

A PAN - HUMANIST MANIFESTO

"Liberty, Justice, Humanity"

RALPH BORSODI

Author of

"The Challenge of Asia"

"Education and Living"

"Agriculture in Modern Life"

"The Distribution Age"

"This Ugly Civilization"

and Other Books

Formerly Chancellor
University of Melbourne
Melbourne, Florida

U. S. A.

Price 8 Annas. In U. S. 25 cents.

In U. K. 1 shilling;

Discount for Bulk Orders Given.

Libertarian Social Institute

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road (West),

BOMBAY 4 (India)

CONTENTS

Part I. Humanization and Social Renaissance	6
1. Leadership by a New Elite	7
2. Academic Autonomy	8
3. Basic Instruction	8
4. Professional Instruction	9
5. Academic Education	9
6. Moral Re-Education	9
7. Humanization of the Family System	11
8. Revival of the Small Community	12
9. Regionalism	12
10. Pan-Humanism	13
Part II. Political Liberty	13
1. The Rights and Obligations of Man	14
2. Limited Government	15
3. Local Autonomy	16
4. Federation	16
5. Concurrent Jurisdiction	18
6. Consent of the Governed: Self-Determination	19
Part III. Economic Justice	20
1. Free Enterprise	21
2. The Free Market	23
3. Mutualization	23
4. Free Trade	24
5. Free Banking: Honest Currency: Stable Money	24
6. Free Access to the Possession of Land	25
7. Freedom of Possession	26
Call to the New Elite	26

I heartily accept the motto, "That government is best, which governs least;" and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe, "That government is best which governs not at all," and when men are *prepared* for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. — Henry D. Thoreau, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience."

A PAN-HUMANIST MANIFESTO

" Liberty, Justice, Humanity "

A new world is being born.

If this new world is to be a better world than the world which is now dying; if it is to make possible a fuller fruition of the human spirit, then it will be nothing like the Capitalist World of today; nothing like the Communist World which the dictators of Russia and China are seeking to force upon the world; and nothing like the Socialist World into which most of the world is now drifting.

If concerned and thoughtful men and women are to help arrest the present drift and drive into a mechanized barbarism; if they are to contribute to the birth of a world in which men will be free to realise their potentialities as creative beings, they must not only have the courage to assert themselves; they must also discipline themselves and think about all the institutions essential to such a world.

The time has come to recognize that good intentions are not enough; the time has come to part with those who advocate sentimental Socialist follies; the time has come to expose the sophisms of politicians who call the demagogery of the Welfare State democracy; above all, the time has come to make it crystal clear that there is no one panacea for the problems of society, and that neither fanatic Communists, fanatic Fascists, nor fanatic Religionists—who would transform the world by hate and revolution, by fire and sword—have anything but misery and frustration to offer to mankind.

This manifesto is submitted to the thoughtful and concerned men and women of the world—to the real elite

of each country — who should assert themselves and take over the intellectual and moral leadership of mankind from those who have demonstrated confusion, incompetence, lack of vision, greed and venality, bigotry and brutality.

I. HUMANIZATION AND SOCIAL RENAISSANCE

Man must be humanized.

A good society cannot be created unless a determining number of thoughtful and concerned men and women in each country exercise influence and see that power is properly utilized. This process of humanizing men and society calls first not for political or economic action, but for re-education.

There are no words strong enough to make it clear that none of the radical changes in the political and economic institutions of the world which are here called for, will by themselves create a good society. No genuinely good society; no genuinely good life for the individual is possible without radical changes in the prevailing system of education throughout the world.

If man's inner spirit is neglected; if moral values are neglected in his system of education: if no love of liberty, of beauty, of truth, of justice, is instilled in him; if his goals in life are vulgarized rather than humanized; if his creative faculties are dulled in the home, in his schooling in his recreation, in his work and occupation, the notion that a perfect set of political or economic institutions will result in the creation of a good society and a good way of life is fantastic. If this mistake is made, what will happen is that the best set of such institutions will be perverted; the letter of the new institutions will be honoured but the spirit disregarded, and the ultimate end will prove a repetition of those repeated declines in civilization which dot the tragic pages of history.

