

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

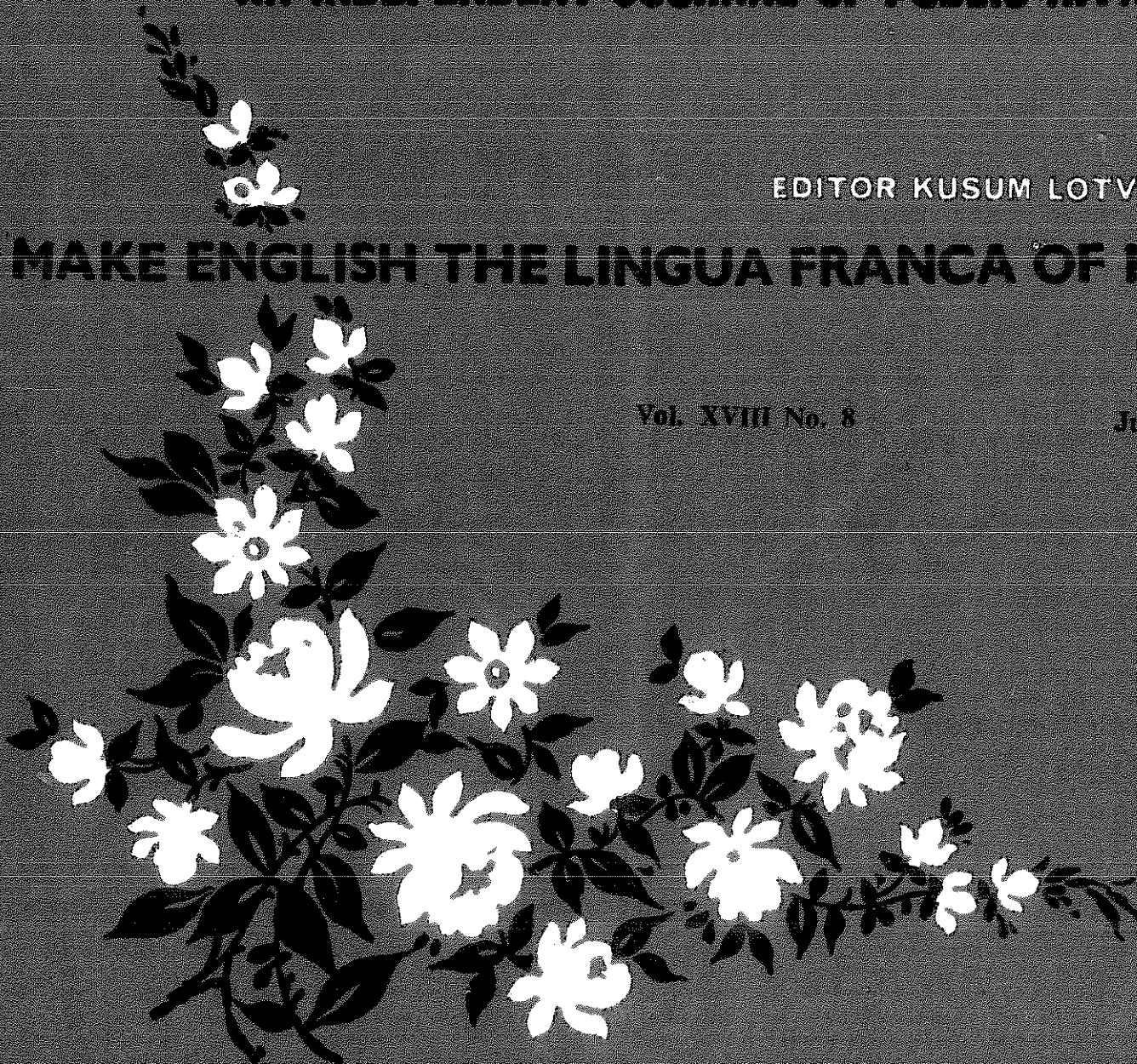
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR KUSUM LOTVALA

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

Vol. XVIII No. 8

July 15, 1972.



ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RS. 6.00

6046

PRICE 25 PAISE

	Page		Page
EDITORIAL			
India's Good-will Towards Pakistan	2	The Nature of Modern Warfare	10
Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis		<i>By David Oslenfeld</i>	
An Assessment	4	The Economic Power Synddrome	13
<i>By A. Ranganathan</i>		<i>By Silver Petro</i>	
A Fair Agreement	6	The Liberal Faith A Critique	15
<i>By M. N. Tholal</i>		<i>By K. Guru Dutt</i>	
DELHI LETTER			
A Fantastic Agitation	8	Letters to The Editor	18

EDITORIAL

INDIA'S GOOD-WILL TOWARDS PAKISTAN

The agreement reached at Simla between Mrs. Indira Gandhi on behalf of India Government and Mr. Bhutto on behalf of Pakistan Government on July 3, 1972, once again confirms and reiterates India's abundant sense of fellow-feeling and good-will towards Pakistan. Though the creation of Pakistan was accompanied by much blood letting of Hindus and Muslims in the border areas of Punjab, Sind and Bengal, Indian leaders never allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by inveterate enmity and hatred against Pakistan as Pakistan leaders did. It was Jinnah who first ordered the Pak army to occupy a portion of Kashmir which has since been in her military occupation. With the accession of Kashmir to India that is Bharat, which choice was given to the rulers of The States under the Instruments of United India's Independence under which India became free from the British yoke, Mr. Jinnah should have quietly acquiesced with Kashmir's accession to India. But with all his legal acumen and knowledge of Constitutional Law, he miserably failed to rise equal to the occasion and left for his successors nothing but a legacy of hatred and illwill for India. Gandhiji on the other hand, laid down his life in the cause of Hindu-Muslim amity and peaceful coexistence in the whole of sub-continent comprising India and Pakistan. After Gandhiji, even when the Indian army had reached the very gates of Karachi, Mr. Nehru took the Kashmir dispute, wisely or unwisely, to the U.N. Assembly in the hope of exploring other avenues to a peaceful settlement of the dispute and went even to the length of agreeing to a plebiscite in both occupied and unoccupied Kashmir, provided the Pakistan army withdrew from the occupied territory. But Pakistan leaders never consented to fulfil the condition of the Pakistan army being withdrawn from occupied

Kashmir but straight way turned it into 'Azad Kashmir' which in fact was a slave under Pakistan's suzerainty. Nehru's was a package deal and the condition precedent laid down by him having not been fulfilled, his offer of a plebiscite no longer held good and lapsed.

Indian Kashmir, since then, has had the opportunity of expressing her opinion in favour of accession to India in the three General Elections held throughout India, while Azad Kashmir has had no such opportunity to make her free choice for or against its being incorporated into Pakistan.

RELIGION, NOT THE CRITERION

During the last 23 years or so, the accession of Kashmir to India has thus become a settled fact and this fact can no longer be disputed. After the separation of Bangla Desh from Pakistan, there is no reason for believing that religion still remains the decisive factor in marking out boundaries between the Secular State of India and the neighbouring Islamic State of Pakistan. Even in Western Pakistan, it is doubtful whether different linguistic and regional areas like Sind Baluchistan and Faktoonistan of the Pathans, could be any longer retained in Pakistan only in the name of the common religion of Islam, if the surviving portion of Pakistan fails to be imbued with one common secular ideology like Democratism, Socialism or Communism, whichever suits the prevailing conditions in Pakistan. Religion, it has been proved, cannot hold Pakistan together, however hard Pakistan's fanatical leaders, Mullahs and Moulavies might try to attempt to rouse religious passions against India. The language riots in Sind, the nationalistic upsurge of Pathans for a Faktoonistan and

Baluchis for Baluchistan point to the inadequacy and inability of religionism to bind together these divergent groups by common ties of religion alone which easily give way under the knocks of hard realities of daily life.

This is not to say that religion in its essence, does not play any role in the life of a nation or an individual. But one thing could be definitely ruled out of modern life and that is religious fanaticism which breeds intolerance of people professing other faiths and creeds. With modern scientific mode of thinking governing modern life, in an increasing measure, religion has to come to grips with science and must adjust itself to it, if it wants to survive. Even an avowedly Islamic country like Pakistan must therefore necessarily reorient her national policies to this scientific and humanistic mode of thinking and being. Otherwise, it is doomed forever, since fissiparous tendencies based on powerful forces like linguism and racism would surely prevail over the religion of the Mullahs and Moulavis.

Pakistanis make take a lesson from the fate that has overtaken revivalist parties like Janasangha in India which was mainly grounded in reviving the glories, real or imaginary of a hoary past.

Religion has thus ceased to be the criterion of demarking the boundaries between Pakistan and India. If Pakistan is sincere about bring peace to the whole sub-continent, she must now be satisfied with retaining that portion of Kashmir which is left in her hands after the fourteen days' war with India, with the consent of Kashmiris inhabiting the area. In one word, the present line of control between India and Pakistan must be made permanent along the much disturbed Kashmir border.

INDIA HAS KEPT HER PLEDGE

During the fourteen days' war in December 1971, it was alleged by certain Western countries, particularly by U.S. headed by Mr. Nixon that India had territorial ambitions in Western Pakistan and wanted to dismember it. But this lie was nailed to the counter, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi unilaterally declared 'cease fire' exactly when the Pakistan army was completely demoralised both in the East and the West and the Indian army could easily over-run an appreciable portion of Western Pakistan at a bound, without having to encounter any big hurdle on its onward march into Pakistan. It is significant that in the hour of victory, our Prime Minister should have been reminded of Lord Krishna's teaching in Bhagwadgita that one should not lose equanimity of mind either in victory or defeat but do one's duty in a dispassionate manner.

