh so aptly put it. Economic changes of a far-reaching character have been introduced without forethought and foresight; state Reorganisation mainly on a linguistic basis was embarked upon, against the better advice of elderly statesmen, just to catch votes in the General Elections and to retain political power; Hindi was sought to be imposed upon the unwilling non-Hindi-speaking areas in the name of narrow and short-sighted patriotism. The English language which, among other benefits of the British rule, has played a major part in cementing bonds of a broad cultural unity among the diverse peoples of India and which, in the words of Rajaji, 'is a natural protector of all the fifteen languages of India' is being branded as the language of slavery. In doing so, the leaders of the nation have set at naught the warnings given by those who knew better, that the example set by Hindi fanatics would be faithfully followed by the linguistic fanatics of other regions and that this policy would surely lead, in the end, to linguistic chaos and social disintegration that we witness today throughout the country. Assam is only 'A symbol and warning'.

The Congress leaders were actuated in all these ill-con-

ceived policies by the sole idea of keeping themselves in power even at the cost of national unity. Even, now, after the Assam tragedy, they refuse to learn the right lesson. It cannot be denied that there is a method in this madness of Congressmen. They are loth to look these problems squarely in the face. The Elections are drawing near and they cannot afford to displease their party workers, by ordering an immediate judicial enquiry into the Assam riots. They are perfectly aware that some leading Congressmen in position and power, are themselves involved in this ugly affair. The 'appropriate time' for such an enquiry according to Mr. Nehru and his cabinet colleagues, will perhaps arrive only after the elections, when they are again safely installed in their dynastic 'Gadi'—throne. Till then, all the piteous pleadings of a Kripalani and fervent appeals of a Kunzru, that the Government should arise above all petty party considerations and should treat this affair as a part of national problem, and set about seriously devising proper ways and means of bringing about emotional integration of the whole country, would surely fall on deaf ears. Our rulers know fully well that in the next elections, passionate but chauvinistic slogans of 'Rashtra Bhasha' (national language), 'Pradeshika Bhasha' (regional language), 'Down with English', 'Assam for Assamese', and above all 'Gandhi-Nehru-ki-Jai' will bring richer dividends than rational and sound acts and policies in the present. Is it any wonder that under these conditions, while regionalism prospers, nationalism decays?

## "EXPLOITATION" TO BE THE SOLE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT

During the debate in the Rajya-Sabha on the draft outline of the Third Plan, Mr. Nehru in his characteristic self-complacent mood, patted himself and his Government on their doctrinaire but out-dated socialist approach towards the economic planning of the country. The forthright criticism from the members of both the Houses, particularly from the Swatantra Party leaders, Mr. Masani and Prof. Ranga and Praja Socialist Leader, Acharya Kripalani, of the tendency of such plans to regiment the whole life of the nation, and cripple individual initiative and free and private enterprise, provoked our Prime Minister to indulge in a full-throated denunciation of the private entrepreneurs and businessmen, as a set of people who claim 'The freedom to exploit others and to make vast sums of money.' He therefore demagogically sounded a note of warning to those who thus stood in his way of ushering in this country a socialist heaven and made some alarming observations amidst the cheers of the faithful herd in the House. He went on to say 'It does take away their freedom and we intend to take away their freedom increasingly. I hope the time will come when even the existing freedom to exploit will be taken away.'

This kind of threatening language has a familiar ring about it, found in the utterances of communists dictators like Lenin and Stalin. The super-dictatorship of the Socialist State, with its deadly grip on the toiling masses of the country, is described in the communist literature as the most effective means of ending exploitation of man by man. This ideal, fondly cherished by some intellectualists in the first flush of the Russian Revolution, in the beginning of this century, is fast losing its shine and glow. Nowhere in the free and democratic world, this brand of socialism, with its accent on state-Trading, nationalisation of industries, collectivisation of agriculture, and heavy industries, is fashionable and popular. Socialism itself, is in full retreat among the socialist parties in Western Europe, and it is being increasingly realised that modern capitalism is essentially democratic and tends to distribute economic power and gains of industry among different groups spread over a vast area, while socialism concentrates all power and benefits into the hands of the bureaucratic state, thus endangering the fundamental rights and freedoms so far won by men after a hard fight. It has been proved to the hilt, that Russia despite its spectacular progress in nuclear science and air-space travel, would not be able to reach, in the near future, even the level of the material progress made by such small capitalist countries like Switzerland and the Netherlands.

Yet our Prime Minister chooses to think in terms of old ideas and shibboleths and pounces upon those who honestly criticise his pet plans that have so far failed in actual performance as apart from their promises. Mr. Masani during the debate in the Parliament pointedly declared that he was not opposed to Planning as such, but he was anxious that the present generation should not be sacrificed for the sake of a bright future which may or may not arrive even a century hence. But it must be remembered that the economic Planning as conceived by Mr. Masani would be of a different variety. It would not choke up or suffocate the people but would give them at least 'a breathing time' as demanded by Acharya Kripalani in the Parliament. This pattern of Planning would "simply mean forethought, consistency and rational provision for contingencies. But it does not cover the growth of political decision at the expense of economic calculus." (Prof. Ellis quoted in 'Shortsleave Economics' by Mr. Paton). Let our Prime Minister re-


**The Indian Libertarnai**

*Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs*

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

*Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month*

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

*Subscription Rates:*

Annual Rs. 6: Half Yearly Rs. 3

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Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25.

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

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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

examine therefore his theories of State-Trading and Controls and socialisation of industries and agriculture in the light of the latest experience and knowledge of the subject, if he be really honest and serious about promoting the cause of individual fredeom and liberty in the country. Otherwise he is sure to lead the country on to the path of slavery and selfdom under the iron heels of an all powerful monopolistic and dictatorial Government.

## THE CONGO DEBACLE

The Belgian Congo became a free country on June 30, 1960. But unfortunately, within a week of this happy event, internecine quarrels between the tribal chiefs made their appearance in the country. These differences were composed and a composite government was formed with Mr. Kasavubu as the President and Mr. Patrice Lumumba, as the Prime Minister. With no well-trained military officers, experienced administrators and trained technicians, this newly won freedom was itself in jeopardy. Added to this confussion, was the lamentable lack of political sagacity so much in evindence during the last few months among the leaders of the new State. Being disgusted with the obstinate attitude of the Belgian troops in the matter of withdrawing from Congo, the Prime Minister threatened America and the United Nations that if they did not act quickly in the matter, he would even seek military aid from Russia. Russia true to its tradition, was not slow in fishing in these troubled waters. She threatened to intervene and even send Russian volunteers to the aid of Congo Government against the Belgian troops and also against the separationist Katanga leader, Mr. Tshombe. Scenting danger to international peace, the United Nations resolved to send its international force to Congo with orders to maintain law and order in the land without interfering with the internal politics of the country.

But this constructive approach of the United Nations was not perhaps to the liking of Russia. The civil war going on between Katanga province and allied territories on the one hand and the Lumumba's Government on the other, presented a golden opportunity to Russia to show its profuse sympathies for Lumumba and his Government as against the other fighting chiefs, who were characterised by her as agents of Western Imperialists. There is also a serious split in the Congolese cabinet. The Prime Minister and the President have dismissed each other but Mr. Lumumba seems to command the support of the Parliament and the army, though one could not say with certainty how things would take shape in the near future in the country. Bue Russia's tactics are likely to lead to a cold war in this area. Mr. Eisenhover, the President of America, has entered a strong protest against Russia's supplying air-crafts and other weapons of war to the Congolese Government, in violation of UNO conventions and agreements. Mr. Lumumba in his desperate attempt to maintain his position and power, has sought not only the Russian aid but also has demanded the withdrawal of United Nations forces from Congo. This has disturbed the international political situation and also the activities of United Nations in bringing order and peace to the land. The United Nations forces have rightly taken certain strong security measures such as controlling the Leopoldville Radio and closing various ports to non-UN personsel. This may lead to a virtual control of the United Nations over the whole Congo territory till things settle themselves peacefully in the country.

Mr. Lumumba will also be well advised in this situation to keep his equanimity of mind and favourably consider the proposals of disarmament of all non-UN military units and $100 million aid fund to be given to Congo by the United Nations, made by Mr. Hammarskjoeld. The Prime Minister, it is hoped, will realise even at this late hour, that the stability of Congo and peace of the world are closely linked up in the context of the present world situation and both could be ensured only through the United Nations.

## C.P.I.'S WAGON HITCHED TO MOSCOW AND PEKING

The C. P. I. is never tired of protesting vehemently against the charge that its policies are dictated and shaped from Moscow or Peking and it can never take an independent line of thought or action. Though the Communists will never admit this fact, the C. P. I. executive council's recent resolution on the international situation and relations between communist and non-communist countries, has once again shown that its Wagon is always hitched to Moscow or Peking. Otherwise the C. P. I. would not have taken such a long time to come to the conclusion that in the matter of Chinese aggression against India, China is the real aggressor. The resolution is reported to have supported Russia's international policy of peaceful co-existense of different ideologies and political systems. The C. P. I. seems to have ultimately adopted this line because of the impending elections in this country. The communists are now afraid that if they support China at this stage, they would be swamped out of political existence in India. Therefore non-communists need not allow thmselves to be beguiled into the belief that the Indian communist party and international communism have changed their tactics of bringing about a proletarian revolution in the world even by force, if necessary. It is possible that after the elections are over, our Indian communist friends might transfer their allegiance to China at the proper moment. The recent resolution points out to this one important fact that the Indian communists always draw their inspiration and take their orders from either Moscow or Peking and the Indian public will always do well to bear this in mind.


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**LINGUISTIC CHAOS**

**(Our Language Problem in Perspective)**

**By**

**A. RANGANATHAN**

*Published by:*

**The Libertarian Social Institute,**

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

**Price: 25 nP.**

# The Challenge of Assam

**By M. A. Venkata Rao**

THE June-July Assamese-Bengali conflict is the sharpest challenge to Indian statesmanship that has emerged after the advent of independence. All the problems involved in building a stable and progressive modern society and state are thrown out by these sorry incidents in glaring and even gruesome form. They demand urgent re-thinking from the foundations on the part of Pandit Nehru and his ruling group as well as on that of all educated people in all parts of the country The very *destiny* of the country as a whole is implicated in the problems thus arising out of the holocaust in the north-east. It is difficult to say that the intelligentsia has been seized of the crucial and far-reaching nature of the clashes between Assamese and Bengali in Assam. Matters seem to have been left as usual to Nehru and Congress leadership to settle. But there is abundant evidence that the crisis has matured precisely *on account of the failures of leadership of Nehru and Congress*, if it is too much to say that it has been made by them. The analogy with Partition is fairly close in regard to the responsibility for the catastrophe.

It is necessary therefore for all groups and individuals everywhere in the country to reflect on the issues involved in a radical manner so that public opinion may rise equal to the occasion and serve to guide the vital decisions to be taken to heal the malady and prevent its recurrence. If solutions are arrived at by means of widespread discussion, *good* may come out of *evil* as the resultant remedies will prove more strongly rooted in deliberate thought and decision. The crisis is comparable in the demand for bold and fundamental action to that facing Abraham Lincoln of America in the civil war of 1864. If adequate solutions are not reached in time here, events may drift into a situation when only a civil war waged with determination can save national unity. Already many warning voices have whispered the possibility of Balkanisation, what with Nagaland, Punjabi Suba, Dravidastan etc raising parochial demands.

The major issue confronting the country's statesmen is how to restore and strengthen the *feeling of national unity* in the Assamese, Bengalis, hill tribes (and the Muslims many of whom cherish ambitions of assimilating Assam into Pakistan.)

The first factor operating to strengthen parochialism in Assam is its geographical *isolation*. East Pakistan covers the entire area north and south between West Bengal and Assam leaving only a narrow strip in the north around Kalimpong and Cooch Bihar. There are very few Assamese living in other parts of India. Sikhs, UPians, Bengalis, Beharis, Marathis, Gujeratis are found in most parts of the country. But Assamese are rare. They do not seem to have half the adventurousness of Keralans or Punjabis or Gujeratis. Nor do we hear of Assamese in Africa, Malaya or Indonesia. One reason is that there is plenty of virgin land available in the State and the fertile soil yields rich harvests for little trouble. The upper classes therefore have had little incentive to develop the strenuous virtues needed for a progressive people. Except for the Oil industry largely in foreign hands (so far as employment goes), there is no industrial development worth speaking of. The Five Year Plans do not seem to have roused local people to any programmes of constructive effort. They seem to be content to use the Central funds for patronage and service and easy contracts on old lines. The politician has been content to live off the fat of Central Funds and to retain power in his own group and keep rivals at arm's length.