It is for this reason that some such program of educational reform as is here presented, is absolutely essential.

1. Leadership by a New Elite: The leadership which the priests lost to the warriors, the warriors to the kings, the kings to the businessmen, the businessmen to the financiers, and which the financiers are now losing to the politicians, must be assumed by a New Elite which sharply distinguishes between the exercise of influence and the exercise of power. The minority of concerned and thoughtful teachers and writers, of poets and preachers, of artists and scientists, of physicians and lawyers, who constitute the real elite of any society, must be reborn. They must consecrate themselves to the search and realization of what is true, what is good, what is beautiful.

But even that is not enough.

They must not only seek and create, they must also teach; they must equip those whom they influence with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of both the East and the West, and of the ancient and the modern world; they must furnish inspiration and not only instruction; they must motivate those whom they influence to live morally, intellectually and culturally like superior persons.*

* There is no word in English which both connotes and denotes precisely what is here referred to by the use of the word "elite." The word "intellectual" is manifestly inappropriate; not only intelligence but concern must be the attribute of this elite. In French, the word "clerk" as it was used by Julien Brenda in the original of his book translated as "The Treason of the Intellectuals," is far better. The word "yogi" as used in the Bhagavad Gita most precisely designates the kind of men and women who constitute the elite. The yogi, in the original Sanskrit, was not a mere mystic who had renounced the world for meditation; he was a self-dedicated soul who had both knowledge and wisdom, who had both concern and compassion, above all, who acted. He was a man of deeds and not of mere sentiment, who had engaged himself not only to lead a good life but to help and to make possible a good life for all mankind.

It is also worth noting that in the original Sanskrit of the Gita, the concept of the Brahmins as a class, was in fact the concept of such an elite as is here called for. Unfortunately, the later transformation of this word to designate a hereditary caste, makes it inadvisable, particularly in the West, to use this term.

Without such an elite, no good society and no good life can be either created or maintained *

2. Academic Autonomy : Universities above all other institutions in society should be staffed by such an elite of men and women. But to enable them to furnish unbiased and impartial leadership to man and society, the universities must be autonomous—they must be completely free and independent; they must cease being dependent upon government; they must be freed from the necessity of catering to public officials; they must be freed from the dictation of partisan ideologies; of the evangelists of religions; of the leaders of the commercial, industrial and financial world. Academic autonomy is not real unless universities are completely free to seek the truth, no matter whom it hurts. Without this freedom, they will omit teaching what is offensive to those who control them; they will warp what they teach so as to please them; they will devote themselves to what those upon whom they are dependent for existence, demand of them.

3. Basic Instruction : Every child must be instructed in all that is essential to his humanization; every boy must be taught both a useful craft and the cultivation of the Earth; every girl the practice of domestic arts; and both boys and girls of course taught to read and write and use numbers. All must at the same time be imbued with the basic virtues; with the love of nature, of beauty, and of mankind without regard to race, religion or nationality. Basic instruction should begin in the home but continue in the common school. No really good society can be created without this basic instruction.

* The New Elite here conceived of should be contrasted with "The New Class" as described in Milovan Djilas' famous book of that name. That New Class of propagandists, agitators, conspirators, revolutionists, politicians, commissars, planners, and bureaucrats was in its inception a selfless class, it is true, but relied upon power not influence to realize its aims, and power corrupts the selfless as it corrupts the selfish.

4. Professional Instruction : Instruction to the limit of the interest and the capacities of every individual calls for some kind of professional instruction for the more gifted and dilligent in one of the various fields essential to the maintenance of a genuinely civilized society. Specialization is essential in professional instruction, but this must not exclude the general education essential to the development of whole personalities. This general education must not aim merely at furnishing information but at imbuing them with high purposes and values so that those who are to practice the professions and manage the enterprises of society, do not use their special skills only for their personal aggrandizement.