But the Western nations and the Arabic Islamic States could not catch and appreciate this lofty spirit of India handed down to her from generation to generation, even though it was touched upon in so many words by our Prime Minister in her speech declaring unilateral 'cease fire'.

Despite this, Nixon Administration attempted to under-value this liberal spirit shown by India in her hour of victory, by attributing it to the good services

of Russia. This was too mean and ungenerous for U.S. Administration to do. This mischievous attitude of U.S. showed that 'cease fire' was not to her liking and that she wanted Asian nations to fight each other so that she might get a golden opportunity to exploit the situation for gaining her selfish ends. U.S. has thus proved herself to be a trouble-shooter in this sub-continent and India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh will ignore this fact only at their peril.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Indira-Bhutto Agreement needs to be assessed from this broader angle of vision. The Big Powers' detente, despite their acute ideological differences and the opposite camps on which they are ranged in Vietnam, Korea and the Indian sub-continent, has justifiably raised the apprehension in the minds of Asiatic nations that the Big Nuclear Powers are trying to reach an understanding between themselves on the question of carving out spheres of influence in the world. Nuclear power which is playing an increasingly important role in the military strategy to-day, is sought to be monopolised by the Big two nations. Under this threat of nuclear powers the two Koreas are reported to be coming together. Japan and China are moving in the same direction. North Vietnam is reported to be going its own way in her war with South Vietnam, whatever might be the wishes of China, Russia, which strangely enough, have become demonstrably luke-warm in their condemnation of U.S. aerial bombing of North Vietnam.

It is not therefore excluded that Mrs. Indira Gandhi has scented this danger to the peace of the Sub-continent from these powerful quarters and its constituent nations Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh. The Israel Prime Minister hailed Indira-Bhutto agreement as a worthy precedent for Arab nations and Israel in the matter of composing their differences in the interests of Western Asian peace.

Judged from this point of view, the first step taken by India and Pakistan through this agreement appears to be most correct and opportune in the context of present day international politics played particularly by Big Nuclear Powers. A time may soon come when non-nuclear Powers of the world might have to come together and present a united front to the nuclear politics played by these two Powers which seem to have overcome even their ideological barriers. A new Nuclear ideology appears to be in the offing and it promises to wipe out all differences political and ideological prevailing at present.

This may lead other nations to develop their Nuclear strength and power. France has already set the ball rolling. Great Britain and Japan promise to follow suit. India, if need be, is in a position to launch on a nuclear military programme at ashort notice.

Thus whether Pakistan has gained or lost by the Agreement or India has done so at certain points here and there, does not count for much, if the all-out aim of the coming together of these nations of the Sub-continent in face of this common peril to their freedom is at least partly fulfilled, thus giving rise to the hope

(Contd. on page 7)

PROFESSOR P. C. MAHALANOBIS F. R. S. — AN ASSESSMENT

By
A. RANGANATHAN

Like the scientist, the artist has also become an expert in this age of specialization. For the molecular biologist of today speaks in a language that can be understood only by his fellow-molecular biologists. Similarly the painter speaks only to other painters. Naturally the creative artist, whether he is a physicist or a painter, looks back on the Renaissance when it was possible for the physicist Galileo to write poetry and for the painter Leonardo to work out the problems of hydraulics. It is the dialogue which has become rare in this modern age. However, this modern trend has its spectacular exceptions and Prof. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis is one of them. In fact the actual phrasing of the title of a pamphlet written by Prof. Mahalanobis is significant—"Back to Ram Mohan; Forward to Rabindranath". And the term 'versatile mind' can be applied to Mahalanobis without exaggeration. For the union in one mind of creative ability in statistical methods as well as competence in teaching physics to generations of students at the post-graduate level and a sensitive perception of Tagore's poetry is without precedent in the intellectual history of modern India. As Mrs. Indira Gandhi rightly commented: "The professor's remarkable personality combined many facets and achievements. He was one of our greatest scientists and made outstanding contributions in the field of statistics. But he was equally at home in literature and the arts. He had been close to Gurudev Tagore".

Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was born at Calcutta on June 29, 1893. His intellectual ancestry was truly formidable. But even more remarkable than Mahalanobis's distinguished relatives—his uncle S. C. Mahalanobis, educated at Edinburgh, was one of the earliest Indian professors belonging to the I.E.S. cadre at Presidency College, Calcutta—was his association with the Brahmo Samaj. Indeed his father's residence was the centre of the Brahmo Samaj. And Mahalanobis literally spent his youth in an ambience of intellectual and cultural endeavour—an ambience which was sustained by men like Ramananda Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Nilratan Sarkar and several others. The scene then shifts to King's College, Cambridge, where he took the mathematical tripos in 1914 and the physics tripos in 1915. The highlight of his stay at Cambridge was his friendship—quite an achievement—with that mathematical genius Srinivasa Ramanujan.

Here are some interesting extracts from his piece on Ramanujan: "..... Ramanujan was stirring something in a pan over the fire for our lunch. I was sitting near the table, turning over the pages of the Strand Magazine. I got interested in a problem involving a relation between two numbers. I have forgotten the details but I remember the type of the problem. Two British officers had been billeted in Paris in two different houses in a long street; the numbers of these houses were related in a special way; the problem was to find out the two numbers. It was not at all difficult; I got the solution in a few minutes by trial and error. In a joking way, I told Ramanujan, 'Now here is a problem for you'. He said, 'What problem, tell me' and went on stirring the pan. I read out the question from the Strand Magazine. He promptly answered, 'Please take down the solution and dictated a continued fraction. The first term was the solution which I had obtained. Each successive term represented successive solutions for the same type of relation between two numbers, as the number of houses in the street would increase indefinitely. I was amazed and I asked him how he got the solution in a flash. He said 'Immediately I heard the problem it was clear that the solution should obviously be a continued fraction; I then thought, which continued fraction? And the answer came to my mind. It was just as simple as this'."

"I have mentioned that Ramanujan and I often used to go out for long walks on Sunday mornings. During these walks our discussions ranged over a wide variety of subjects. He had some progressive ideas about life and society but no reformist views. Left to himself, he would often speak of certain philosophical questions. He was eager to work out a theory of reality which would be based on the fundamental concepts of 'Zero', infinity and the set of finite numbers. I used to follow in a general way but I never clearly understood what he had in his mind. He sometimes spoke of 'zero' as the symbol of the Absolute (Nirguna Brahman) of the extreme monistic school of Hindu philosophy, that is, the reality to which no qualities can be attributed, which cannot be defined or described by words and is completely beyond the reach of the human mind; according to Ramanujan, the appropriate symbol was the number 'zero', which is the absolute negation of all attributes. He looked on the number 'infinity' as the

totally of all possibilities which was capable of becoming manifest in reality and which was inexhaustible. According to Ramanujan, the product of infinity and zero would supply the whole set of finite numbers. Each act of creation, as far as I could understand, could be symbolized as a particular product of infinity and zero, and from each such product would emerge a particular individual of which the appropriate symbol was a particular finite number. I have put down what I remember of his views. I do not know the exact implications".

"Ramanujan had a somewhat shy and quiet disposition, a dignified bearing and pleasant manners. He would listen carefully to what other people were saying, but would usually remain silent. If he was asked any question, or on rare occasions, if he joined in any general conversation, he would speak in a frank and open way, but briefly. In speaking to a friend or in very small groups, he would, however, expound his ideas with great enthusiasm, not only on philosophical questions but occasionally also on other subjects in which he was seriously interested. Although I could not follow his mathematics, he left a lasting impression on my mind. His bright eyes and gentle face with a friendly smile are still vivid in my mind".

On his return to India, Mahalanobis joined the Indian Educational Service and became Professor of Physics at Presidency College and continued there till 1948. He was also Meteorologist at Calcutta in charge of the Alipore Observatory for a period of four years (from 1922 to 1926). From 1922 to 1945 he was Professor and Head of the Department of physics at Presidency College. Incidentally this era constituted the heroic age of Indian physics; the contributions of Raman to sound and spectroscopy, the achievement of Krishnan in Magnetism, S. N. Bose's Bose-Einstein Statistics, Saha's ionization formula and Bhabha's cascade theory, not to speak of Chandrasekhar's fundamental contributions to astrophysics, reflect the wavelengths of this heroic age of Indian physics. Indeed it is a trifle surprising that Prof. Mahalanobis did not make creative contribution to physics. However, he maintained this 'distance' from physics in a statistical manner of speaking! For he became a Fellow of the Royal Society in the wake of his statistical concept of 'distance' which was finalised as early as 1925. Here it is as well to remember that after studying mathematics and physics at Cambridge, he returned to India with copies of Kari Pearson's journal **Biometrika and Biometric Tables**.

Mahalanobis's associations with Tagore constitute page of history. In fact it is seldom realized that Mahalanobis had creative impact on Tagore's concept of Vishwa-Bharati. Again Tagore consulted Mahalanobis before preparing his well-known lectures on Nationalism

in Japan. Similarly Tagore's historic letter (1919) to Lord Chelmsford relinquishing his knighthood reflects the signature of Mahalanobis in a literary sense. It is hardly surprising therefore and Mahalanobis accompanied the poet during his European tour in 1926. And in 1927 Mahalanobis collaborated with Kari Pearson on certain problems of statistical research at London. This led on to the establishment of the Indian Statistical Institute in 1933. This Institute—which as projected India on the statistical map of the world, began with an investment of more than Rs. 175 lakhs! Here one must not forget to add that poet Rabindranath gave the design for the emblem of the Institute. Again it was Tagore who named the publication of the Institute as 'Sankhya'.