The effects of isolation in such a social situation are to breed irresponsibility and inertia, greed and narrowmindedness.

Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and NEFA share in this climate of isolation and display similar traits betokening a *closed mind*. Indian statemanship has here a first class mission of modernising an area virtually from scratch. All the qualities of colonial adventure—self-reliance, readiness to take risks in opening up jungle land and hill tracts) capacity to live alone or in small groups in primitive country (and so on) can be mobilised. Internal colonisation comparable to the opening of a new country in the United States in the early centuries of its founding (or now in remote areas of primeval forest in Brazil and in Africa) is urgently called for.

But this aspect of progress has not made any impression on our Planners who are dominated by the urban inspiration of Pandit Nehru whose imagination is taken up with industrialisation on the Russian model. The Marxists are notorious for their ignorance of and hostility to land development. Their notion of agriculture and rural development is determined by the idea of mechanisation on the factory plan. In fact they want to abolish rural areas altogether and urbanise the whole country—township linked to township without the interval of villages with their own sociological characteristics. Pandit Nehru's Plans follow this industrial and technological or mechanical bias. It is consequently the greatest defect of his grandiose Plans that they do not envisage the creative use and resettlement of forest areas which are so abundant all along the *terai* or Himalayans foothills and plains from Kashmir to NEFA. Most of this area (some hundred miles breadth and about two thousand miles in length) is virgin land thick with forests but sparsely inhabited. Just as some beginning is being made in reclaiming virgin territory for the benefit of Bengali refugees in Dandakarayana, a much vaster Plan of internal colonisation can be inaugurated in this part of the country. This will serve the purpose that is served in Russia by Siberian lands and in the United States by the moving Frontier in the previous century. Such a development will solve our food problem once for all as well as

offering abundant industrial raw materials. Paper, fruit, timber, food grains, jute, coffee tea, cocoanut, areca, nut, rubber, pepper and other spices (for plenty of land is similar to Kerala, the home of spices) and innumerable industrial units can be fostered in these areas occupying all the scattered population in wholesome productive activity. Sturdy hill tribes will offer besides excellent fighting material for the armed forces. They can be made to stand against the Chinese aggressors with excellent prospects of success. The Ghurka is not the only tribe with martial qualities in these border areas.

The Assamese educated classes can all be absorbed in nation-building activities at different levels of entrepreneurs, organisers, managers, officials, estate workers and the higher professional occupations of doctor and teacher and technician.

The present conflict is primarily one for job opportunities. That is how the trouble began with threatening letters addressed to the new officials who came to man the Oil Refinery offices. They were man-handled by Assamese, and *were not discouraged* by the opposition politicians and even by the Congress party men!

The outlook of these elements was so primitive that they expressed a preference for the *postponement* of industrialisation until Assam could provide trained personnel for her own projects! They wish to reserve their State for development by Assamese at their own pace and in their own way without the participation of other parts of India! There is something of this feeling in all provinces but in Assam it exists in classic form. Orissa and Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and parts of Madras exhibit the same limited horizon, which is a function of isolation, frsutration and the consequent inferiority complex.

A number of changes in the governing philosophy of nation-building is called for if the situation is to be mastered and made safe for progress and democracy.

The first thing is of course to make clear beyond the shadow of doubt to the Assamese (and the people of all other States) that *the national homeland is one and indivisible.* The formation of linguistic provinces *do not confer any absolute sovereignty* to the inhabitants over their State lands traversing national citizenship. The whole country from the Himalayas to the Seas (*chaturanta mahim*, as Kautilya puts it) is the joint national patrimony of all citizens who are equally entitled to settle, acquire property and live *in any part of the country* without special permission or restrictions in favour of local inhabitants. The secret of the phenomenal development of North America in the conquest of their Frontier and the initiation of progressive conditions lies in the *large area of free competition* without barriers of trade restrictions or taxes or land ownership reservation. Such a policy would release faculty and stimulate competitive construction on a colossal scale. Just as adventurous, hard-working men and women streamed into America in previous centuries in their millions and built its prosperity on the foundation of creative agriculture (mastering forest and mountain and floodrivers), the new Plans among the entire Himalayan tracts will attract adventurous, hard-working, ambitious people from all over India —from distant Kerala as well as from the crowded Gangetic valley and semi-desert Rajasthan, if the right conditions are offered by the administrations. A multipurpose, multi-State Plan can be prepared with plenty of room and stimulus to private capital and private initiative. Half the resources of the Third Five Year Plan so far adumbrated should be diverted to such a Himalayan Plan. It will serve agriculture, employment and the military porposes of the nation as well as releasing the minds of the isolated peoples of these interior regions. Assam is a typical region offering these opportunities for creative reconstruction from virgin conditions. The Assamese could employ themselves in happy and strenuous nation-building activities both within and without Assam. Being accustomed to the climate and geographical conditions which are similar over wide areas, they could offer leadership in this high and absorbing endeavour, instead of trying to maintain isolation and reservation of Assam for themselves as if they were a separate nation by themselves.

The linguistic reorganisation of States and the introduction of the Federal Union Constitution in 1950 (with but little foresight into fundamental issues) have created the dangerous feeling of sub-nationalism breaking out into full sovereign nationalist in the States without exception.

From the very first day, it was found that the States demanded high prices for any lands required even for Central Government purposes and many projects were postponed pending negotiation between Centre and State!

Pandit Nehru several times remarked in dismay that the States behave as if they were separate sovereign Nation States! But as usual he was not strong enough to take measures to scotch the perilous idea with appropriate Constitutional Amendments. Even if the total abolition of States is not called for, it is necessary to secure that the *Centre has the last word in all subjects*—concurrent as well as those reserved to States. It should have the right and power of *review* over all local legislation and executive action, even as the Supreme Court has authority over State High Courts in legal matters.

*National citizenship should be fundamental and paramount, unrestricted and undiluted by State restrictions.* There should be no laws of domicile hampering movement and settlement of nationals in business or administrative service anywhere in the country.

Also, the whole country should offer a region of free trade and movement of capital and economic endeavour for all citizens whatever the place of their origin. Instead of reaping the inestimable advantages of a vast unitary administration left to us by the British, we are introducing the narrow restrictions of petty sovereign states to the great detriment of enterprise and spontaneous development all along the line. This development would be vaster and closer to the consumption needs of the people than the artificial planned projects with their extreme centralisation and hampering effects on trade and manufacture, flow of investment and stimulus to saving.

This is the *second line* of reorientation in Policy that is required in addition to reorientation on national citizenship over-riding State claims for reservation and exclusive power.

The Assamese have tried in the present barbarous holo-

caust (with all its repulsive features of attack on women and children and wholesale arson) to drive out the Bengalis, Bengali Hindus in particular. East Pakistani Muslim, Assamese Muslim and Assamese Congress and PSP dominated—Hindu have all collaborated in different ways and degrees in plotting and carrying out this vast Pogrom against the Bengali and other elements. This resembles the Pogroms against the Jews that European States have engaged in at intervals throughout the centuries, of which Hitler's extermination was the last.

Another drastic policy step that should be taken without delay is to trace out (with absolute impartiality) the conspirators and instruments of this tremendous Plot. The blood of the innocent and the tears of women should be avenged with thoroughness and a sense of sacred justice. It is what the Government and people of Nationalist India owe to these injured fellow citizens of ours. If the Central Government should fail to secure this elementary justice without fear and favour, it will have failed in its duty. It will forfeit its claim to direct India's destiny any longer.

To secure such justice, it is necessary that the Government of Assam should be dismissed. President's rule should be in being when the investigation proceeds. This is essential since Ministers and high officials have been impugned. They will intimidate witnesses and make it impossible to book influential culprits if they should remain in power and office. Nehru is likely to shirk this for fear of losing the support of Assamese Congress! This is his characteristic Defect that has landed Congress and Administration into such a sorry state of Corruption.

What guides him in such crises is party power and personal ascendancy and not national good and far-seeing statesmanship. Public opinion should therefore make itself felt and *keep him straight*, as in the matter of resisting Chinese Aggression. In this connection, it is a good thing that the West Bengal Assembly under the leadership of Dr. Roy the Chief Minister has passed a Resolution (unanimously) calling on the Central Government to institute a judicial enquiry presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court without delay and to arrange for *adequate punishment* to all found guilty directly or indirectly. The problem should be solved once for all so that similar outrages may not occur anywhere, in Assam or other States.

It has been pointed out by observers as well as sufferers that the issue is not merely one between Assamese and Bengali but really and fundamentally *one between national citizenship* and *provincial claims and assumptions of full sovereignty*. These claims and assumptions should be decisively and categorically trounced and denied and widespread propaganda and re-education of the people in the final rights of full national (all-India) citizenship should be undertaken by the Central Government and political parties.

The tragic events have demonstrated another vital truth. It is *that cultural unity and homogenity are not enough by themselves to serve as a stable basis for political unity*. The Assamese and Bengalis belong to the same Indian or Hindu culture, except the Muslims who belong to Indian Islam. The bond of fraternity between Assamese and Bengalis should in the nature of things be stronger than those between Assamese Hindu and Muslim. It should be natural and easy for Assamese and Bengalis to function in a single State and administration *as members of one society*. There should be a *consciousness of kind* or affinity between them strong enough for national life and political functioning on equal terms suffered with fraternity.

But it is a notorious fact that such cultural affinity is *not strong enough* to withstand the stress of group interests, *if they are linked to economic advantages*. In this case, job opportunities and political prestige and power have stirred notions of linguistic separateness and claims to self-sufficiency. This is the result of the great evil of linguistic States. It can be counter-acted only by reverting to a decisive measure of Central Domination in law and Constitution—an approach to Unitary Government with only permissive and subordinate government power to States as in the British regime.

Socialism and extreme centrallisation of economic power has deprived local groups of economic initiative. Economic decentrallisation should go hand in hand with political centrallisation. But the foundations of *free society* and *free-economy* realising individual initiative are vital instruments for realising the new Orientation called for by the situation.

Pandit Nehru has again criticised the Communist Party of India for not feeling like *Indians* but transferring loyalties to foreign Governments. He should take measures for *Indianising* all people in the country through proper administrative and constitutional changes and policies.

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## ECONOMIC CONTROL IS ALL-INCLUSIVE

"The authority directing all economic activity would control not merely the part of our lives which is concerned with inferior things; it would control the allocation of the limited means for all our ends. And whoever controls all economic activity controls the means for all our ends, and must therefore decide which are to be satisfied and which not. *Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life, which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends.* And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for".

F. A. Hayek,
"Road to Serfdom."

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## THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

'The general welfare as such is not my welfare, but only the extremity of self-denial. The general welfare may exult aloud, while I must lie like a hushed dog. The State may be in splendour while I starve.'

—Max Sterner.

# Our Pseudo-Peace Merchants

**By M. N. Tholal**

IN order to help the reader realise the gravity of the offence of the present regime in its handling of the Assam problem, it is necessary to recapitulate in brief the happenings there. The Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen's reports on the disturbances in Assam have not been made public, presumably because they were too damaging to the Congress Ministry of the State, but in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha on September 2, Mr. Sen said that they had seen the worst facet of chauvinism on the soil of Assam. The most unfortunate part of it was that the students were in the vanguard of the movement. Not even a strong Government, according to him, could repair the breach that had taken place. "One has to see the damage done during the riots to believe it," he said. "Village after village has been destroyed. Thousands of people have been rendered homeless.... The pattern of the disturbances was uniform everywhere. Violence was directed not so much against the lives of the people as against property. In most cases the people were given sufficient warning to flee. The young men came in buses and trucks to destroy the houses. The destruction was carried out more or less in semi-military fashion.

## MR. NEHRU'S CONFESSION

According to Pandit Pant and Mr. A. P. Jain and others, the people who have suffered were the Bengali-speaking people of the Brahmputra Valley who had not objected to, indeed approved of, the Assamese being made the official language of Assam. So to call the disturbances "language riots" is misleading, although they may have had something to do with language.