Mahalanobis is not only famous as the creator of a school of Indian statistical research, but also justly celebrated for his three famous contributions to statistics — the Mahalanobis concept of 'distance' which provides a neat formulation of ordering groups of measurements in different disciplines such as biometry, econometrics, geology, anthropology, psychology and social research, Mahalanobis 'design of experiments' which is a practical technique derived from probability logic in an attempt to avoid error in a given agricultural design and the famous tool of statistical analysis known as Fractile Graphic Analysis (F G A) — which occupied the professor's attention during his last years — to interpret the data collected by the National Sample Survey. It redounds to the credit of Prof. Mahalanobis that two of his pupils have acquired an international reputation—R. C. Bose whose name was splashed in the American press as Euler's (pronounced 'oiler') spoiler as he once proved a celebrated conjecture of Euler wrong and Dr. C. Radhakrishna Rao, a Fellow of the Royal Society and Prof. Mahalanobis's successor as the Director of the Institute.

The versatility of Prof. Mahalanobis was truly amazing. Like Sir P. C. Ray, who delved into the history of Hindu chemistry, so has Mahalanobis explored the Jaina dialectic of Sayadvadva to gain an insight into the probabilistic and statistical nature of this school of philosophy.

Great as were Mahalanobis's contributions to statistics, his work on national planning has had a disastrous effect on the Indian economy. For instance it is well known that Prof. Mahalanobis, who was then Member of the Planning Commission, submitted the draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan to the Government of India in 1956. Frankly Prof. Mahalanobis's approach has resulted in the Sovietization of the Indian economy with its inevitable consequences—the development of sector models for supposedly determining investments in different sectors of the

(Contd. on page 7)

A FAIR AGREEMENT

By M. N. Tholal

Much of the acclamation accorded to the decisions reached at the summit meeting at Simla is likely to subside with President Bhutto's observation on reaching Lahore that Pakistan had not signed a "no-war pact" with India and was not ready to do so, and that all that the two countries had done was to renounce the use of force to settle differences, which was in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The distinction between a "no-war pact" and the renunciation of the use of force in respect of each other may be too subtle for the average mind which is likely to argue that no war can be fought without the use of force, but it is not too subtle for the average Pakistani brought up on hatred of India, which is really the starting point of war and which makes for preparation for war (vide the Pakistan defence budget) and resort to it at a convenient moment.

The mentality on which the edifice of Pakistan was built has to undergo a profound change if war between the two countries is to be averted. There is nothing like a crushing defeat, as in the December War, to make hotheaded people a little sober. Talk in Pakistan of another war with India is at the moment meant for Indian consumption, if also for ridicule in the privacy of their homes in Pakistan. And we may rest assured that, renunciation of force or no renunciation, there will be another war as soon as calculations with or without the stimulus of alcohol, promise an easy victory over India.

All that the knowledgeable Pakistani can legitimately claim at the moment is that the agreement reached at Simla is about the best bargain for a defeated nation. For this they have to thank Mrs Indira Gandhi and appreciation for her cannot possibly be lacking even in the streets of Lahore. President Bhutto could not have achieved better results. The same however cannot be said about the Indian Prime Minister. But it must be remembered that India had already declared, while ordering a unilateral cease-fire on December 17, that she did not covet an inch of Pakistani territory. She was further bound by her expressed desire to establish "durable peace" between the two countries, which logically cut both ways and which President Bhutto could not but accept as the starting point of an agreement, if one was to be reached at all.

To characterise the agreement as a "break-through" in the history of the sub-continent would appear to be a little too optimistic, but there is no doubt that it is a substantial step forward towards peace and friendly relations between the two countries. Circumstances within

Pakistan may make this a firm step, inasmuch as the jingoism of the Punjabi is not shared by the Pathans of the Frontier or by the Baluchis or even by the fellow-Sindhis of the President who, far from shouting "Pakistan Zindabad", are inclined to shout "Jai Sind", which carries its own connotation in the context of the cry of "Joi Bangla" and what followed it. The aggressiveness of the Pakistani Punjabi is not only a matter of concern for the rulers of India but also for the rulers of Pakistan who may naturally be expected to be anxious to promote solidarity in what is left of Pakistan.

The Simla Agreement is not half as black as the Jana Sangh President, A. B. Vajpayee, has sought to make-out. It is true, as he says, that the agreement on the return of troops to the international borders would mean giving up by India of 5,000 square miles of Pakistani territory while Pakistan would continue its illegal occupation of 30,000 square miles of Indian territory in Kashmir, but that is Indian territory in name only, having been under Pakistani occupation for nearly 25 years. Inasmuch as the issues of war damages, settlement of partition debts and evacuee property and compensation for the burden of Bangla Desh refugees were bypassed, the Agreement is generous indeed, but considering the fact that Pakistan has lost more than half of its people and about the most productive part of her territory as a result of her war-mongering folly, the supporters of the Agreement can claim justice as well as generosity for it. The last war has taught Pakistan a very good lesson. Whether she has really learnt the lesson, history alone will show. If she has not, she will be going in for another dismemberment of Pakistan in her yet another effort to "crush India". Unbridled hatred is akin to insanity.

Mr. Bhutto is a bit of a quick-change artist and he will be what his people want him to be. At the moment he shares the hopes and aspirations of his people and is no doubt giving expression to them, particularly in his addresses in his own country. He has justified the confidence his army generals and Uncle Sam had in him when they appointed him President of Pakistan. Both the architects of his presidency have been receding in the background, leaving the task of consolidation in his capable hands. His own people are likely to realise, now more than ever before, that theirs is a small country compared to India and that all talk of crushing her is mere moonshine likely to rebound to their own harm and shame, if not also the fact that such talk emanates from persons who want to deprive

the people of their right to rule over themselves for their own betterment.

The two basic principles which India had been trying to weave into the peace agreement were (1) abjuring of force by both countries and (2) solving mutual problems by bilateral means. India was able ultimately to persuade Pakistan to accept her stand because, in any case, Pakistan was not in a position to use force for years to come, her violations of the cease-fire line notwithstanding. And if force was out of the question for the time being, the solution of common problems by bilateral means was the only alternative left, the more so because arbitration by a third party had been ruled out absolutely by India.

As Mr. M. C. Chagla has put it, the agreement in effect amounts to Mr. Bhutto agreeing to a no-war pact with India and to putting Kashmir in the cold storage for the time being. This, as he says, is a complete reversal of Pakistan's past attitude. Whether Mr. Bhutto or Pakistan honour the agreement or not, it is far from being a sell-out. India has gained over 427 square miles of territory.

(Contd. from page 3)

of a fuller agreement being reached between the two, even through a 'step-by-step' approach as desired by Mr. Bhutto instead of a package deal as suggested by Mrs. Indira Gandhi our Prime Minister.

HONOURABLE TO BOTH

Coming to the details, India, under this Agreement, will return about 5139 square miles in Punjab, Cutch and Sind border and get back about 69 square miles of territory from Pakistan in Rajasthan and Punjab, which area only her army could occupy during the war. This proves that India and Pakistan have no territorial ambitions along this border and India has acted upto the pledge given by the Prime Minister at the time of declaring cease-fire. On the Kashmir front, it has been agreed that the present line of control should hold good till a fuller settlement is reached. It is also agreed that this line will be altered only through peaceful means and not through the exercise of force. Thus there is no gain or loss to either side. The Chamb area occupied by Pakistan army will remain with Pakistan which is as much of a strategic point as heights like Poonch and other important posts that will continue to be held by the Indian army, under the Agreement.

India and Pakistan have not changed a bit in their respective stands on the Kashmir issue except for the fact that both have pledged themselves to employ only peaceful methods of solving the tangle, which in itself is no small gain for the peace of this Sub-continent which has not known it over the last 23 years despite the best wishes and efforts on the Indian side. One cannot but agree with Mr. Bhutto that the Agreement is a victory for both sides. No-

body has gained at the cost of the other. Both have won on the international front and undoubtedly brought the whole sub-continent closer to peace, amity and goodwill among the nations that constitute it. The question of release of POWS will be settled bilaterally, between Pakistan and Bangla Desh.

India, true to her traditions of peace, national and international and even universal, will surely abide by her pledged word to keep peace. It is now for Pakistan to show that she does not lag behind in this respect and can be trusted to play her role worthily in promoting the much desired amity and friendship among the nations of this Sub-continent and finally freeing it from the manoeuvrings of third parties.

(Contd from page 5)

national economy but which actually resulted in a lop-sided emphasis on heavy industries, a state of inflation artificially induced by increasing resort to deficit financing (the only Governmental institution which does overtime work in India is the Nasik Press of Poona) and an uneconomic use of resources in the ultimate analysis. We can only look back on his brilliance of intellect with a regret that his wrong application of statistics to problems of economic planning in developing countries contributed to certain totalitarian trends in the economics of Asian development. However, we can leave his economic planning severely alone and cherish his statistical research which placed him along the great statisticians of the twentieth century. For we admire the man - a brilliant mathematician who was something of a poet, not the method - his use (or rather abuse) of the statistical method in economic planning.

NIXON and INDIA

It is to the national interest of India that her spokesmen should refrain from criticising adversely President Nixon for his Vietnam or other policies. He is annoyed with India because of her treaty with Soviet Russia, her victory over his protege, Pakistan, in the recent conflict with India, India's refusal to toe his line with regard to Bangla Desh, his defeat in the United Nations due to the Pro-India vetoes of Soviet Russia, and the Simla Summit without his active sponsorship. He is facing criticism of his Vietnam policy from within America itself, and from Soviet Russia and others. India's criticism can only irritate him and not change his policies. It is likely to drive him further into the arms of Pakistan and to re-arm her to have another go with India. He can, by the offer of massive economic aid which Bangla Desh badly needs and which India cannot match or excel, wean away Bangla Desh from her friendship to India. He is thus capable of hurting India but India is not capable of hurting him in equal measure. India will do well, therefore, to refrain from criticising him, if she cannot win him over. Politics and ethics do not always go together.

— P. Kodanda Rao

A FANTASTIC AGITATION

(From Our Correspondent)

All eyes are on the Simla Summit where, it is generally surmised, President Bhutto cannot afford to fail. He has been playing his cards well in a very difficult situation, which most of his knowledgeable countrymen realise only too well. The forces of peace are concentrated in the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan while those of continued hostility towards India are concentrated in Punjab with Sind vacillating between the two with cries "Jai Sind" which is not yet at least to be mixed up with "Jai Hind". President Bhutto can hardly be unaware of the fact that the task before him is nothing less than the consolidation of what is left of Pakistan which is facing disruption. A false step and he may do incalculable harm to the cause he has at heart.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan has given up the inquiry he promised into the allegations of corrupt practices in the recent elections to the Bengal Legislative Assembly. No useful purpose would be served, he rightly says, by an inquiry in which the Congress Party refuses to co-operate, as it has done.

The Congress refusal is not surprising in the circumstances obtaining there. Would the Marxist Communists have co-operated in a similar inquiry, had they succeeded in capturing a majority of seats in the Assembly? They have not yet given up their stand on "gheraos" which is not only unconstitutional but absolutely undemocratic. There are many who maintain that in dealing with a party which believes in gaining its object by hook or crook, administration of a little of its own medicine is not very unfair. Otherwise the Marxists will be allowed to get away with their maxim "Heads we win, tails you lose"—which is exactly what they are trying to do. When all is said, it should not be forgotten that there is considerable (justifiable) satisfaction in the country that the Indira Congress has succeeded in ousting Jyoti Babu in Bengal and Sant Fateh Singh in Punjab.

Sheikh Abdullah has deserted Pakistan in the hour of her need. Necessity knows no law. In the background of twenty years in the wilderness and of the December War which split Pakistan in two, the Sheikh had no option left to looking after himself and letting Pakistan shift for herself as best she may. The present state of affairs in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir is not very dissimilar to what existed in East Pakistan when the struggle for freedom there began. In

the circumstances the Kashmiris can hardly opt for Pakistan with their eyes open even in their imaginary plebiscite which has therefore been given the go-by by the leaders of the Plebiscite Front.

Gone are the days when Sheikh Abdullah used to observe that had a hundred solutions in mind for Kashmir and that independence could be a solution to the problem if India and Pakistan thought that such an arrangement for Kashmir would bring peace to the sub-continent and both guaranteed independence of the state, not without hinting that logistically and geographically Pakistan was in a more advantageous position than India. Sensibly enough he now says that Pakistan has nothing to do with Kashmir, geography and Muslim solidarity and Islamic principles notwithstanding. His love for the fanatical poet, Iqbal, also seems to have suffered a steep decline. His quotations from Iqbal used to draw Pakistani crowds in London. But other times, other manners, and the Sheikh would be well-advised to make a complete somersault in the interest of his future as well as that of his beloved Kashmir.

Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kamlapati Tripathi informed the public on June 21 that the disturbances in Varanasi and Ferozabad were not communal but politically motivated: a selected band of educated youth from Aligarh Muslim University had spread all over the state "to wreck the secular image of India and thereby adversely affect the forthcoming Indo-Pakistan summit talks at Simla." He named the Muslim Majlis as one of the agents-provocateur for fomenting the trouble. Their designs were however frustrated because of the firm measures taken by the Government.

This did not prevent the Indian Union Muslim League (on June 23) from calling upon Muslims in general and all the units of the League in particular to "continue to oppose the Aligarh University Amendment Act of 1972 in a peaceful and democratic manner until it is withdrawn." According to its call, protest meetings are to be held all over the country and signature campaigns started against the measure.

Asked to specify the provisions which had altered the character of the University, Mr. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait conceded that there had been no change in the Preamble of the original Act

(Contd. on page 18)

SRINIVASA RAMANUJAN - 'A GIFT FROM HEAVEN'

SURESH RAM

Fifty-two years ago, on April 26, 1920, passed away Srinivasa Ramanujan, the great genius whom Prof. Julian Huxley described as "the greatest mathematician of this century." His departure at the early age of 32 cast a gloom over the entire mathematical world as he was like a "gift from heaven", to quote Prof. E. T. Bell, from his celebrated work, "Men of Mathematics".

When I was in Madras recently I paid my respects to his devoted wife, S. Janaki Ammal. At the time of their marriage she was 11 and he was 22. The Ramanujans had no issue. Janaki Ammal, now 73, lives with her nephew in a small house in Triplicane. In a reminiscent mood she observed: "He was so much dedicated to mathematics that he had no time for anything else. At times he forgot to take his meal. Then I would go to him and offer him food. He would take it but his face would indicate that he was engrossed in some problem."

"Did he share with you his idea to go to Cambridge?" I asked her.

"Yes, he did. And when I said that I would like to accompany him he replied: 'I would be there for about a year and so you needn't come with me'. Then he added, 'Rest assured I will bring gold and jewels for you and you will become so rich'. So saying, he laughed and I rejoined, 'Don't talk nonsense. I know you are going to England for the sake of mathematics who is a very jealous goddess and will not let you amass wealth.' Then he confessed, 'You are right.'"

Janaki Ammal continued: "A week before his scheduled departure (17th March 1914), he took me to the boat, *s.s. Nevasu*, and showed me all the arrangements made there. Three days later, he asked me to accompany my mother-in-law to their hometown of Kumbakonam. He said, 'I want you to go home so that you may not be here when I sail. It would be difficult for me to go when you are here before my eyes'. Accordingly, I took his leave, wished him a happy and eventful journey and went way to Kumbakonam.

Recalling the days when he returned from Cambridge as a world-renowned mathematician, Janaki Ammal remarked, "Unfortunately, my parents-in-law did not inform me of his arrival. But my elder brother with whom I was staying at that time (March/April 1919) came across the news in some paper and he took me to Madras. Thereafter I was with him until his last moment."

During my tour of South India I also visited Kumbakonam and saw Ramanujan's ancestral home. Besides, I went to the Town High School from where he passed his S.S.L.C. examination and then to the Government College where he studied F.A. Fortunately, I met Mr K. Sarangapani Iyengar, a classmate of the great mathematician. He is 84 and he recalled those good old days he spent with Ramanujan. He said: Even in our school days we had realised that

he was a great genius and we all respected him for his extraordinary talent." My Sarangapani Iyengar went on: "Ramanujan and I were in the same class. In the IV standard he stood second and I got the first position with only one mark more than his. He felt very much and took no food for two days. Subsequently he beat me and always topped the list. ... Like Ramanujan I also failed in F.A. At this my father rebuked me saying: 'Ramanujan has failed because he is a genius, you have failed because you are a dunce. And you should now look after agriculture and household work.' Thereafter I discontinued my studies."

Ramanujan worked feverishly all his life. On January 12, 1920, he wrote a letter to Prof. G. H. Hardy, the distinguished British mathematician who "discovered" Ramanujan and helped him go to Cambridge and earn credit and renown as a great mathematician. In his letter, Ramanujan mentioned his discovery of what he called "Mock-Theta functions". Sixteen years later, on November 14, 1936, Prof. G. N. Watson chose these very functions as the subject of his valedictory address before the London Mathematical Society after having been its President for 16 continuous years. Prof. Watson concluded his lecture with the words:

"Ramanujan's discovery of the Mock-Theta functions makes it obvious that his skill and ingenuity did not desert him at the oncoming of his untimely end. As much as any of his earlier work, the Mock-Theta functions are an achievement sufficient to cause his name to be held in lasting remembrance."

Offering his tribute to Ramanujan's genius, Prof. Hardy said:

"It was his insight into algebraical formulae, transformations of infinite series, and so on, that was most amazing. On this side most certainly I have never met his equal, and I can compare him only with Euler or Jacobi. ..."

Ramanujan had no aspiration for greatness or power. Neither did he desire any position or praise. Nor did he want anything else... except peace to worship quietly in the Temple of Truth through the medium of mathematics. His only ambition was to keep on giving, giving more and giving still more. This anxiety to give ceaselessly burnt him from within and hastened his end. It also accounts for the fact that his genius never turned into a stagnant pool and always remained like an ever-flowing stream.

"The essence of mathematics", says Prof. C. P. Cantor, "resides in its freedom". Perhaps. According to Prof. E. T. Bell, "It consists in its eternal youth." Possibly. But it lies far more truly in its profound humility with which it instinctively unravels one mystery after another and leaves all other sciences, though more resourceful and dominant, far behind in the great quest for Truth. Srinivasa Ramanujan was a perfect embodiment of the same.

— Swarajya.

The Nature of Modern Warfare

By David Osterfeld

In reflecting upon the intensity of the sentiment and the methods utilized in contemporary antiwar protests, it seems manifest that the preference is always for peace; that nobody wants war. So, one must ask why, if no one wants war, do wars continue to occur?