The Prime Minister himself admitted in the Lok Sabha on September 3 that "the Administration had collapsed." The Assam matter, he confessed, "has troubled and disturbed me more than anything else, I think because it was bad and because it was a symbol of evil, a symbol of weakness, of failure, of disruptiveness, of narrowness of mind, of incapacity to function together and a tendency to go to pieces." (Nevertheless he was opposed to a thorough inquiry before he was compelled to agree to it by the resolution of the Bengal Assembly and the frankness of some of those participating in the debate.)

Since Mr. Sen's report was too damaging to the cause of the Congress Party, a Parliamentary Delegation to Assam was envisaged, so that Parliament may have something to discuss, beyond the reports of the much-maligned Press. The choice of Mr. A. P. Jain to lead the delegation was unfortunate. The delegation, to carry any weight, should have been headed by a non-Party man of calibre. Mr. Jain is, if anything something more than a party man. He is a groupist. In the U. P. he belonged to the Kidwai group and was one of its most active members. As every one knows, groups are generally formed with an eye on the loaves and fishes of office. Thus from provincial Parliamentary Secretary Mr. Jain became a Central Minister. And a Central Minister out of office is likely to exploit such opportunities to ingratiate himself with the bestower of offices. There is nothing to shop in Mr. Jain's performance that he approached his task with a national frame of mind or a judicial outlook. As the *Statesman* puts it, "Though the major responsibility of the Congress Party is admitted, the recommendations seem designed to cause that Party as little harm as possible." In taking their cue from the Prime Minister regarding the needlessness of a thorough and comprehensive inquiry, the Jain Delegation was only trying to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister. The motto of Mr. Jain's *guru*, Kidwai, was "Strengthen Nehru's hands" and Mr. Jain seems to be following it. The reward for such open groupism and partisanship—which Mr. Nehru ceaselessly condemns—should not be long in coming.

## A TELL-TALE LETTER

As if the selection of Mr. Jain as leader of the Delegation was not enough, Mr. J. N. Hazarika, Parliamentary Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, wrote a letter to the Prime Minister. He not only wrote the letter but he passed it on to the Press also. Though no objection can perhaps be taken to his writing the letter, even though the contents had nothing to do with his job in the External Affairs Ministry, the publication of the letter at the same time must be considered objectionable in the extreme. Would he have dared write the letter, and publish it too, if its contents were at variance with the opinions held by the Prime Minister? The answer is obvious. He would in that case, and properly too, have been told it was none of his business and sacked. But he too was trying to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister, and rules and regulations have no meaning when it is a question of strengthening Mr. Nehru's hands. Indeed, the highhandedness of the performance has led commentators in the Capital to assume that the letter was written as well as published at the instance of the Prime Minister.

Said the letter in substance that no inquiry commission on Assam was necessary as enough facts had become known through the Prime Minister's personal survery and the reports submitted by the Congress President, Mr. Asoke Sen, Mrs. Gandhi and the Governor of Assam. More facts were being brought by the Parliamentary and A.I.C.C. delegations. He also opposed Central intervention at that stage and suggested that the entire responsibility for law and order and rehabilitation should "be left to the good sense of the people of Assam and their State Government." He even went further and said that, but for the exaggerated reports, no fresh trouble would have occurred after

the Prime Minister's appeal to the people of Assam and Bengal. After witnessing performances like these, one is apt to regret that the system of awarding titles to those who distinguish themselves, like Mr. Hazarika, should not have continued after British rule. Mr. Hazarika would easily have got an "H.S.", i.e., Hand Strengthener.

Mr. Jain, the main hand-strengthener during the Assam debate, was being simply ridiculous when he said in Parliament that it was for the political parties to have an internal probe into the causes of the disturbances. What does he expect the political parties to do? Condemn themselves or the other parties? The answer is obvious. Indeed, the Prime Minister, in condemning the PSP after his tour of Assam, set the example for the other parties. The kind of probe suggested by Mr. Jain could only result in each party condemning the others with no benefit accruing to the country. As for the argument that a general inquiry would worsen feelings in Assam and hamper rehabilitation of refugees, surely revelation of facts should induce a sense of shame and repentance among the guilty and their supporters and make rehabilitation possible on firmer foundations. If this is not likely, then all that need be said is that men guilty of crimes and abetment of crimes deserve to be dealt with a strong hand.

There is a method in the madness that has overtaken the Congress Government in facing the gravest crisis in the country since independence. They are afraid of the truth and they do not want to face the facts because they feel the process will besmirch the name of the Congress in Assam. They fear that if they deal with a strong hand with those who took part in the anti-Bengali agitation, the latter will only be left free to indulge in their communal activities and thus become more popular than Congressmen. The time has come to show these charlatans and claptrappers that this kind of thing will not pay henceforth. If this is not done, the Congress Government will only be tinkering with the problem and allow the miscreants to lie low for sometime and bide their opportunity. Indeed, the ghastly tragedy demands a high-powered probe with a view to evolving a national solution and finding a national remedy, and a man like Acharya Kripalani would appear to be best fitted to undertake the task without regard to the prestige of the Chaliha Ministry which, to all appearances, is craving aloud for a sack and replacement by Presidential rule. Indeed, those who are determined to back the Chaliha Ministry for all they are worth cannot be said to be keen on the rehabilitation of refugees or even on improving feelings in Assam. But all Congress eyes are on the next elections and the national good is again being sacrified to Party ends. That is the one plain fact that emerges from the debate on Assam.

## PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION REPORT

The Parliamentary Delegation was appointed by the presiding officers of the two Houses to make an assessment of the present situation, suggest measures for its improvement and propose steps to prevent recurrence of the recent happenings. It gave its finding against a thorough inquiry —which alone ran uncover all the forces responsible for the disturbances—because those forces include an incompetent Congress Ministry and an equally incompetent Central (Congress) Government which did not realise its responsibility in the matter until late in the day. As Dr. Gaur says in his minority report, the Assam Government lacked "both courage and policy to stand up to the onslaughts of powerful chauvinistic elements." The Central Government was naturally reluctant to interfere with "our own men." But for the reprisals from "our own men" in Bengal, even the inquiries which have been conceded would not have been promised.

Indeed, the report looks up to the guilty men to solve the problem. It suggests that the Pradesh Congress should convene a conference of all political parties in Assam, including the Communist and Praja Socialist parties, and work out a common programme for the restoration of normalcy. "We hope that if a correct approach is made," says the report, "it would be possible to work out a common programme." Thus the Parliamentary Delegation, even after a tour of Assam, is entirely unaware of the fact that the political parties in Assam were working out a common programme of arson and loot!

But was the Parliamentary Delegation really unaware of this salient fact? Or was it only pretending? Let us have a good look at the Delegation's tribute to them all The political parties, the report says, were all divided on the language issue. Some members of every political party took active part in meetings and processions and demonstrations, but "all the political organisations—how nice and decent of them!—"had frequently recorded their disapproval of arson and looting. Nevertheless, "the report proceeds to point out, "the situation went completely out of the hands of the political parties who were unable to control the violence, arson and loot." How formal their disapproval was, is evident from the succeeding sentence which lets the cat out of the bag. "It is hardly possible to believe that all public workers were ignorant of the actual culprits, but so far as we are aware," says the report, "only a few have come forward to help the police to apprehend the offenders."

The Parliamentary Delegation was more diplomatic than the Prime Minister. It saw that to charge a party or the other parties with the responsibility for the Assam disturbances, as Mr. Nehru had done, would be to invite counter-charges and strengthen the case for a thorough inquiry. The Delegation hoped that the other parties would swallow the bait. But they were reckoning without that valiant patriot, Acharya Kripalani.

About three decades ago, a sudden communal flare-up in Kohat lasting barely three days and involving four or five deaths and a few dozen cases of arson, made Mahatma Gandhi condemn the British rulers of the day in the following words: "Like Nero the authorities watched and danced when Rome was burning." If the Mahatma did not consider any stick good enough to beat the Britishers with, and if his condemnation was just, does not his remark apply with greater force to his present-day followers in the context of the magnitude of the two disturbances? Besides, it is worthwhile comparing the severity with which the non-violent agitation of the Akalis has been handled and the softhearted manner in which the arson and loot and murder by the Assamese has been dealt with both, by the State Government and the Central Government. What

is the reason for this discrimination, except that the disturbers of peace in Assam were mainly Congressmen?

### WHAT IS THE ARMY FOR?

Mr. Nehru said he did not understand what the Central Government could have done in these circumstances. Some one had asked why the Army was not allowed to spread out and why it was allowed to function under the civil administration. That really meant, said the Prime Minister, "Why did you not declare martial law and hand over the whole province to the Army?" That, he said, was a possibility "which did not strike us, because we do not think in terms of martial law." He added, "I do not think martial law would have made any immediate difference because the Army moves in special ways."

"The Army moves in special ways," is a very vague statement and does not mean or convey anything. When the administration collapses, as on Mr. Nehru's own admission it did in Assam, there is nothing left to do but to hand it over to the Army. The only alternative is handing it over to the rabble and the rioters. The Central Government realised it and that is why the Governor, a former Chief of Staff, was asked to take over. But that was not enough. The mere declaration of martial law would have immediately sent the rioters back home. An Army plane machine-gunning the trucks loaded with rioters roaming about, destroying houses would have been enough to quell the disturbances at once. What was wrong with it? The Central Government does not think in terms of martial law, not even in terms of Army planes being used to prevent further loss of life, looting and destruction of houses. It holds the lives and property of citizens cheap. It thinks that the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution are not meant to be enforced. That is the only conclusion to draw from Mr. Nehru's statements. What is the Army for, if it is not to take the place of the police when the latter is unwilling or unable to function?

The truth is that the Congress leaders think only in terms of the Congress, in terms of the Congress returning to power after the next elections. That is why, instead of congratulating the sections of the Press which brought home to the country the magnitude of the tragedy, it is threatening imposition of restrictions on the Press during emergencies, because some newspapers allegedly indulged in exaggeration or slanting the news! An attempt seems to have been made to suggest that the Press was responsible for the tragedy!

So it comes to this that the only way to put a stop to the disturbances did not strike the Prime Minister or the Home Minister because they have a "peaceful" mentality. It is this pseudo-peaceful conflict-breeding mentality, cultivated for propaganda purposes, which is at the bottom of India's troubles. The Assam Government's policy statement issued on August 30 contains the people's interpretation of this mentality. "The idea that there will be no effective punishment for crimes committed," says the statement, "is unfortunately entertained by some sections of the people." It might have truly said, by almost all sections of the people, and the idea acts as incitement to violence and arson and loot. More than that. The impression is abroad that Nehru bows to violence. No wonder partriots are found lamenting the death of Sardar Patel. No wonder Churchill once summed up Indian leaders in the words: "Men of straw."

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# Some Reflections on The Language Controversy

**By A. Ranganathan**

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MR. FRANK ANTHONY had characterized the President's order relating to the official language as "clearly in breach of the specific assurance given by the Prime Minister to the non-Hindi speaking peoples." However, the situation took a serious turn when the "Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Party" of Madras threatened to stage a demonstration against the President. It was fortunate indeed, that the D.M.K. had ultimately withdrawn their decision to organize a demonstration against the President. Because this catastrophe (demonstration against the President) had to be averted, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, told the Madras Legislative Council that further assurances were given by the Prime Minister in a Press Conference and also in a letter addressed in reply to a letter written by a member of the D.M.K. Party. Mr. Subramaniam also added that the Home Minister gave an assurance on the floor of the Lok Sabha and the President also referred to this matter when he addressed a meeting in Madras on Auguse 15, 1960. Sir A. L. Mudaliar, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University observed that he was not in a position to reconcile himself to the view that the assurance of the Prime Minister and the order of the President were not in any way different. Dr. Mudaliar also emphasized that they should politely tell their friends that inspite of the assurances given from high quarters, Hindi was being imposed in many other ways. "The question of language", Dr Mudaliar stressed, "is not merely to be considered from the point of view of sentiment, but it has to be considered from the point of view of the present age, the plans we have and the development process that all of us think of."

In his statement to the Press, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari welcomed the Prime Minister's statement that "English will continue almost indefinitely till such time as the non-Hindi people want to change it." And C. R. elaborated his point further by stating that "it is the Mangna Carta

for the non-Hindi people" and made the following observation. "The Prime Minister's assurance should now go into a Parliamentary resolution for future guidance if not into a regular Act: or the President's order should at once be amended by adding this assurance, which admittedly is not inconsistent with it and which is a clear and new principle of great importance and worthy of being officially incorporated in the Order."