Perhaps wars result, not from the direct intentions of "war-mongering capitalists" or any other group for that matter, but as Edmund Opitz observed, they are the "unexpected by-product," the inevitable culmination, of particular political or economic policies not intended to be aggressive and, in fact, even humanitarily motivated. What one must, therefore, attempt to discern is the generic nature of these particular policies whose underlying elements propel us toward war. Only if we are cognizant of the processes that cause wars can we ever hope to obviate these warlike tendencies.

The crux of this thesis, however, is nearly diametrically opposed to today's prevailing ethos which attempts to explain war, more often than not, as the result of the insidious machinations of the industrial magnates or the "warmongering capitalists," or insists that by its nature the capitalist system must culminate in violent conflicts and, ultimately, its own catastrophic demise. The position here is to equate classical liberalism and capitalism with peace rather than war. Conversely, it considers the factors begetting war as endemic, not in socialism per se, but in any type of government economic intervention of which socialism is merely one form.

Aggressive Nationalism follows Intervention

While everyone is agreed that the cause of war is aggressive nationalism, the position here is that aggressive nationalism is the necessary outcome of government intervention. In other words, statism fosters nationalism. An in-depth study of nearly 1000 wars fought in the West from 500 B. C. to A. D. 1925 was conducted by the sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin. In contrasting the size of the casualty list to the corresponding population, he determined that the war magnitude of the first quarter of the twentieth century stood at 52 per 1,000,000 (compared with 17 for the nineteenth century) leading Sorokin to conclude that "the twentieth century will unquestionably prove to be the bloodiest and most belligerent of all the twenty-five centuries under consideration."

These figures are in accord with the two salient contentions of this article. If a general date can be given for the beginning of the abandonment of the principles of laissez-faire for those of government intervention and control, it would be the 1870's, highlighted by events such as Germany's appointment of Bismarck as Chancellor and the emergence of the first effects of Britain's Reform Bill of 1867. Since that time, the trend has been conspicuously away from limited democracy and laissez-faire and toward

government economic interference. We can say, generally, that the age of classical liberalism was the nineteenth century and that the age of statism extends from the latter part of that century to the present.

In applying Dr. Sorokin's findings to that of our historical sketch, two things we have noted become manifest. On the one hand is the relative peace and tranquility enjoyed by a world embracing largely laissez-faire principles. On the other we see, with the substitution of the deification of the state and rise of the controlled economy for the principles of classical liberalism, the concomitant rise of war and international conflict.

The question to be considered now is why government intervention — whether it be socialism or a "mixed" or welfare economy, and whether for humanitarian or insidious purposes — engenders international conflicts and war.

Domestic Ramifications of Statism

The free market is perpetually heading toward equilibrium. Wages and prices are always heading toward a point at which the supply of laborers and of commodities equals the demand for them. Any attempt to interfere with the natural operation of market pricing is destined to engender economic imbalance, begetting in turn, international conflict.

To illustrate how this occurs, we will follow the linkage of events in any government interference. We will assume, moreover, that the intervention occurs under the most propitious circumstances; that it is, in other words, humanitarily motivated. We will say, for example, that the government has intervened in an endeavor to raise the wages of the hard-pressed or to set a minimum standard for the lowest strata of the working force. Surely, most would exclaim, this is a generous act; surely there could be nothing sinister or pernicious about such a policy; surely this would ease, not aggravate, tension. However, let's examine it more closely.

If wages are forced up, prices also may rise. Either they will rise nearly simultaneously, or the increased wages will reduce the income of the entrepreneurs, thus driving the marginal producers out of business and discouraging additional investment in those fields. This diminution in the amount of capital investment will entail a reduction in the quantity of commodities produced, thus causing prices to rise. And the same thing is true of endeavors to hold prices down. At the lower prices, more is bought. But the reduced price discourages investment and once again forces the marginal producers out of business, thereby engendering shortages that can only be corrected by either (1) removing the controls and permitting prices to rise or (2) carrying on production through means of subsidies, which requires higher prices in other fields. Any government intervention,

therefore, must inevitably create imbalances in the economy; these, in turn, tend to bring a rise in production costs and therefore in prices.

This rise in prices, moreover, must have catastrophic international ramifications. Since domestic wages and prices are artificially held above the level set by the free market, the lower prices offered by imported goods will encourage the buying of the imported commodities in preference to domestically produced goods. As long as prices domestically are maintained at bloated levels, this foreign underselling ultimately will force the domestic firms out of business. Moreover, maintaining wages domestically above their respective equilibrium levels will attract immigrants from abroad. The influx of new laborers will either force the bloated wage level down or engender institutional mass unemployment.

The apparent solution for such problems is a policy of autarchy, viz., economic isolation, as best manifested by recourse to tariff and migration barriers, exchange controls, and the like.

International Ramifications : War

It should now be evident that a country intent upon controlling wages and prices cannot permit either imports or immigration. Such penetration would easily and obviously frustrate the planners. Statism, therefore, becomes synonymous with autarchy. With the possible exceptions of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., hardly any nation is adequately blessed with the means of self-sufficiency; statism and autarchy, therefore, must manifest themselves as a policy of aggressive nationalism. As Lionel Robbins observed: "It is really ridiculous to suppose that such a policy is possible for the majority. . . . To recommend autarchy as a general policy is to recommend war as an instrument for making autarchy possible."

It may be well to consider this passage further. In the long run, exports must always equal imports. The only reason one gives up an object in trade is to acquire that which he does not possess but values more than what he is giving up; similarly, the only need for exports is to pay for the required imports. Thus, the greater the imports demanded for subsistence, the greater the exports required to pay for them.

A nation, in endeavoring to preserve domestic wage and price increases through recourse to tariff and migration barriers, thereby eliminates the possibility of exporting its surplus commodities and thus acquiring the foreign exchange necessary to purchase imports. There are only three ways to procure the necessities of life: (1) to produce them at home, (2) to trade for them or (3) to go to war and take them. If a nation does not possess the kind or the necessary quantities of natural resources, and if it does not possess enough fertile agricultural land to provide for its population, then it must trade for these necessities. If it erects tariff barriers and prohibits imports — or if other nations erect tariffs that prohibit exports — a nation is then unable to trade for its necessities. Unless one subscribes to the unlikely proposition that the people of one nation will passively acquiesce in permitting either starvation or a substantial reduction in their standard of living, there is only one recourse left: war.

World Wars I and II are replete with support for this hypothesis. It is important to note that between the wars, for example, all European nations resorted to very strict anti-immigration laws, in most cases prohibiting immigration altogether. Every nation was eager to protect its wage level against encroachment from nations with still lower wage levels. Such policies were bound to engender serious international friction.

Moreover, like the "Sozialpolitik" of pre-1914 Germany, Hitler's Germany endeavored to raise the wage rates of its workers. In doing so, prices were forced up. Since this would have encouraged imports and thus thwarted the statist schemes, tariff barriers were established. However, the German ban on imports meant that no nation could acquire the necessary German exchange to purchase German exports. Germany, an industrial nation, was largely dependent upon foreign foodstuffs. It had to export its industrial commodities in order to obtain much of the needed food. By eliminating imports, it eliminated, in a like degree, the only means by which it could peaceably attain these necessary agricultural and other products. So, Germany had but one alternative; it had to go to war and take them.

Rise of Aggressive Nationalism

The nineteenth century was governed largely by classical liberal principles. It was, for the most part, a peaceful century. The onslaught of war accompanied the abandonment of these principles. The question to be considered, therefore, is precisely why these policies were discarded. The answer can be perceived if one realizes that an integral element of this liberalism was democratic rule. It is imperative, however, to appreciate that this was the democracy of Tocqueville; that is, a limited democracy. Under the classical liberal ideal, the power of the state — the apparatus of compulsion and control — was severely circumscribed. The crux of this concept was the recognition of individual rights; the sole function of the state was simply the suppression of attempt by individuals to suppress other individuals, that is, to provide a secure and peaceful framework to facilitate social cooperation. While the means for determining who held the reins of government was to be decided democratically, the power and functions of government were significantly curtailed; the democracy of the classical liberal tradition was a strictly limited concept.

Before this ideal could be fully implemented, it began, like most ideals, to be abused. As suffrage was extended — which was not necessarily inimical in itself — this democracy became ever less limited. In exchange for votes, the politicians began to promise more and more. The function of the state, accordingly, could no longer be restricted to the protection of the life, liberty, and property of its citizens. The interventionist state thus began to supplant the laissez-faire state, even before the latter had been fully established. These statist measures were, in many cases, humanitarily motivated, that is aiding the poor, assistance for the jobless, and so on. Nevertheless, the inevitable corollary of this proliferation of government intervention was the precipitation of

aggressive nationalism. It was the inevitable result of an ethos that sanctioned the extension of government into all phases of life. It was, in short, the emergence of the total state. Whether it came as autocracy or as the "despotism of the majority" was irrelevant.

Significance of National Boundaries

In a planned, autarchic economy, territorial boundaries are of supreme importance. An isolated nation must possess all of its required natural resources. The larger the area under control, the better it can provide for its wants and needs. Yet, no country is blessed with a position of complete economic self-sufficiency. Autarchy, accordingly, must manifest itself in aggressive nationalism, in the desire of every country for the control of ever larger areas. What is required to make peace viable, therefore, is a lessening of the significance of boundaries.

This could only be attained, however, if the governments of the world were confined in their activities to protecting the life, liberty, and property of their citizens. Only then would international boundaries lose their significance. It would then make no difference whether a nation were large or small; its citizens could derive no benefit or sustain any damage from the extension or loss of territory. Under a laissez-faire system, where all transactions would take place between individuals unimpeded by government, the size of a nation would not matter. No one would be aided or hurt by a transfer of territorial jurisdiction, since all property would be held by individuals and all transactions would take place between individuals.

If the primacy of private property and free trade were the rule, at least one of the major causes of war would be all but eliminated. No one would be artificially or forcibly excluded, by tariff or immigration barriers, from acquiring any needed goods or natural resources. No one would be penalized for having been born a foreigner or of a different race or in a country of limited natural resources. Under these terms, then, at least one of the causes of war would be effectively ameliorated, if not eliminated entirely.

Conclusion

Statism, in so far as it begets autarchy, engenders international antagonisms for which no peaceful solution can be found within the context of our contemporary politic-economic ethos. These antagonisms can be relieved only by a change in ideologies. What is needed to make peace viable is the acceptance of the principles of limited democracy and its economic corollary, the free market. Only by such an advance can we ever hope to surmount at least one of the underlying factors precipitating international conflicts and war.

If this analysis possesses any cogency at all, then at least one thing is surely manifest: all the antiwar marches, protests, demonstrations, and peace songs from here to China cannot improve the situation one iota. While they may be fun, they are nevertheless futile. They are futile because they are premised upon a misunderstanding of war. Yet, wars continue to

occur. Accordingly, war will not be ameliorated, much less abolished, by the mere utterance of platitudes or by shock tactics designed to scare us into peace. Only the elimination of its root cause can greatly diminish the threat of war. Such a policy, to repeat, entails a change in attitude, a policy impossible until the leaders and the people of the world are prepared to accept it.

— Freeman

To Discipline a Nation

While an individual peacebreaker can easily be punished and isolated in a penitentiary, a collectivist nation conducting policies of economic nationalism can be disciplined and subjugated only through a full-scale war and subsequent occupation of its territory. To discipline a nation that refuses to embrace the doctrines of freedom and free enterprise is an endless and hopeless task.

HANS F. SENNHOLZ

"NEHRU TIME CAPSULE"

Reading details of the "Nehru time capsule" deposited by Mrs. Gandhi near her father's samadhi, makes one wonder as to what ridiculous lengths some people would go, to perpetuate his memory, against the ravages of time. They scarcely seem to realize that the survival of one's work and achievements, really depends on the sort of "re-appraisal" that posterity makes of them. Neither steel capsules nor copper records, could help preserve what all is bound to decay and lose interest to humanity. Time, in its forward progress, has a way of ruthlessly pushing out the past into oblivion to make way for the future.

Already the "Tryst of destiny" speech which is being made much of by some in some quarters, sounds too stale stuff, that cannot stand repetition. When I recently played a record of it several times, all that impressed me was just one line, which spoke of that mid-night hour in which, "while the world sleeps, India awakes to life and freedom". But even this, we now realize is a "half truth", for India today is not enjoying her freedom but gasping for socialism. As for the rest of the speech, it is full of the usual pompous promises and platitudes that politicians make, once they climb on to a pulpit, only to forget them, the moment they leave it.

Further, ever since the invention of the printing press, mankind had already found a way of preserving what all is worth preserving. If today we know of Shakespeare and Goethe and their times quite well, it is through books and their reprints. If Tagore's poems and Gandhiji's sayings would be read even centuries later, it is again because of the miracle of paper and ink, not steel or copper. To expect superior results to follow from the latter, is sheer folly.

One must be sufficiently philosophical in outlook, to realize that on the day of the final disintegration of this universe, not even the hardest metal can withstand the forces of extinction.

— K. K. Sekhar.

THE ECONOMIC POWER SYNDROME

By Silver Petro

(Contd. from last issue)

We are seldom at ease, and free enough from the solicitation of our natural or adopted desires, but a constant succession of uneasiness out of that stock which natural wants or acquired habits have heaped up, take the will in their turns; and no sooner is one action dispatched, which by such a determination of the will we are set upon, but another uneasiness is ready to set us on work.

The Galbraithian-SDS thesis is out of touch, not only with the most profound and persistent realities of human nature, but also with the available statistical evidence concerning the use of commercial advertising. Far from establishing the contention that big, concentrated business to some marked extent uses advertising to warp consumer desires, recent researchers reveal: (1) that there is no significant correlation between industrial concentration and advertising; and (2) that there is indeed a contrary tendency, with advertising expenditures tending to rise as industrial concentration decreases.

Sources of Misunderstanding

I must deal more briefly with the two remaining major sources of misunderstanding which make up the "economic-power" syndrome — (1) the belief that economic power can buy political power or that, at any rate, (2) economic power can shape the political opinions of the community more or less at will.

The first of these can be dispatched fairly readily. Certainly it is true that public servants at every level of government are "for sale," as every person is, for that matter. The question is, however, in what medium of exchange do they do business? In contemporary representative government, the medium of exchange is votes. While the wealthy and the big businessmen could do bid vigorously in the medium of exchange which they are well supplied with, namely, money, the sad fact from their point of view is that they are not very extensively supplied with votes—and votes are what count. If Tocqueville was correct, this situation has prevailed throughout American history. Writing in 1840 or so about America, he said: "At the present day the more affluent classes of society have no influence in political affairs; and wealth far from conferring a right, is rather a cause of unpopularity than a means of attaining power."

One may argue that while dollars are not convertible into gold, they are convertible into votes, and this is to some extent correct. But only to about the same extent as it would be

correct to point out that dollars can buy officials directly. In both cases dollar convertibility is only marginal: a drunken Bowery derelict will sell his vote for a bottle of whiskey; a faithless official will take a bribe here and there.

But the wealthy and the big businessmen are unable to buy **public policies** with their dollars. If they seek tariffs, exclusive franchises, import quotas, and other such measures, they do not succeed unless the measures they seek coincide with public opinion. Only public opinion to the effect that such policies are good for the country on the whole will secure their adoption. And when the public is convinced of the merits of a particular policy, dollars are incapable of effecting the result one way or another.

Subsidies for the poor, for commuters, for farmers, for the maritime industry, and pretty soon for everybody else in the country—all these are traded by politicians in return for votes, **not in return for dollars**. When industry representatives go to Washington for tariffs and import quotas, they are told to return only when they can show some political currency. If they return with trade-union representatives, men who are thought to command votes, and if the union men join in seeking protectionist policies, the tariffs and quotas are forthcoming; otherwise not.

The current situation with respect to tax exemption for interest on municipal bonds makes the point rather well. By and large such bonds are purchased by more or less wealthy people. But if **their** interest were to be consulted exclusively, there is no doubt that the tax exemption would be removed. The exemption continues because the citizens in local communities, desiring local governmental services, such as public schools, insist upon it. And they insist upon it because, in their (ultimately incorrect) opinion, tax-exempt municipal bonds reduce for the taxpayers the costs of the services in question.

For the disinterested observer, his reason unimpaired by passion and prejudice, there is no need to go on at length with this point. It is sufficient to notice that over the past hundred years in this country, the steady trend of legislation has been against the wealthy and successful business. David Hume was correct in stating as the first principle of government that all public policies are founded in opinion. On the other hand, in declaring that government in capitalist countries serves exclusively the interests of the wealthy, Karl Marx was as wrong as he was when he said that profits come

exclusively from the exploitation of labour and that increasing poverty for the masses is the inevitable consequence under capitalism.

An Argument Omitted

Strangely enough, the victims of the economic-power syndrome have left almost completely undeveloped an argument which, if they could sustain it, would carry the day for them. They could be arguing that, while it is true that all government rests upon opinion—on political votes rather than dollars—the wealthy and voles rather than dollars—the wealthy and the big businessmen control government by controlling the political and social ideas of the citizenry. Why is this argument so rarely made?

I offer as a possible answer the fact that the argument is so patently at odds with reality. If we confine ourselves to reality we cannot help observing a tremendous disproportion in all the areas of intellectual communication and opinion-forming. A vast majority of instructional personnel from grade-school through graduate school rooms somewhere left of center. Most newspaper columnists, moreover, consider themselves leftist-liberals and spend little time vaunting the virtues of capitalism. For every best-selling author on the right, there are at least ten on the left. Foundations established by the wealthy spend infinitely greater sums promoting the welfare state than they do in defending capitalism. Professor Paul Samuelson has become a wealthy man as author of an economic text sympathetic with the welfare state, if not with socialism. Galbraith's books become automatic best sellers. The works of Ludwig von Mises, the most powerful protagonist of capitalism in print, do not sell in sufficient quantities to feed him.

Let us now approach the problem more systematically. The contention that economic power translates into political power by way of political indoctrination of the masses would have to establish, in the first place, that the wealthy and the big businessmen are themselves uniform exponents of a particular policy or set of policies, for the first requirement in any indoctrination is a doctrine. But the argument then stumbles at the threshold. The one outstanding and apparent fact about the wealthy and the big businessmen and the institutions they found and support is ideological diversity. If we place H. L. Hunt on the right, as is customary these days, where shall we place the Rockefellers, the Kennedys, the Fords? And should we place all the Rockefellers in the same category? Where exactly would you place the Kennedys, father and sons?

There is no common ideology among the wealthy and the big businessmen, just as there is no common ideology among the masses. There

are only vague, half-formed, often contradictory opinions, which veer one way now and another way again. They spend their money accordingly. The foundations and institutions attacking capitalism and free enterprise and the profit system seem to have plenty of money. As far as I have been able to tell, the few foundations and colleges which promote free enterprise rarely, if ever, are wealthy.