To be frank, the implications of the President's speech on Independence Day at Madras were far from reassuring. His main thesis was that the protagonist of English in the South ought not to impose Hindi on them (North Indians) just as the North won't impose Hindi on the South. As Mr. Philip Spratt has commented, the argument has taken a form of specious impartiality. It is necessary at this stage to reproduce the brilliant editorial comment of Mr. Spratt in *Mysindia* on this question: "Do not compel us to use English, says the President. That is not the plea of a patriot, but of a sentimentalist. He deliberately chooses the less useful instrument, although he has the more useful one at his command. . . . The President's bargain does not mean what it says. It says that the North will not impose Hindi on the South, but the other half of the bargain implies that that is exactly what will happen; the North will impose Hindi on the South. It will not be done, with the bludgeon, as it were, but it will be done. The north will retreat into mediaeval monolinguism and commanding a majority of the electorate, will eventually drag the South after it. That is what the President's fair-seeming speech meant. No wonder the students are agitated. With due deference, it must be pointed out that the charge of 'Hindi Imperialism' is not against the person of the President, but it is an expression of genuine resentment regarding the present state of affairs. What is needed is a clear assurance, free from any kind of mental reservation. In his reply to the President's Independence Day Speech, Rajaji has made it clear that "there is no reason of fairness in the counter-claim which the President thought fit to add to and neutralize his assurance to the non-Hindi people."

It is also unfortunate that our leaders have not yet realized the role of English as the language of Indian Unity. The recent riots in Assam have clearly demonstrated that the unity of India is a thread which can be snapped easily. Mr. C. Subramaniam pointed out that the Constitution provided for the use of the State Language and gave power to the State Legislature to take the decision, thereby implying that Tamil would become the language of the courts in the State of Madras in due course. If this happens in every State in India, we would be having several Indias! The creation of linguistic states is the biggest blunder committed by the Congress Raj in India since most of our troubles have stemmed from it. One can only hope that in the interests of the future unity of the country, our politicians do not succeed in imposing Hindi and the respective regional languages on the people. Some time ago, Mr. Nehru stated that English constituted the major window on the modern world. However, it looks as if our politicians would spread the 'Khadi' curtain (made out of Hindi as well as different regional patterns of linguistic fanaticism and political atavism) over this window.

# The Menace from the Communists

**By S. R. Narayana Iyer**

OUR Prime Minister on 18th August stated in the Rajya Sabha that the members of the Communist party are "roaming about on the borders carrying on a campaign against India" and that its paper "has been carrying on a propaganda, which is not only unpatriotic—that is a vague word—but a most anti-national campaign." He has also wondered how party men have "so much lost their roots in the country as to be unable to understand things." These are extraordinary words coming from the Prime Minister of an ancient country like that of ours, which had, thousands of years ago, put before the people the ideal that "Mother and Motherland are greater than heaven itself." Is our Prime Minister helpless against persons, who betray our country's interests, merely because a general election is coming within two years? He has not even expressed a warning to such modern Mir Jaffars that the Government would come down on them. His inaction makes the Communist leaders to misdirect those masses, who are under their influence. I have come across a number of Labourers and some educated persons stating that this position of our Prmie Minister shows that he is not sincere in his attitude towards China. They also point out that the paper, "The New Age" gets a lot of help from Governmene's patronage to its Printers; and that our export to China of sacking material and Hessian also prove their statement. I think we, the ordinary citizens, who are not politicians and who, however, suffer most on account of the blunders of our politicians, have a right to know where our Prime Minister and his Government stand in this matter. The frequent statements by Communist leaders that China has not committed aggression and that the land occupied by China does not belong to India, also make us very apprehensive of the future of our country. It is clear that the silence and inaction on such activities by the Congress leaders make us suspect that to get a name and fame in the Communist countries they will not hesitate to let down our country. There can be no fundamental rights for any one in our country to betray it. Will our Prime Minister give a straight answer to these allegations?

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# The Indian Libertarian

## *Economic Supplement*

# Socialism and Democracy

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

IT is believed by our leaders that our country is a great democracy and the planning that has been introduced on principle of socialist pattern of society is a great experiment in democratic planning, but the question remains whether democracy and socialism can go together, in other words, whether democracy and socialism are compatible. As a matter of fact, socialism is the negation of democracy and the only economic system that is compatible with democracy is free economy, because it rests on the free market that is, ultimately on the freely expressed will of the consumer and not on the whims of bureaucrats. Democracy also rests on the same thing i.e. on the freely expressed will of the consumer but the field is not same. In one he is called consumer and in the other he is called voter but he is the same man. Under socialism man cannot exercise his freedom because everything is determined by the bureaucrats who are at the helm of affairs. One of the most important factors that distinguishes free economy from planned economy is not the absence of planning, but that the planning of industry comes from the consumer rather than from the Planning Commission. "Free enterprise is the expression in the sphere of economics of that spirit which in the sphere of politics is called Democracy. The words "free enterprise" and "democracy" are usually coupled almost automatically, because both mean the same thing—they are parts of a hard-won system for the protection of individual liberty." Freedom is indivisible. Economic freedom and political freedom cannot be separated. Though we have achieved political freedom, yet our freedom is not complete unless we are economically free. Under socialist pattern of society man cannot be free. He is always in bondage and in the words of Prof. Hayek socialism is a road to serfdom. At present in our country people are not free in the real sense of the term. The fundamental principle of a democratic state is to look after the administration of public affairs and the basic needs of the people so that they may live with joy and freedom. No government calling itself a democratic government can violate this fundamental principle of democracy but it is violated in our own country by not allowing the free enterprise to play its role in the economic development of our country. "To expect Democracy to be alive and healthy after you have sliced off the free enterprise is like expecting an animal to stay alive and vigorous after its body is sliced in two."

Socialism proposes to remedy the injustice that people suffer under free enterprise, namely the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, but far from securing to the masses of the people a greater share in the wealth which they help to produce it would actually curtail the share which the vast majority of them enjoy at present in free economy. The remedy which socialism offers is no remedy at all, because besides material wealth there are higher boons like freedom, equality of rights, the purity and joys of family life and to attain these, generations after generations have sacrified wealth and life itself. Controls and compulsion are inevitable and unavoidable under socialism. The remedy that socialism offers is like a poison which corrodes the whole life of the social body. The citizen must be free to consume what he likes, to spend his income as he thinks proper, to enjoy fully the fruits of his labour, live in atmosphere of liberty and freedom, occupy himself with any occupation or profession, manufacture, sell and consume what he likes, but all these cannot be achieved under socialism, because under socialism people are not allowed to climb to the top. Its remedy is to squeeze the rich people by imposing higher taxation on the wrong assumption that the people who are at the bottom would be benefitted, but a spoon-fed people cannot choose its own nurses. State paternalism insists on engaging the nurses and feeding the children. Every increase in the sum total of available goods and services is being absorbed disproportionately by the purchasing power of non-producers. In terms of real wages producers will receive less and less for more and more and the problem will be further aggravated when the producers will enter the scramble for a larger share of their own productivity. To this, economic pundits of our country recommend austerity, but austerity is not the answer to inflation. The only remedy is the curtailment of State expenditure and larger production. The former remedy is not possible because the demands of a welfare state based on socialist pattern of society are insatiable. Greater production is impossible because the scarce, productive resources are being diverted to unproductive channels.

In order to improve the economic conditions of the people socialist legislators try to squeeze the rich people without realising the simple fact that the movement of all incomes is in unison. From this this it is quite clear that socialism and democracy cannot go together. They are poles apart. Democracy can function properly and efficiently only under free economy which is based on competition. One great

*(Continued on page IV)*

# Freedom vs. Power

By Glenn E. Hoover

FREEDOM, in the present context, means simply the absence of restraint. It is sometimes defined as the absence of improper restraint. This permits us to say, for example, that the freedom of children is not restricted by their parents, and that the freedom of adults is not curtailed by compulsory military service. To me it seems preferable to say that such restrictions do curtail our freedom but that they may be justified.

In recent years the term "freedom" has been so misused that it may be well to recall some of the grosser abuses of it. For example, a nation governed by a dictator will be called a "free" nation if—perhaps for the worst of reasons—it adheres to "our side" in the Cold War. Surely we might accept the aid of tyrants, in peace as well as war, without corrupting our speech by identifying tyranny with freedom.

An equally mischievous confusion is evident in the use of such terms as "freedom from want," "freedom from fear" and freedom from all the other evils to which our flesh is heir. No one, recently, has promised us "freedom from old age" but some fakir is sure to offer one. Those of us who have learned that freedom expands with the advancing years do not wish to be spared the aging process. We wish rather that our nation might be freed of the stupidity that is the real cause of all our preventable woes.

The word "power" offers fewer semantic difficulties. It is, however, used to mean control over nature as well as control over men. One may, therefore, welcome an increase of power in the first sense, while deploring any increase of it in the second sense. Normally, however, the context will make the meaning clear. What we are presently concerned with is man's power over his fellows.

## MAN'S POWER OVER MAN

Apart from parental control of minors, the first and most complete control of man by man is found in the institution of human slavery. Its disappearance marks what is perhaps the single permanent improvement in human relations in the history of our species. However, the fact that human slavery has been abandoned should not make us forget how long it persisted, and how recently it was defended by appeals to Holy Writ, Arstotle and learned men of every century.

Gone too are those institutions and customs known as "serfdom." Those who say that serfdom exists in parts of our South are either using the term as an epithet or they have forgotten the serf's attachment to the soil and other main features of that system. Others have said that the essential features of chattel slavery persist in what is called the "wage slavery" of our industrial areas. The wage slaves themselves are generally busy with their automobiles, their TV sets and other expensive diversions. They have had little time to meditate on their servile status, and the phrase "wage-slavery" has been all but laughed away. A phrase designed to rouse the rabble is now but a linguistic curiosity, nor could the combined genius of Moscow and Madison Avenue put life into it again.

The elimination of chattel slavery and serfdom, however, has removed only the grosser restrictions on personal freedom. For instance, there is neither slavery nor serfdom in China, yet the government there determines where each shall live, the work he is to do, and when he shall eat, sleep and join in the benediction for those who rule him. The communal system now operating in communist China may increase that country's economic and military power, provide "social security," equalise fortunes, etc. but the expansion of personal freedom is not even one of its goals.

And now a few words on the decline of personal freedom in our own country. Here, as in China, the chief restrictions on our freedom are imposed by government. In China the local Commune seems to be the worst offender, and with us it is the national government. For example, prior to the first World War, anyone who wished to go abroad had only to be accepted as a passenger, or stow away on an outbound ship. Now a State Department functionary may decide that your proposed travel is not in the "national interest" and you will be forced to remain within our national frontiers.

You will note that I said a "functionary" would make this decision, although I might have said our Government, or a "bureaucrat." I wanted to use a neutral term. There is, unfortunately, a tendency among us to believe that decisions made by the "Government" are *prima facie* good, while decisions made by "bureaucrats" are *prima facie* stupid. I trust that my avoidance of emotive words will not obscure the fact that all decisions made by what we call "Government" are in fact made either by appointed "bureaucrats," or by elected "politicians."

Another loss of personal freedom has resulted from our docile acceptance of military conscription. Prior to the last World War anyone predicting the American people would accept conscription in time of peace would have been thought quite irresponsible. Yet it now appears to be a permanent feature of our "American Way of Life," although Britain, a small country much nearer Russia than are we, has decided to abandon it. It would be regrettable if we, the self-styled leader of the Free World, were to be the last to abandon peace-time conscription.

Much of our claim to being one of the freest of peoples is based on our right to freely assemble and to speak and write as we please, even on the most controversial topics. These are indeed important freedoms, but they seem to be important only in countries in which they are denied. Those with some experience in the field of adult education can testify that in the era of the movie, radio and TV it is difficult to assemble a respectable number of people to discuss any matter of importance, no matter how controversial it may be. Moreover, our notorious eagerness

to "conform" makes it unnecessary for our government to concern itself much with what in Imperial Japan were called "dangerous thoughts." It is as though all the mass media of communication had conspired to soothe us rather than to provoke any intellectual ferment, dangerous or otherwise.