RECAPITULATION

1. Economic power, like political power, rests upon favourable opinion, the sovereign opinion of consumers; unlike political power, however, it produces wealth in the form of goods and services and has no compulsory capabilities. The consumers reward with profits those firms which serve the community and penalize with losses those firms which do not.

2. There is no way at all in a market economy for business to substitute its will for that of the consumers in respect of demand for goods and services; it proposes, the consumer disposes; the contention that advertising can supplant the will or implant desires in consumers conflicts with everything we know about human nature as well as with the external facts of life in the market economy.

3. Economic power is not convertible into political power. The medium of exchange owned by the possessors of economic power is money; the medium of exchange in politics is the vote. Dollars are produced by economic capability; votes flow in accordance with political opinion. Unless the holders of dollars represent interests which coincide with the independently derived opinions of the voters, the interests of the wealthy are doomed.

I have in this brief paper failed to deal with a number of features of the economic-power syndrome: the relations between big business and small business, the relations between business and employees, the Jeffersonian ideal of a society composed of farmers and small tradesmen, the notion that the managerial revolution heralded by Berle and Means and by Burnham has somehow incapacitated big business for the service of the community. With respect to these I can say only that there was not space. My silence on these points is not to be taken as an admission of their strength. On the contrary, I believe it a simple matter, on the basis of the points which I have dealt with, to demonstrate equal weakness in those which I have not had the opportunity to discuss here.

I wish to say but one thing more, and to quote a statement which sums up what I have had to say here. First, I would not have my remarks interpreted as an apologia for the wealthy

(Contd. on page 17)

THE LIBERAL FAITH: A CRITIQUE

K. GURU DUTT

The concepts of liberalism and democracy have generally gone hand in hand. Yet the two are distinguishable. Sir Isaiah Berlin in his short classic, **Two Concepts of Liberty** (1958), has attempted this distinction between the stress of liberalism on liberty as freedom from constraint, and on the democratic identification of liberty with self-government. He characterises the former as negative, being more concerned with "freedom from"; and the latter as positive closely bound up with the "freedom to." Berlin says that the questions inherent in the two positions, and the answers provided by each of them may be good; but he points out that things that are separately good do not always mix well or easily. I am drawing attention to this distinction here, in order to make it clear that my concern now is primarily with liberalism and only secondly with democracy.

Liberalism can be traced historically to two sources. Bertrand Russell, himself a thorough-going liberal, said that the Liberal theory of policies is primarily a product of commerce. In our day the leadership in commerce has passed to the United States; and we have seen what American Liberalism has come to mean. The other source, which is wholly of a different nature, was linked with religious dissent. The early Christian Church, at first deeply concerned to ensure its own survival, and then to ensure the coherence of Christian society through enforcing unity of doctrine, started ruthless persecution of heretics, in the same manner as the Roman authorities had persecuted the Christians. This heresy-hunting and persecution lasted through centuries of European history. The heretics, who stood for freedom of religious opinion and practice, were thus the first Liberals. The Church saw to their extermination: as, for example, in the notorious case of the Albigenses towards the end of the 12th century. The "Holy Inquisition" carried on this work, and it was the Inquisition that forced Galileo to retract the earth revolved round the sun.

In the meantime, the forces of opposition to the Church, not merely against its doctrines and constraints, but even more against the abuses perpetrated in its name, had been gaining ground. The result was the historic schism in the Christian Church known as the Protestant Reformation. The direct consequences of its impact on society as a religious movement do not concern us. What is important is that the Protestant scheme of values, especially of the Calvinist type, created an atmosphere favoura-

ble to the growth of capitalism and the advancement of science.

Although the over-all effect of the Protestant attitude was favourable to the expansion of commerce, the development of industrialism, and other directions of progress associated with capitalism, and thus with Liberalism as we shall see, the early Protestants were far from being libertarians. They were opposed not to dogmatism as such, but to specific dogmas held by others. They pleaded for tolerance for themselves, but were averse to extending the same freedom to others, e. g., the Jews and Catholics.

These protest movements matured gradually into "middleclass liberalism" which was so successful in the nineteenth century, that in turn provoked protest from Left wing working class "secular protestants" whose activities and methods were startlingly reminiscent of liberalism's social origin, ideology, and authoritarianism's own forbears of the seventeenth century, pulses.

John Locke became the intellectual leader and spokesman of the Whigs. Locke's patron was Lord Shaftesbury, the leader of the Whig faction. He was involved in the Whig mercantile interests not merely in an academic way, but owing to his investments in the Bahamas trade. Six years before the Glorious Revolution of 1689, Locke was forced to follow his patron into exile in Holland.

The two sources of Liberalism, viz, commercialism, and religious dissent, are to be seen operating in Locke's outlook. He was the founder of British empiricism, which, according to Bertrand Russell, is the only philosophy that provides a theoretical justification for liberal democracy. The key concept of empiricism is that to start with, the human mind is like a blank slate for experience to write on. Locke firmly believed that **in experience** "all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself." He was opposed to the theory of innate ideas, and insisted in particular that there were no principles "to which all mankind gave an universal assent."

This "white paper" theory of the mind has been widely criticised. Among eminent modern critics may be mentioned John Dewey whose liberalism is unquestioned. Psychological knowledge today, especially the accepted findings of "depth psychology," gives the lie to Locke's assumptions, and to his contention that there are no grounds for holding that the mind starts with innate impressions. Locke's psychology was, if we may say so, crudely "associationist."

To us in India, who hold, and have held through the ages, that the mind is made up of its innate impressions (*Samskaras*), Locke's position is fantastically unreal. It is also wholly unacceptable to the trends of modern thought.

The superstructure of Locke's political thought, which postulated the ultimate sovereignty of the people, of the right of the majority to rule, and of the right of rebellion in the event of misrule, was built on his original assumption. His economic views, especially relating to private property, were similarly based. It is unnecessary to go into these. I may only comment that just as the development of mathematics has shown (especially in the emergence of the non-Euclidean geometries) that the initial axioms, which are assumed, and are not amenable to proof, determine the nature of the logical superstructure, there can be nothing final or sacrosanct about Locke's philosophical, political or economic views. To accept them as such would go against the very fundamentals of liberalism.

Locke's opinions were highly influential, not only in England, but also on the Continent, particularly in France. But Locke's greatest impact was in America which found his doctrines timely as well as congenial. Even a casual perusal of the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution will show that these documents are replete with phrases like "All men are created equal," "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," "We hold these truths to be self-evident," and so on, which are almost literally lifted from Locke's *Second Treatise*. Locke's thesis regarding property finds its embodiment in the Fourteenth Amendment to the American Constitution. Incidentally, there has been a great deal of idealisation and even apotheosis of the liberal Founding Fathers of the United States, who were disciples of John Locke. Many rebellious young Americans of today are, however, harbouring feelings of shame and distrust towards the legendary Founding Fathers who tolerated slavery, exterminated Indians, and in all their proceedings were disturbingly insensitive to values and life styles other than their own.

The eighteenth century witnessed the flowering and fruition of Locke's ideas. Both the forces which favoured the growth of liberalism: expanding commerce, and active religious dissent were operative. Only typical instances can be given. The activities of the East India Company in India laid the foundation of the British Empire in India through unscrupulous men like Clive and Warren Hastings.

Just as Locke had been the mentor of political liberalism, Adam Smith (1723-1970) was the Father of Economics. His *Wealth of Nations* is still considered a classic. He was an advocate of "free trade" which remained as the economic slogan of British liberals for decades. Unrestricted competition, and allowing each

man to pursue his own interest unreservedly were somehow supposed to result in the establishment of the common good through the operation of the "Market." This doctrine called *laissez faire* ("let do") fell into disrepute later.

In the 18th century, religious dissent played a great part in the building up of British industry and trade. A large number of the pioneers were Dissenters or Non-conformists of some sort. The principle form of dissent was the Methodism founded by John Wesley in 1738, which soon became a power to reckon with. It was a great time for the Whigs as the liberals were called. It is interesting to note that the term *Whig* is a nickname applied to Scottish dissenters during this and the next century, who were called Whiggamores.

Edmund Burke, one of the noblest of men, who is specially remembered by us on account of his sympathy for India, showed in the second half of the 18th century that wisdom was by no means the monopoly of the Whigs. Burke has been depicted, especially by the liberals, as the opponent of democracy. But in reality his main target was the excesses of liberalism which were exemplified for him in the French Revolution. He sensed, with remarkable prescience, the first signs of the flux and confusion which were to mark the nineteenth century and inveighed against them. He prepared a position in the English mind from which the march of industrialism and liberalism was to be continually assailed later.

In the 19th century the attack was carried on by influential thinkers. The names of Carlyle and Ruskin and William Morris occur to us in this connection. We cannot also forget Matthew Arnold, himself a liberal and the son of a liberal, who foresaw the spiritual and cultural anarchy ahead, and attacked the "captains of industry and commerce" as Philistines (in reality, the bourgeois liberals of his day). Of course, the then leaders of liberal thought like Bentham and Mill were by no means Philistines; but the same thing could not be said of their followers in the world of affairs. The "poverty" of Bentham's Utilitarianism, is being more and more realised today. But Mill's is still a great and honoured name. This is not the place to refer to the many-sided brilliance of the intellect of this "saint of rationalism."

In this brief account of liberal thought I have restricted myself to British thinkers. I have not referred to the great influence of Voltaire and Rousseau in shaping French and Continental liberalism, especially Rousseau. But as of today, their importance appears to be only historical. The middle of the nineteenth century was a critical period in the history of British thinking. Mill's essay, as well as Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (first volume), appeared in close temporal proximity.

Karl Marx was essentially a "liberal" thinker; who hoisted the liberals with their own petard. He was no "Marxist" himself, any more than Jesus was a Christian. The sins of his followers should not all be laid at his door. In Marx's utopia, the State did not develop into a totalitarian dimension but was supposed to wither away. Marx was fully aware of the services rendered by the bourgeois class in ridding society of the abuses of the feudal era. Marx's analysis of the evils of the industrialism of his day was essentially correct. In order to realise this, it is needless to subscribe to his doctrines of class-war, or the method of violent revolution. Marx's challenge has to be squarely met. That the standard of life of the capitalist countries has given the lie to his prophecies is no answer.

The last liberal document I will refer to is John Morley's *On Compromise*, more for its ominous title than for its contents. Right up to Mill's time, the individual had a considerable measure of autonomy. In the twentieth century, this has become a fast dwindling asset. The great issue is not between the individual and the organization in the so-called democratic countries. What distinguishes the liberals of our day is not the spirit of dissent, but the spirit of "compromise." It has been said that in America the liberals have come to terms with big private and public organization. In the words of Professor Galbraith, "Far more than conservatives, American liberals in the last thirty years have worked to perfect the relationship between the bureaucratic State and highly organized industry," very much to the detriment of the individual human being.

This liberal attempt at a "consensus" has been assailed from many quarters as a betrayal of liberal principles. It is alleged that the failure of society is the failure of liberal consensus, the regime of accommodation between creed and reality through "moderate" and "reasonable" men and measures. As one critic has said: "The reasonable man has become the enemy of this society of this time...The capacity to ask fundamental questions appears to have been lost. This lack of opposition to men—or ideas—in power has been the greatest danger stemming from the liberal consensus."

I will close with a passage from Ronald Segal's *America's Receding Future*. It is a formidable indictment. But unless it is satisfactory answered there is no hope for liberalism. Here it is:

"It is this liberal consensus that presides over the corruption of America's natural environment; the decay of the public services, from buses to schools; the disintegration of the cities and the despair of the ghettos; the culture of display, estrangement and manipulation, of the imperious machine and the desolate personality. It is

this liberal consensus that has mouthed the American creed while busily feeding the contradiction of the American reality; that has served property in the name of the people; the corporation in the name of personal responsibility; bureaucracy in the name of individual liberty; the dominion of business lobbies and generals and secret agencies in the name of democracy; the nation in the name of mankind." Things may not be so bad as pictured here;

Although the over-all effect of the Protest but undoubtedly the trends point that way. The reality has to be anticipated and faced. I for one would not like to hide my head in the sand like an ostrich, and live in a fool's paradise, mumbling liberal slogans. But I do believe that there is a way out of this impasse; but it is in a direction wholly different from that imagined by the "liberal" pundits.

—Mysindia

(Contd. from page 14)

or for big business as such. My main interest has been to clarify thought on the subject of economic power. Secondly, my interest is in consumer sovereignty and its principal servant: the system of free competition emerging from those two common-law institutions, private property and freedom of contract. Ludwig von Mises has summed up a large part of what I have been trying to say. As he puts it:

The rich, the owners of the already operating plants have no particular class interest in the maintenance of free competition. They are opposed to confiscation and expropriation of their fortunes, but their vested interests are rather in favour of measures preventing newcomers from challenging their position. Those fighting for free enterprise and free competition do not defend the interests of those rich today. They want a free hand left to unknown men who will be the entrepreneurs of tomorrow and whose ingenuity will make the life of coming generations more agreeable. They want the way left open to further economic improvements. They are to further economic improvements. They are the spokesmen of progress.

It is manifestly contrary to the interest of the consumers to prevent the most efficient entrepreneurs from expanding the sphere of their activities up to the limit to which the public approves of their conduct of business by buying their products. Here again, the issue is who should be supreme, the consumers or the government? In the uphampered market the behavior of consumers, their buying or abstention from buying, ultimately determines each individual's income and wealth. Should one vest in the government the power to overrule the consumer's choices?

—Freeman

Letters to The Editor

A Rejoinder

Madam,

I have perused the letter of Mr. S. N. Narayana Ayyar to Mr. William Rogers, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., 'The Libertarian' dated June 15, 1972 with utter disgust.

It would burden the letter unnecessarily if I were to reply his letter in detail.

Briefly: Mr. Ayyar has written the letter not as an Indian but as a Hindu. This undoubtedly proves how deep-rooted communalist he is, and hence his letter is full of venom.

America has neither invaded nor robbed India of her gold and silver. Instead, American aid to India surpassed all the aids given by other countries put together.

If America turned anti-Indian she has very good reasons to do so. I do not propose to elaborate same at this juncture. Let Mr. Ayyar find out for himself.

Mr. Ayyar has generalised the robbers, and hence it is difficult to say anything in defence of the country he has in mind.

Asiatic countries have lacked adventure and ambitions and hence even today they, when compared, are far behind their counterparts in the West. If British and Christian missionaries had not set their foot on India's soil, she would still have been hundred or more years back in civilization and modern developments. Mr. Ayyar should be grateful to them. Mother Teresa has been awarded the Nehru Medal for humanitarian services and not a Hindu.

Christians have never called Hindus as 'kaffirs.' In fact the shoe is on the other foot. It's the Hindus who have treated us worse than 'kaffirs'. They breed hatred of untouchability against non Hindus. Even in 20th Century some caste Hindus would not shake hand with a white man lest he was defiled. A Hindu may engage a muslim, christian, chamar etc., none of his fellow Hindus would object to it. If a Christian engages a *kahar* or *kaharni*, who generally washes utensils and does small top work, the person is threatened with excommunication.

What objection has Mr. Ayyar to the use of 'heathens?' Aren't Hindus Idol-worshippers? Why not call a spade a spade?

If there had been no Muslims in this country, we would have been put to great hardships. It is the muslims who mostly work as domestic servants for Christians. Besides, they have been loyal and faithful from time immemorial and for this very reason we have a soft corner for them.

Finally, I see no sense of justification in Mr. Ayyar's arguments in writing irrelevant things, which have no bearing or connection with America. He should have stuck to his basic point..... "America's anti-attitude against India."

Mr. Ayyar may have three books to his credit, but his ability to write on topics of vital importance and wider range is limited.

It is twentyfive years ago that British left the Indian shores, but their character of justice, discipline, maintenance of law and order, and efficient administration are freely discussed everywhere, even this day.

Balrampur
(U.P.)

Seth W. Howard.

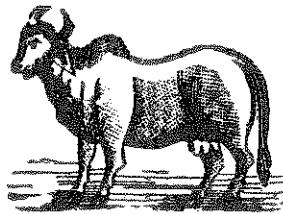
(Contd. from page 8)

and the admission procedures but complained that the Aligarh Muslim University had become like any other Central University. His dismissal as "fantastic nonsense" of the charge that frustrated by dismemberment of Pakistan a section of Muslims was seeking an excuse to agitate against the Government has not carried conviction in the Capital. Does he want discrimination in favour of the AMU because it gets the largest grant (nearly four crores) from the Union Government? Looks very much like biting the hand that feeds.

A major reshuffle in the portfolios of Uttar Pradesh ministers, which has taken place, leaves one doubting the acumen and the administrative capacity of the state's Chief Minister. The portfolios of 19 of its 39 ministers have changed with little regard for logic or expeditiousness. Important ministries like those of Education and industry have been subjected to extensive fragmentation, leaving quite a number of ministers holding departments without over-all control over them. Has this over-all control been left to be exercised by the Chief Minister? The recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission, which laid down some very sensible guidelines, have been totally disregarded in an attempt to concentrate power—at least so it seems—in the hands of the Chief and promote rivalry among the ministers. Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi has not enhanced his reputation by the manner in which he has handled the reshuffling of portfolios.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

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



Write to :

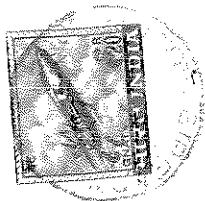
THE MANAGER

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

BOMBAY-4

Telephone : 332105

Telegram : LOTEWALA



F/9.
The Librarian,
Henry George News,
50, East 69th St.,
NEW YORK, (U.S.A.).

If undelivered please return to:

The Indian Libertarian,
Arya Bhuvan, 1st Floor,
Sandhurst Road, (West)
BOMBAY-4, (INDIA)

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

*Independent Journal of Free Economy and
Public Affairs*

Edited by: Kusum Lotvala

Published On the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; \$3 (U.S.A.); 12 Sh. (U.K.)

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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

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

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

Write to the Manager for Sample copy and gifts to new Subscribers.

Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

GIFT OF THE MONTH

If you are a Subscriber enlisting in the Month of July 1972 we shall send you free of cost one book or three Pamphlets in stock with us provided you remit to us the postage thereon.

Request from Desk B. T.
Arya Bhuvan, 1st Floor.
Sandhurst Road, (West)
Bombay-4

Edited by Miss K. R. Lotvala, for the Libertarian Publishers Private Ltd. Printed by Miss K. R. Lotwalla, at States' People Press, Janmabhoomi Bhavan, Ghoga Street, Fort, Bombay 1; and published by her at the office of the Libertarian Publishers (Pvt.) Ltd., Arya Bhuvan, First Floor, Sandhurst Road, (West) Bombay 4.