## ECONOMIC CONTROLS

It is chiefly in the economic field rather than the ideological one that our Government wields powers which no Libertarian can accept. For example, Libertarians will insist that they have the right to buy foreign wares as freely as they can buy domestic ones. By customs duties and import controls we are now compelled to buy the higher priced domestic products. The profits of the domestic producers, it is said, will "trickle down" to the general public . That we still tolerate such an abuse of governmental power shows how little we understand the basic elements of a free economy.

The governmental power best known to most of us is the taxing power. That taxes must be paid is admitted, but the government of a really free people will not resort to inquisitorial methods nor will it bewilder its citizens with anything so complex as our present income tax laws. Their "self assessment" feature encourages dishonesty, and the growing number of "tax consultants" is evidence that many of our citizens are unable to master the intricacies of such legislation. To pay the tax is often burdensome enough, but to have to pay some expert to determine how much must be paid the Government is a needless harassment which no Libertarian can accept.

To complain about high taxes while supporting the governmental programmes which make them necessary, is of course, pure infantilism. Our wrath should not be directed at the size of the tax burden, but rather at the unjust way in which it is distributed. A rational society would first take for public purposes the unearned wealth which results from population growth and the schools, streets, parks and other amenities phich the taxpayers provide. It is only after this publicly created wealth is taken for public purposes that we should argue about how additional revenues should be raised.

The socially created values to which I refer are, of course, land values. As distinct from all other forms of wealth, land is the product of Nature or of Nature's God. As the surrounding population grows and public improvements multiply, land values grow, and this without any useful service whatever provided by the land owners. For a community to take for public purposes the values which the community has created may not be the end of wisdom but it is certainly the beginning of it.

## "DIRIGISME"—NOT SOCIALISM

Our government's intervention in our economy is frequently—and erroneously—called "socialism." This word has become an epithet in the American language, and there is a temptation to apply it to anything we don't like However, no eagerness to score a point can justify a deliberate distortion of the accepted meaning of words. "Socialism" means governmental ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution. Such genuine socialism as we have is concentrated at the local government level—water, light, gas, transportation, parking lots, etc. Public ownership in these fields is so generally supported by our business communities that it is often called "down town socialism."

Congressional interference with our economy in peace time is chiefly in the form of controls over farm prices, production, marketing, etc. To suggest that this haphazard bungling is "socialism" is to give it a dignity it does not deserve. The government does not acquire a single acre, plant a single seed or milk a single cow. Instead, by limiting the importation of some farm products and dazzling domestic growers with subsidies and penalties, it largely determines what shall be grown, how much, by whom, and at what price it may be sold. In other words, our national government directs our farm economy without either owning it or operating it. Such governmental interference the French call by its proper name, "dirigisme," i.e., a system in which the economy is directed by the government, but not owned or operated by it.

The rapid increase in the membership and power of trade unions is the most significant economic development in our time. Since the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935 employers have been compelled to "bargain collectively" with their employees. This requirement has resulted in a four or five fold increase in union membership, and for some of the big unions, an increase in power that enables them to halt production not only in individual plants but in entire industries. This is a concentration of private power for which our government is quite unprepared, and the general public seems reluctant to even think about the problem in any fundamental way.

As previously noted, all power, by definition, means an actual or potential restriction of the freedom of those against whom power is directed. That governments should wield power is too obvious for comment, but free peoples have always insisted that governments should have a monopoly of power and that no individuals or private agencies should exercise any compulsion or restraint on their fellows. Why then are we so timid and confused when faced with the greatest concentration of private power in our history?

One reason for our confusion is that our emotions are leading us astray. Most people are workers and consequently their sympathies are, and should be, with their fellow workers. What we forget is that not more than one-fourth, or perhaps one-third, of all workers belong to unions. Moreover, the interests of the union workers are different from the interests of the non-union workers, and frequently their interests are directly opposed. But however their interests may differ, the sympathies of other workers—which means most of us—follow the pattern set when unions were few, weak and idealistic. In short, we bring to the problem of the big unions, the Becks, Hoffas, etc., the emotional baggage we accumulated in the age of the lovable Eugene V. Debs.

Intellectually, too, we are ill equipped. Few of us are socialists, but many have accepted the Marxian notion that wage increases mean only lower profits for the employers. This myth is fated for extinction as the evidence accumulates that wages, being part of the costs of production, are promptly passed on to the consumer as are other costs.

Inasmuch as the recent growth of unions has not lowered the profits of American industry, it follows that when unions force wages above the competitive level, the consumer —not the employer—pays the bill. As that truth spreads,

the monopoly pricing of labour will become as offensive as the monopoly pricing of commodities—a practice long condemned by both ethics and the law.

## NEW GOALS FOR WORKERS

Most of us here, as in any other representative assembly, are, and always have been, workers. The percentage of employers in this, or any other country, is insignificant. If we would deny workers, or any other group among us, the use of power, it is certainly not from ill will. What we want for them and for all others, is the economic justice which only a free economy can provide.

We want them, for example, to be spared the billions now taken from them to subsidise and curtail agricultural production, and thus drive workers from farms into industrial centres. We want them and their wives to be free to buy foreign products, so that foreign workers in turn can buy the products of our factories—to the mutual advantage of all workers concerned. We also want to reduce the workers' tax burden by taking for public purposes the socially created value of land, and to that extent, relieve them of taxes on their wages and the products of their labour.

Most important, perhaps, we want the workers to set for themselves goals that will win the support of all men of good will. We deplore the decline of idealism in what was once called the "labour movement." Some decades ago that idealism appealed to those young Americans who were most distinguished for their progressive minds and generous sentiments. Young people of that sort are now in our colleges and they are not attracted by a selfish "business unionism" whose leaders, too often, have an anti-intellectual bias that is poorly concealed. Among young collegians the fund of good will on which unions once could draw is running out, and the best friends of the unionist workers have the duty to tell them so.

Our wage and salary workers are now divided between the minority that is unionised and the majority that is not. There seems to be little chance that the percentage of unionised workers will increase, and in some industries such as auto-manufacturing and coal mining, union membership may continue to decline. As the percentage of unionised workers declines they cannot expect any programme to succeed if its benefits would be limited to their own numbers. It is unforeunate that they ever committed themselves to the use of power for their selfish purposes instead of supporting reforms which would assure to all workers their just share of the increased output of a free economy.

To sum it up, to use power is to restrict the freedom of others. By definition, power means the ability to coerce. In international affairs, reliance on state power has decreased the security of every nation in the world. It has produced only a precarious "balance of terror," a crushing tax burden, and may result in the extermination of our species. Warfare is trial by power, and an old adage tells us that "There are many things worse than war, and war is the cause of all of them."

In domestic affairs, the use of power by individuals or private organisations is intolerable. In recent years the use of private power has been largely restricted to the economic field, where monopolies have been created to extort prices above the level which would obtain in free markets. Monopolies designed to control the prices of commodities, in our country at least, have long been prohibited by law. The enforcement of such laws has not always been vigorous, but the principles on which they were based have never been abandoned, either by the people or their elected representatives.

The power now most feared is the power to exact a monopoly price for labour. To curb this power is not yet a task for legislators, for the public has not yet made up its mind. Thus far our distrust of union power has resulted only in demands for the punishment of racketeering union leaders who embezzle union funds, disregard the rights of union members, etc. These are peripheral matters which only distract us from fixing our attention on the power itself, however honestly and democratically the unions may be governed.

Our task then, is to continue in our efforts to create a wider understanding of the principles on which a free and just economy must rest. This is not a spectacular task, and those who would lead a thoughtless multitude down some short road to Utopia will not be at ease in our company. Without hope of recognition or reward we shall do our duty—the rest is in the lap of the gods.

However, as nothing is ever finally settled until it is settled right, we can be sure that Power will ultimately be banned, not only from the market-place, but from the international arena as well. It is only when no one has power to coerce another that "they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid."

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*(Continued from page I)*

virtue of competition is that it avoids all the evils of monopoly. At present it has become practically impossible for the middle class people to make both ends meet due to rise in prices of essential commodities. The Socialist pattern of society does not suit our country. What is needed at present is free scope to private enterprise and therein lies the salvation of our democracy. At present what we have is a democracy only in name but not in spirit. Democracy has been killed by the present rulers by incursing into the activities of the people. In a real democratic state, State should play the role of an umpire.

In a democracy State has no right to interfere in daily life of the people. Its main function is to create atmosphere in which people may enjoy freedom and liberty, because the greatness of a nation does not lie in the construction of palatial buildings but it depends on the greatness of its people. To make our country great it is essential that our teeming millions are able to raise their standard of life and this can take place only in Free economy. To achieve that it is essential that Swatantra Party which is based on the freedom of the individual is allowed to rule our country. Every freedom loving person should make it a point to see that it comes to power at the next election so that our democracy may survive. At present it is struggling to live. Democracy cannot flourish under controlled economy. One can say without any hesitation that Swatantra Party alone can deliver goods. It is the only party which is not based on empty promises and if it gets a chance to rule there is every possibility that teeming millions will be able to live in an environment of freedom and our country will become bastion of democracy.

# Negative and Positive

**By C. Rajagopalachari**

PARROTS all over, they all shout at the Swatantra Party: "You are only negative, what is your positive?"

I have studied some mathematics and I do not much fancy this misuse of important mathematicals words. Opposition to named error is not negative. It is as positive as any election pledge to build a hospital or a road or a bridge or to give subsidies. Here is individual farming and all that it implies—and it implies a lot—and if some one comes and meddles with it, either by expropriation or by forced conglomeration of different interests through the power of the State, we oppose it. We want individual farming to go on with rights of voluntary transfer intact. Is it negative? It is nothing of the kind. It is a *positive* objection to expropriation of one kind or another.

Here is an administration which is not able properly and efficiently to do its normal work, attempting to take over what it has no experience or competency for. Farming, trading and industrial production, these are best done by those who have been doing them. We say, for Heaven's sake, do not meddle with things which you do not know.

When the Congress party wants to commit grave errors of this sort, what is the duty of wise men? To shout, and if not listened to, to form a political party to oust the ambitious bunglers. Is it improper to do it? If not, it should not be libelled as 'negative'.

Error is mostly positive and wisdom is mostly negative, if one must use these terms, which have a meaning in mathematics, but have little or no similar meaning in human affairs. If a man runs away with another man's wife, or enters a house at night or steals from another's pocket or bank account, it is all 'positive' but bad. The opposition of good men to all these things is 'negative.' For that reason it does not cease either to be important or necessary. Read chapter 20 of the book of Exodus in the Bible, the famous commandments are there, all negative. It is difficult to oppose evil and it requires positive energy, spiritual and physical, to oppose and succeed.

The charge of being 'negative' is all over the speeches and all over the columns which seek to buttress the ruling party's line and to push Swatantra back. It is just parrot-cry. When a party that has ruled for thirteen years has to be moved out and the people's mandate obtained for the process, the offences of the ruling party are the issues before the electorate and these cries of 'negative and 'positive' have no meaning whatsoever. The Congress is stupid. The Congress is bad. These charges are not negative but positively call for a change of government. What is needed is courage and decision of character among those who suffer.

Then these is another parrot-cry. "The Congress has an ideology. The Swatantra Party has no ideology." This is a more baseless story than the positive and negative legend. The Congress is very proud of the ideology it adopted at Avadi. Before Socialism was adopted in 1955, had the Congress no ideology? The Swatantra Party's ideology is liberty—liberty from over-much State-control. If the nation had a valid and sustaining ideology when it fought for freedom against the British Government, the nation has now a valid and sustaining ideology in its fight for emancipation from the strangulating excesses of single-party rule. It is this battle that the Swatantra Party is waging. Again, what is needed is courage and decision of character among those who suffer.

—Swarajya

## THE MENACE FROM THE COMMUNISTS

(*Continued from page* 10)

On the eve of the general strike of Central Government Servants, Our Prime Minister pointed out that our army men, inspite of very great difficulties, are cheerfully guarding our frontiers facing "unfriendly" camps on the other side and asked our civilians whether at such a juncture they could behave as they had proposed to do. Yet, here in the country day-in and day-out a campaign is being carried on against our country by the "Chinese Indians," which will jeopardise our home-base and which will be a great betrayal of our army men. If this campaign is not immediately suppressed—I feel sure that all other parties will support our Government in its action against the Communists—there will be sabotages of our defence in the country when China comes down from its Himalayan trespass into the plains of our country. We feel that China will not declare war on India but will imitate Japan's methods against America in Pearl Harbour. Our Leaders confessed when disasters resulted after partition and recently in Assam that they were "taken unawares." In the same way when the "friends" of China betray us, our Congress leaders would again confess. That would be no consolation to the innocent citizens, who would have sufferd.

It is a mystery to a very large number of citizens why our Prime Minister who is very very vehement against various other parties like the Swatantra, P.S.P. and Jan Sangh, is very docile and considerate towards the Communists. He does not realise how the people are being misguided because of this attitude of his towards the Communists. Is it due to "his last minute indecision and self doubt" as stated by Shri Pyarelal? The country witnesses the emergence of sixteen Hindu Pakistans in the divided India of ours on account of his policies. The time has come for all thinking persons to express frankly to our Prime Minister their concern at the grave dangers to its very existence as a country from inside and outside menaces.

# Hunger In China

*[In 1959, Peking boasted that the food crop had been doubled the year before as a result of the establishment of the people's communes and that China had made a "Great Leap Forward." But no amount of official statistics turned out by the Communist regime could hide the real state of hunger and misery which followed the introduction of collectivisation by Mao-Tse-Tung. Among the sources of information which throw a great light on the true state of affairs in China are letters written by the Chinese peasants to their relatives living over-seas. In many respects they constitute as definitive a refutation of Communist claims of superiority over other systems as one can imagine. They document the incredible stupidity of a system which refuses to learn from past mistakes. The following are some letters written by Mao-Tse-Tung's regimented peasants to their relatives, translated from the originals and reproduced from the NEW LEADER—Ed.]*

Kwangtung Province August 20, 1959.

Dear Son-in-law and Grand-Daughters,

I wish to thank you all for sending me the 41 Yuan on the 18th of August. In return I wish you all, young and old, good health. With the remittance certificate I went to the rice shop and purchased four pounds of rice, four ounces of oil, and half a pound of sugar: without the remittance certificate I would not have been allowed to buy these foods. This is a special privilege given to family members of Overseas Chinese when they receive remittances from overseas.

Your Grand Mother.

Chung-Shan Country, Kwangtung Province, August 22, 1959

Dear Aunt,

Since the establishment of the people's commune, we have run short of food. We only have two boxes of matches and 10 ounces of kerosene. Edible oils and pork have not been available to us since New Year's Day. Through hard work a person may have seven ounces of rice per day. You have already been requested to buy some food and edible oils for us. Uncle Haiang has told me that. In addition, would you kindly buy some cabbage, rice and lighter flints for me. Mail them to us please!

Your Nephew

Kwangtun Province September 14, 1959

Dear Ch'iu-Yun's Papa,

Your letter has been read carefully. I should have answered you much earlier, but our elder brother who used to write for me has had no time. Now I am answering you.

I cannot tell you in words the miserable condition I am encountering now. I go to work very early in the morning every day and come home after sunset. As you know, I am pregnant. How can I bear such toil in all kinds of weather? There is not a minute for rest, but a pregnant person needs rest. It sounds reasonable that gain comes from labour invested, but I have so many children. How can I feed and clothe them. Furthermore, being a weak female, can I support several mouths with just one pair of hands? I am going to give birth soon but have not a penny in my pocket. Remember, you are the father!

Ching-Yung

Canton City, Kwangtung Province, September 17, 1969

Dear Brother-in-law,

I have not written to you for a long time because the situation has changed a lot. We are living on two or three ounces of rice a day. Today one may be working on the east side of the city and tomorrow one may be sent to work on the west side. There is no time to stay at home, and that is why I have not had time to write to you before.

Your Brother-In-Law

Kwangtung Province, August 27, 1959

Dear Eldest Uncle,

I haven't written you for a long time. It's hoped that all of you are fine there. We are all right. Don't worry about us. My elder brother has been transferred from the Paisha Mine to the Haiyen Salt Mine for several days. His hardship as revealed in his letters is really worthy of our great sympathy. I have often written him and advised him to come back to join the family so that I might feel relieved of the strong sense of obligation for him. He answered, "What you have said is perfectly right. But my superior will not approve of my request and I have to stay. I want to escape, but on the consideration of food I dare not."

Furthermore, our papers have not been approved; we have to endure all the hardship. There's an old saying, "Man proposes and God disposes." I still cherish hope. This month I was transferred too. I'm working for the poultry raising yard at Lungch'uan Temple, very close to eldest aunt's house. Just for the work, I have left my lovely family again. You didn't personally see our life at the mine near Canton. So miserable! We lived under a thatched roof; the inside and outside of the hut were flooded when it rained. We had to sit up till dawn. Now I am suffering the same, so I always feel miserable. When I think about our present condition, I cannot help crying.

While working for the sulphur mine, we people worked in the water even during freezing weather with heavy snow. Autumn will be over soon and winter will come, How can my elder brother bear the cold? It's imposesible for us to carry on like this. Please write to aunt's husband for some letters that might help us apply for an exit permit. I hope approval will be given as early as possible. Otherwise, the best years of our life will be gone forever.

Please write to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee to speed up the approval. I would like to die after we meet. When we become older, everything is gone. Regret does not help at all. I haven't invited yoh and aunt to have dinner once. Very sorry. But if my application is approved and I can thereby work out my future, I must reward all my benefactors.

To toil till death in our Fatherland does not pay off at all. I cannot pour out all the words by which I want to appeal to you. My tears come down with words. Please write to aunt's husband immediately and mail some photos of your whole family, or send them to me. Take good care of your health.

Best Wishes.

Your Nephew

# Tit-Bits

There are many people not far from here (Delhi) who speak of peace, truth and goodwill. They are constantly lecturing others about this. They make promises in the name of peace and goodwill, yet when the time comes to keep those promises they are always broken. This is ass great a danger as aggressive militarism, in a different way.

—Dalai Lama, as reported in Manchester Guardian Weekly, August 18.

It would be safe to predict that at the 1962 elections, the Congress would lose in at least half a dozen states, even though it might yet scrape through at the Centre with a modest majority, that the communists might succeed in capturing power in at least four States and that the Swatantra Party might be able to assume office, either by itself or in conjunction with another group, in at least one State.

—D. R. Mankekar, 'Indian Express.'

We are not having a welfare state and we will not have it. What we are having now is an ill-fare State.

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Everybody wanted an amendment of company law for prohibiting companies from donating to the funds of political parties. The Congress alone objected insisting that it should continue to receive the donations. Which is the rich man's party?

—Swarajya

According to the Indian Nation of August 23, most of the night schools and some of the day schools in the Block areas in Santal Parganas are running on paper only and the teachers are drawing their salaries regularly, though these schools are nowhere in existence. Instances have also come to light in which wells are shown to be dug on paper but have not been actually constructed.

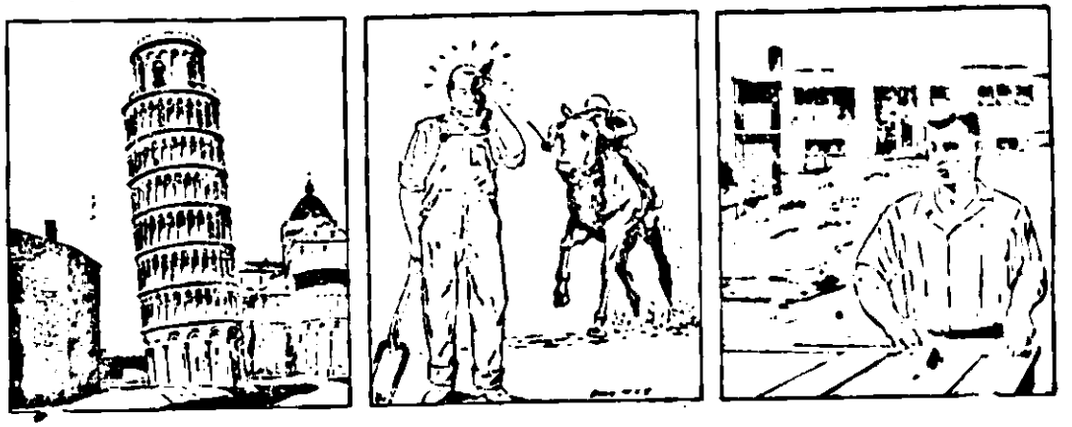
Behar Herald, August 27, 1960

'Peoples' China has signed a non-aggression treaty with Afganistan. *Satiricus* feels concerned for Afganistan. China struck up a five-point friendship with India that is Bharat—and the result? India lost more than 12,000 square miles of territory. China made a friendship pact with Nepal—and the result? Nepal has almost lost Everest, traditionally her own peak. And now comes the turn of Afganistan. What will Chinese friendship cost the Afghans?

—Satiricus in 'Organiser', September 5, 1960

## Did You Know. . . .

By Scio



Whoever comes up with a workable plan to stop the decline and fall of the bell tower of Pisa, will receive a small fortune and become an honorary citizen of Pisa, Italy. Built in 1174 the 179-foot tower has tipped 15 feet out of line. Many suggestions to correct the condition have been made. The most popular has come from an Argentine school girl, Lilla Bianchi, who suggested that soil be dug from the other side of the tower, letting it settle back until it is straight.

Whatever perspiring man first exclaimed that he was "sweating like a horse" probably did not realize how good the comparison was. Experts have measured the sweating capacity of common laboratory animals, and found that the horse wins on two counts: He has the greatest output and the fastest sweating response of the animals tested. Scientists believe the horse and burro may even have greater sweating capacity than man does.

A blind man built his own house. American Don E. Graeber of Salt Lake City, Utah, lost his sight in World War II. Overcoming a fit of self-pity, he set out to surmount his handicap. He went to college, married, raised a family—and built his own home. Using special Braille rulers, etc., he drew a set of plans, then bought the land and began building his home. Within a year, the split-level house was finished, and he moved in with his wife and two children.

## DELHI LETTER

# Wishful Thinkers' Myopia

**(From Our Correspondent)**

AS every one should know by now, Mr. Nehru is always prepared to stand by his men, irrespective of whether they are in the right or wrong. If there were any doubts regarding his opposition to a thorough inquiry into the Assam disturbances, they were dispelled, as they were meant to be dispelled, by an uncalled—for letter written to him (and published) by the Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Ministry which, it is generally believed, was done at the instance of the Prime Minister. The timing shows that it was also intended to influence the report of the Parliamentary Delegation to Assam which was being drafted then, and, as the report showed, the object was gained. It is nevertheless being generally said here that if Assam is not a fit case for immediate and thorough inquiry, nothing can be. But an inquiry will reveal the incompetence and cowardice and treachery of Congress Ministers and leaders in Assam whose allegiance to Mr. Nehru is not in doubt. Therefore the reluctance to concede it.

### FLY IN THE OINTMENT

But there was a fly in the ointment. Dr. B. C. Roy is a strong man. Having been the family physician of the Nehrus for long—he still calls Nehru "Jawahar" and is the only man in India to do so barring Purshottamdas Tandon, who is now out of the picture for failing health—Dr. Roy can assert himself, the more so as he has the backing of the whole of Bengal on the issue. As Acharya Kripalani said, without inquiry Dr. Roy will find it difficult to control the situation in his State. Kripalani's was the only forthright speech in Parliament on the subject. As he observed, a high-power inquiry was essential to check recurrence of similar events; not only in Assam, it may be added, but elsewsere also. And he declared amidst applause he would not be afraid of its findings even about the role of the political parties, including his own.

Whenever Mr. Nehru has reason to be annoyed with the conduct of some of his own men, he has a habit of getting angry with others. In this case the Prime Minister is angry with the Press, as if it was the Press which caused all the trouble. He not only criticised the Press but also hinted that its liberties should be curtailed during emergencies. Such hints could only be justified after an inquiry reveals that the Press was to blame. But to oppose a thorough inquiry and to be prepared to seek powers enabling action against newspapers in emergencies is the height of high-handedness. But for the newspapers the truth about the ghastly tragedy would never have come to the surface. It is sheer shortsightedness to think that the remedy for such evils is to play them down, but it is quite natural for wishful thinkers to think so.

Mr. Nehru had high praise for Chaliha, the Chief Minister, who was not functioning during the disturbances owing to illness, and whose sense of responsibility apparently did not tell him that the situation required immediate handling by someone with his powers. The Finance Minister, Mr. Fakhruddin, left for Srinagar to attend a co-operative conference, when Assam was on fire. He apparently did not know that his Chief was too ill to attend to his dutiets. The whole thing smacks of a conspiracy in which the Central Government appears to be involved, and an immediate and thorough inquiry is called for in the national interest. It will be worse than useless if it is not absolutely impartial and does not satisfy Bengal. And the very fact that migration from Assam has not stopped proves the need of Central intervention there. Does Mr. Nehru want this current to become unmanageable? From a long-range point of view, his attitude is opposed to the interests of his own party. The Assam Government could not assess the possibilities and the dimensions the disturbances could assume. Mr. Nehru is unable to assess the potentialities for mischief laying dormant in emotional Bengal.

### CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE

The funniest part of it, as Mr. Mahavir Tyagi pointed out in Parliament, is that the dismissal of the Ministry apart, there has not even been a reshuffle in the Ministry! Demanding a judicial inquiry into the "prolonged atrocities" committed against the Bengali-speaking community in Assam, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Swatantra Party leader of Bengal, said that the inquiry commission should also find out the reasons for the failure of the Central Government to discharge its obligations under the Constitution. "How," he asked at a public meeting held in Delhi on September 2 "could this orgy of violence and arson run its course over hundreds of miles for days and days and yet the Grand Moguls of Delhi never intervened to give any protection to the Bengali-speaking people while the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of India were being flagrantly violated?"

Mr. Chatterjee further asserted that the rioting and disturbances in Assam were planned by leaders of the ruling party and if the State and Central Governments did not take action against those responsible, there would be serious repercussions in other parts of the country, and the unity and integrity of India would be endangered. He said the disturbances were planned with the object of driving out the Bengali-speaking Hindus of Assam and to strike at the root of their economic resources. Linguism, according to him, was a mere cover for the disturbances; the real reason was the approach of the elections and the census because the Assamese feared that, unless the thousands of Bengali

refugees from East Pakistan were driven out of the State, their names would be included in the electoral rolls. All evidence so far points to the correctness of the diagnosis of the trouble by Mr. Chatterjee.

In trying to appease the Congressmen of Assam, the Nehru Government forgot Bengal altogether. The situation there seems to point to the disappearance of the Congress as the ruling party, if Congressmen do not take up a defiant attitude towards Mr. Nehru. Representatives of the Leftist parties in Bengal, who threatened to resort to civil disobedience on the issue of the Centre's attitude towards the Assam situation, at a meeting in Calcutta the other day said that the parties would meet soon to discuss what further steps should be taken and to see that the "attempts being made to confuse the public did not succeed". Indeed, the inability of the Congress leaders to condemn the Nehru Government as strongly as the situation demands would soon shift the leadership of the State on to the shoulders of the Leftist Bloc, which is in the course of formation there. The Leftist Bloc's statement said that the decisions of the Centre, announced in the Lok Sabha, were inadequate and betrayed an attempt to sidetrack the issues, but the pressure of the "democratic movement" in West Bengal had compelled the Central Government to modify its attitude of minimizing the gravity of the Assam disturbances. "The conspiracy to hush up the whole affair had to some extent been foiled," the statement declared, adding that Congress M.P.s from West Bengal had "left the door open for the Centre to slide back".

In a memorandum to Parliament, a 12-member delegation of the West Bengal Punargathan Sanjukta Parishad demand the inclusion in West Bengal of the Bengali-speaking districts in Assam with a "necessary corridor" and martial law till their demands are given effect to. They demand recovery of abducted girls and women, imposition of deterrent punishment on the miscreants, rehabilitation with full compensation to all victims, census operations by non-Assamese staff and a judicial inquiry into the prolonged atrocities. The attempt to play down the tragedy in Assam has recoiled on the head of the Central Government and the fact is truly in the fire now. Petty cleverness seldom pays and that is something which the Nehru Government has yet to learn.

## THE THIRD PLAN

The debate on the Third Plan was robbed of its interest by the tragedy of Assam. During the Lok Sabha debate on it, the Prime Minister pointed out that, unless India became self-sufficient in agriculture, it could not get the wherewithal to advance in industry. "If we are to import food, we are doomed," he said, "absolutely doomed so far as progress is concerned." Yet there was no response when Prof. N. G. Ranga, firmly opposing co-operative farming, challenged both the Prime Minister and Mr. Asoke Mehta to prove if it had led to increased production anywhere in the world. As regards the accumulation of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few, which Mr. Nehru wants to prevent through socialism, experience suggests that he will only be creating a new class of accumulators of wealth in the officers running the public sector. The clerks of the Building Department of the Delhi Corporation are rolling in wealth and spending lavishly in fashionable clubs! The public sector, like our municipalities, is not likely to discourage acquisitiveness. Behind the craze for expanding the public sector is the facile assumption of honesty and integrity in Government servants, which is nowhere in evidence.

## JOINT DEFENCE

In an article in newspapers, K. M. Cariappa, our ex-Commander-in-Chief maintains that his suggestion of joint defence between India and Pakistan is a practical proposition. He recalls that the Prime Minister said sometime ago that the threat to our Northern frontier is almost permanent for 10, 20 or 40 years, and that we have had of late quite a few commissions of India and Pakistan discussing all kinds of problems with considerable success. He suggests that we should have yet another friendly meeting of representatives from the defence forces of the two countries to study and discuss this matter of a common defence agreement between our two countries. This would be a kind of joint study group holding their meetings very strictly in camera. They would together prepare an "appreciation of the situation" recommending some plan of action.

It is no doubt true, as he says, that a friendly approach to study, without any passion and prejudice, this all-important subject of the defence of our northern and north-eastern contiguous frontiers, would be in the best interest of the millions of our two countries. Neither can it be denied that India and Pakistan as good friends could be a very potent factor to provide for peace. But the fact remains that an "appreciation of the situation" without passion or prejudice will go against the present policy of the Nehru Government, and expose its unpatriotic character. The result of an honest appreciation of the situation apart, what will Mr. Khrushchev say to this hobnobbing with Pakistan against his greatest ally? China, after the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to India, again became our friend, and there is no logic in trying to strengthen our defences against a friend! The Prime Minister must be aware that the result of an honest appreciation of the situation will expose the hollowness of his foreign policy, and for that reason alone nothing of the sort is likely to be attempted. It is not as if "there is nothing to lose by having this study", so far as the Prime Minister is concerned. The study is likely to result, if it is honestly undertaken, in a grave indictment of the Prime Minister. Gen. Cariappa has taken a good deal for granted. Those who really want an honest appreciation of the situation do not hide facts of aggression against the country for years—aggression involving the occupation of 12,000 square miles of territory!

Mr. Nehru is certainly right when he says: "When people talk of joint defence and the like.....they uproot themselves from the basic foundations of Indian policy.... it means giving up your non-alignment policy for some kind of help that you might receive.....Once you go into the other aspect of help—of arms etc.—you are inevitably sucked into the military vortex or military thinking. You are inevitably sucked on one side...." But all thinking of defence is military thinking and if we do not think in terms of defence even now, we should be prepared for the fate that overtakes defenceless nations. What is that "independent" policy worth which leads to the end of independence itself?

Mr. Nehru's attacks on the Indian Communists—which are becoming frequent—are regarded here as attempts at drawing a red herring across the scent. Unable to satisfy Parliament either over his attitude on the Assam problem or the border issue with China, he has been resorting to attacks on Indian Communists, who are on all accounts doing their duty. Is Mr. Nehru doing his duty? it is being asked here. Some shrewd observers even go so far as to say that Nehru and the Communists are staging a quarrel to show to the unwary that they are opposed to each other, whereas they really supplement and complement each other, just as the Russians and the Chinese are staging a quarrel to show to India and other unaligned countries how helpless Russia is in the matter of Chinese incursions on the Indian border! How else can India be persuaded to go on keeping all her eggs in the Kremlin basket?

### VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Almost every educationist and education Minister in India has been talking about the need of vocational training, but no one seems prepared to get down to brass tacks even after tours to Europe at the country's expense. In the Federal Republic of Germany, a young boy, after spending about nine years in the elementary school, begins vocational training at 14 and, after about four years of thorough training in an industry, becomes a skilled worker at 18. According to a correspondent in a local daily, this training is managed by the industry concerned with the approval of the local chamber of commerce, so that employment after his success in the final passing out test is no problem for him. This training not only equips the boy with proper experience but develops in him a sense of responsibility that helps him in his future work. This training is accorded State recognition which serves to maintain uniformity throughout the country. Here is an opportunity for the Government to test the nationalism and the patriotism of those running the private sector. Let the Government initiate this training at selected centres with all the influence at their command and blame the private sector if it does not respond to the need of the times.

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# Book Review

HUNGARY BEHIND THE HEADLINES by George Floris, Published by New Horizon Publishers, Calcutta, Pages 141, Price Rs. 5/-.

Hungary has attracted the attention of the world ever since the out-break of what has come to be known as the Revolution of 1956 in Hungary. For those who want to study the whole Hungarian problem in its historical perspective, Mr. Floris's book will serve as a handy guide to all relevant information on the subject.

"Hungary Behind the Headlines" contains in a brief compass a summary of the major events that took place in Hngary, period by period, commencing from the Trianon peace treaty under which the vast Austrian Empire gave birth to the State of Hungary, down to the present times of its political turmoil. The author being a Hungarian himself and having witnessed the major incidents that are narrated in the book, has drawn enormously on his personal experiences which give an autobiographical touch to the narration. George Floris, the author who was made a Nazi prisoner during the siege of Budapest in 1936, has brought out a lucid and connected account of the events that led to the historical struggles for freedom which Hungary witnessed in 1918 and in 1956.

The frequent migrations of the Hungarians to Austria, necessitated by the great violence with which the Communist rulers put down the popular resistance to their regime, and the great responsibility of the immigrants which the neighbouring neutral Austria had to shoulder on these several occasions have been vividly described by the author with an impartial eye. It was the drive of the slaves particularly the Russians, towards Hungary in the West, called by the author:—"Drang nach Western" that caused European colonialism in the first instance. The author writes "The Slav, partirularly the Russians, pushing west-ward from the scarcely inhabited steppes in the North east, compelled members of the central and the Western European nations to find new homes overseas and thus deprive the non-European peoples of their natural "Lebensraum." The Revolution in 1917 had lent new vitality to the slavanic imperialism with the result that, after 1945, the Russians managed to bring additional European nations under their control, half of them not even of slavonic origin. That of course engendered further European migration overseas, leaving still less room of expansion for the non-European peoples living in a state of chronic over-population".

The events in between the two world wars have been given in an accurate and well-connected pen-picture which will help the curious reader to a better understanding of the 1956 uprising in Hungary. It reveals the true events of Hungary in the post-war periods that had been allowed to remain clouded by interested propaganda. The death of Stalin and its repercussions on the Hungarian party politics, the reform age (1936-45) and its revocation into servitude, and such other major facts which had intrigued the scholars so far, have been explained in this book in a convincing and able manner.

The October Revolution evokes a sympathetic verdict from the author. He concludes "The freedam-fighters in Budapest demonstrated to the east and west that, whatever the international constellation—the worst enemies of communism are within the communistic world." This indicates that Communism breeds within itself germs of its own destruction and therefore holds out some hope for the free world and also subjugated peoples groaning under totalitarian Communist regimes.

The story narrated in the book serves as a warning to the Asian countries that life in the Com-

munistic countries is not so rosy as is sought to be made out but it is one of regimentation and slavery of the concentration camps. The ghosts of Marx and Lenin haunt hundred millions of living human beings and keep them enslaved through the medium of a sincerely operated slavanic and yellow imperialism. They must have by now realised that communism is fundamentally indivisible and operates on an international plane from Berlin to Vladinosk, from Korea to Gautemala and from San Marino to Kerala.

The book runs into 141 pages with 12 well-defined chapters and an epilogue which brings the story uptodate. The book deserves to be read particularly by the people of under-developed countries in Europe and Asia who in their over-flowing enthusiasm to improve their economic lot, fall an easy prey to the false glamour of the so-called Communist way to peace and prosperity.

—B. Ramakrishnan

# Gleanings from the Press

### PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

All thinking people in the country have been feeling increasingly disturbed and disillusioned over the gap that yawns between the Congress Government's promises and performance. All the time Ministries are multiplying, and offices and officials are springing up and proliferating—driven by a necessity that knows no law but Parkinson's. The rulers rightly came to the conclusion that a scapegoat had to be urgently found and sacrificed. Accordingly, a lengthy resolution was moved at the Congress session at Sadashivanagar by a Minister of high rank which said: "There appears to be a wide gap between policies and progress. The Congress feels strongly that the temper of the administraeion as well as of the people generally has to change in order to face the great task before the country with faith, speed and determination."

In these imposing words the people of India were told that if the goods had not been delivered, the fault lay with the temper of the people generally—whatever that may mean—and, with the administrative machinery.

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Administrative machinery cannot be changed quickly, so only the people are to be blamed for non-fulfilment of the Plans, if they cannot "change their temper."

It does sometimes seem ironical that a State that calls itself so highly secular as to scoff at both *Dharma* and *Karma* should keep on exhorting its subjects to tighten their belts, and to forget the privations and anxieties of their present lives in the expectation of food, clothing and housing for a future generation, a century hence.

—Behar Herald

# News And Views

### ADOPT A TOUGH ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMPERIALISM

### CHINA'S PLEA TO RUSSIA

Hong Kong: China made a direct appeal to the Soviet Union "not to abandon the fundamental theoretical positions of Marxism Leninism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism."

The plea was made by Mr. Li Fu-chun, China's Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, at the Congress of Viet Nam (North) Workers' Party in Hanoi.

He said that the might of the Socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, was growing daily and national and democratic movements in Asia and Africa were surging forward.

Conversely, contradictions within and among "imperialist" and capitalist countries were multiplying and they were "heading towards total disintegration."

"Imperialism, headed by the United States, would not be able to survive much longer." He said.

### ANTI-CHINA CAMPAIGN SPREADS TO E. EUROPE

London: The Soviet Communist Party's circular on the ideological conflict with Peking seems to have been taken as a directive in East European communist countries, and reports reaching London speak of articles appearing in the newspapers in these countries supporting the Kremlin co-existence thesis.

The articles also contain the now familiar arguments put forward by Moscow papers against the inevitability of war between the capitalist and the communist systems.

Articles of this nature have appeared in the Bulgarian, East German and Rumanian papers and have now assumed the proportions of a campaign against the Peking "dogmatists."

(International communist revolution having been found to be an impracticable proposition, Stalin propounded the theory of socialism in one country which, as experience has shown, hardly differs in effect from "National Socialism"

of Hitler. China has gone one better than Russia and is, now, openly embarking on a policy of 'Aggressive and Expansionist National Communism.' The present Chinese aggresiveness against capitalist countries may ultimately be directed even against other Communist countries. Bertrand Russel visualised this possibility long back in his 'Roads to Freedom, in which he cited the example of socialist ants putting to death ants belonging to a neighbouring ant-heap.
—Ed.)

## HANDS OFF CONGO
## MR. EISENHOWER'S WARNING TO SOVIET UNION

Washington: President Eisenhowever today urged the Soviet Union to stop its unilateral action in the Congo aimed at furthering its political designs in Africa.

Speaking at his weekly press conference, Mr. Eisenhower said that the United States deplored the action taken by the Soviet Union to supply aircraft and other equipment for military purposes to the Congolese Government headed by Mr. Patrice Lumumba, thus aggravating the already serious situation in which Africans were killing othen Africans.

Mr. Eisenhover said that the flying of Russian planes to the Congo by Soviet military personnel was contrary to the principles agreed to by the United Nations against the participation of the armed forces of the major Powers in the Congo.

Mr. Eisenhowever said that the constitutional seructure of the Congo Republic must be peacefully established by the Congolese themselves. But this aim was threatened by Soviet action.

## CHINA VIOLATED INDIAN AIR SPACE 17 TIMES IN 4 MONTHS

There were 17 violations of Indian air space on India-China borders and one on the cease-fire line in Kashmir during the last four months, Mr. Krishna Menon informed the Lok Sabha.

## PLANNING COMMISSION ALIEN TO DEMOCRACY: MASANI

Mr. M. R. Masani, Swatantra M.P., said in New Delhi on Tuesday that there was no other Parliamentary democracy which had a planning commission and five-year plans. The three elements did not go together.

Planning must be done by the cabinet of Ministers and not by a super-Government like the Planning Commission, he added. He was speaking at a symposium, the first of a series on political parties in the country, organized by the United Nations Youth Association.

Describing the Planning Commission as a dual Government, the beginning of a Soviet-type dictatorship developing behind the scenes, deciding what shall be produced and what people shall buy, he asserted that political democracy could not exist without economic democracy.

Private enterprise with its competitive nature could achieve more than what was envisaged in the Plan. The present degenerate tendencies were due to the prevailing economic and social stagnation.

## RULES AGAINST ENGLISH OPPOSED EVEN IN U. P.

Lucknow: Members of the Vidhan Parisad today vehemently opposed the recommendation of the Rules Revising Committee, regarding deletion of English as one of the media in the House. The rules, they insisted, should be formed to facilitate the bosiness of the House and not to hamper it.

The Members rejected this plea and the recommendation was referred back to the committee. The recommendation regarding the privilege of the House in connection with calling attention motion was also referred back.

## COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AGAINST U.N. IN CONGO

Leopoldville: A booklet printed in Moscow which is being distributed by thousands to the Congolese soldiers. It has plain white cover. On inside was the picture of benign-looking Khrhshchev with the words: "Hands off the Congo."

The text, which was in French, attacked the actions of the U.N. in the Congo and claimed that the imperialists were trying to exploit the country. Congolese soldiers had been warned not to allow these books fall into the hands of Western journalists and Europeans. They had been urged to pass them on only to other Congolese brethren. But one copy reached the U.N. officials here and they have sent it to Mr. Hammarskjoeld.

## MANKIND 2,900 M. STRONG 48 MILLION ADDED EVERY YEAR

U.N. H.Q.: There are about 2,900 million people in the world, and some 48 million more are added every year, according to the U.N. Demographic Year Book published here tonight.

Africa is the most prolific continent, with a birthrate of 45 per million but as regions South-East Asia and Tropical and Southern Africa go one better 46 per million.

At the other end of the scale, Europe's birthrate is only 19 per million.

Japan, where prewar birthrate was among the highest, now has one of the lowest, 18 per thousand.

More than half the world's inhabitanes live in four countries: China (660 million), India (403 million), the Soviet Union (209 million), and the U.S.A. (178 million).

## CONTINUED USE OF ENGLISH URGED BY MADRAS ASSEMBLY

Madras, Sepe. 6: The Legislative Assembly yesterday approved the language policy of the Madras Government with an amendment to the Government motion that the "Central Government be requested to undertake approriate legislation in order to implement the Prime Minister's assurances regarding the continued use of the English language for official purposes of the Indian Union."

## LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

### ANNUAL REPORT OF ITS ACTIVITIES

The Annual Report prepared by the above institute gives in detail the manifold activities carried on by the above Institute (Bangalore branch) for the period 1959 January-1960 july. They included holding of public meetings on behalf of the institute at different places in the city of Bangalore and the suburbs, such as Basvangudi, the Libertarian Institute Hall, S. S. K. Hall, Kannad Sahitya Parishad Hall, Malleshwaram, The Secretariat Club Bangalore, to educate public opinion on the current problems of the day. The prominent speakers were Mr. P. Spratt, Prof. M. A. Venkatarao, General Kariappa, Mr. T. Siddalinigaiah, Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-law, Mr. C. Thomas, Mr. P. H. Sheshagari Rao, former Deputy Auditor-General of India, Mr. D. R. Ramayya, Principal Information Officer, Government of Mysore, Mr. B. S. Mallya, Mr. Vallabhaswami, Secretary All India Sarva Seva Sangh. Prof. M. A. Venkatarao spoke on different occasions on the Dangerous consequences of the Policy of the Congress towards China, Kashmir Problem, Inflation and Food Problem, Spinoza, and the Rationalist" and other current topics; Mr. Phillip Spratt, on 'Nagpur Congress Session', 'China Aggression', Kerala,' 'Swatantra Party', 'world situation.' The topics dealt with by other speakers, were World Crisis (by Vallabhaswami); Spiritual Approach in Modern Life (by T. Siddalinigaiah), 'Chinese claims of India's borders' (by M. S. Sirdar), 'Defence Matters in India' (by General Cariappa), 'Education and Social Philosophy' (by C. Thomas), The Truth about Inflation (by Sheshigiri Rao), Price of Democracy (by D. R. Ramayya).

A *symposium* on 'Family System and Literature under Communism' was held on 30.1.1959. The speakers were Mr. M. V. Shrinivasan, Advocate, Mr. K. X, Nagaraj, and Mr. C. H. Prahallad Rao. Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, President. Mr. Phillip Spratt addressed a *Study Circle* meeting at the Institute on 'My Impressions of Kerala visit' on 6-7-59. On 27-7-60 at the Book Discussion Meeting, Mr. M. A. Venkatarao spoke on. 'Henry Hazlitt on Economics in one lesson.'

All these activities were distributed evenly over the whole period.

——:o:——

## MORAL VALUES

Freedom to order our own conduct in the sphere where material circumstances force a choice upon us, and responsibility for the arrangement of our own life according to our own conscience, is the air in which alone moral sense grows and in which moral values are daily re-created in the free decision of the individual. Responsibility, not to a superior, but to one's conscience, the awareness of a duty not exacted by complusion, the necessity to decide which of the things one values are to be sacrified to others, and bear the consequences of one's own decision, are the very essence of any morals which deserve the name.

—F. A. Hayek.

# Letter to the Editor

Madam.

May I make a few observations with reference to the article by M. N. Tholal in the "Libertarian" of June 1, pages 8 and 9?

Before commenting upon the thought of Mr. Tholal, I would amphasize that Premier Khrushchev should not be criticised for his zeal in looking after the interests of U.S.S.R. This is what we should expect from him as we would from Premier Nehru or any other loyal government head. In fact we can afford to show considerable gratitude to Mr. Khrushchev, or to Russia, first because its losses were heaviest in the war and second it was the sacrifices, skill and valor of the Soviets which first brought the Nazi-Fascist war machine to its knees. Had it not been for Mr. Khrushchev's people the world today might be a very different place in which to live—or try to live.

It should also not be overlooked that in both the Yalta and Potsdam conferences it was agreed between U.S, U.S.S.R., and Great Britain, that Germany would be dismembered and never allowed to rearm. Mr. Tholal states that, "once the Russians lose their iron grip over East Germany, the process will extend itself naturally to all those Soviet satellites in eastern Europe". The loss of these socalled satellites by Russia would mean their rule by whom? Not Germany, not France, not England, nor U. S. but by Rome—as they were in prewar days. Is anyone so naive as to think such a change would bring about an improvement—economic, educational or social—for the common people of those countries

When the United Nations members signed the U. N. charter they agreed "to live together as good neighbours" Are any of the Libertarian readers so stupid as to think a string of small states across Europe and ruled by Rome would be good neighbors of Russia? Such a set up would bring another war in less than a generation. When shall we learn that nations the size of Russia, China or India cannot be permanently subjucated by any organization socially as senile as Rome.

Russia cannot at present render any greater service to the world in general, and to the Central European "satellites" in particular, than to sit tight and maintain the *status quo*. The western powers must eventually appreciate this, in fact the majority of thoughtful people in the socalled free world already feel this—if they are not owners of any stock in armament plants.

August 19, 1960
Washington. —Ira D. Cardiff

*(Mr. Tholal writes to say that the suggestion that the loss of her satellites by Russia would mean their rule by Rome is in the first place fantastic: and if it were not, Mr. Cardiff's argument would hold good against any subject nation being granted freedom. The Roman-phobia should not make one purblind to the Russian tyranny in her satellites—Ed).*

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A prize of Rs. 100|- will be awarded to anyone who sends us an essay not exceeding 50 typed pages on:

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Edited by Miss K. R. Lotwala for the Libertarian Publishers Private Ltd., Printed by G. N. Lawande, at G. N. Printers, (Motor Printing Works), Lal Chimney, Lamington Road Bombay 11, and published by him at the office of the Libertarian Publishers (Private) Ltd., 26, Durgadevi Road, Bombay 4.