5. Academic Education : Education should be clearly distinguished from instruction. Higher education in liberal arts and the humanities is the right of all exceptionally gifted men and women, and every family and every community should consider it both a privilege and an obligation to enable their gifted sons and daughters to cultivate their talents to the utmost. Higher education however, must not only produce scholars and intellectuals, but a class of selfless, inspired and creative thinkers and scientists, teachers, writers, painters and other artists and professional men and women completely dedicated not only to the cultivation of the good, the true, and the beautiful, but imbued with fortitude and courage and with such deep love of humanity as to be willing to live, and if necessary to sacrifice their lives for the preservation of the rights essential to free men and the values essential to a good society. Higher education should equip these exceptionally endowed men and women to teach, to influence, to furnish the wisdom and knowledge, the vision and the direction, for social renaissance and for the progressive humanization of mankind.

6. Moral Re-education : A moral revival is essential at this crisis in history. Education at every level must there-

fore be both axiological and teleological. The fallacies of moral relativism and modern amoralism; of the doctrine that positive law is the only binding law; of the theory that all statutory and even constitutional law must be obeyed even when in disregard of absolute moral law, must be exposed. The moral law is the natural law; it is universal and perpetual; it is, like all natural laws, to be discovered and constantly more and more explicitly formulated; it should under no circumstances be confused with mere legislative fiat. This moral law is binding, therefore, upon all faiths, all nations, all races, and statutes — no matter how enacted nor how powerfully enforced — which disregard it, are in fact null and void.

The teaching of the moralities must begin in the home, but must continue in school. The humanization of education in school and college is essential for the moral re-education here called for. For milleniums moral education has been warped by priesthoods. As a result, moral education is today shot through with inappropriate theological injunctions. Moral re-education calls for a complete divorce between metaphysical creed and ethical obligation.

The first commandment is not "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and all thy mind and all thy soul." The true first commandment is "Harmony, not Discord". This true first commandment is binding upon all mankind, and prohibits all dogmatism, all fanaticism, all persecution. It enjoins upon every religion, every nation, every race, and every political, social and economic doctrine, tolerance of every person except the intolerant only.

The commandment, "Harmony, not Discord," calls for tolerance — the tolerance of dissent and difference which is essential if the world is to be really free. Discord, with disregard of the rights of others, is the inevitable result of intolerance. Discord is involved when violence is done

to individuals by private persons or groups engaged in imposing their intolerance upon them, and mass-discord is involved when mass-violence and mass-killing is indulged in by political or governmental promotion of intolerance. Such intolerance should not be tolerated; it calls for disciplining those who practice it, with whatever force is needed until completely ended. Intolerants should be ostracised and if their intolerance makes them mad, and they become dangerous, they should be confined or contained like dangerous mad-men.**

7. Humanization of the Family System: The family system must be normalized. Archaic patriarchal family systems must be modernized; the disintegrated and atom-

** Discord however should not be confused with disturbance. It disturbs mistaken people to learn the truth about their mistaken beliefs, mistaken values, mistaken activities and institutions.

But to learn the truth is essential to the humanisation of everybody, including those whom it disturbs. It is a form of discipline, and may hurt as does most other kinds of discipline. But truth creates a foundation upon which harmony replaces the static acceptance of discordant mistakes. As Ralph Waldo Emerson put it: "Choose between truth and repose. You can never have both."

For centuries, Greek and Roman civilization, from the masters at the top to the slaves at the bottom, accepted the legitimacy of slavery as an institution.

There was complete acceptance in Catholic Spain during the Middle Ages of the idea that the Inquisition was a proper instrument for ensuring Christian salvation.

There is today almost complete acceptance of the legitimacy of the mistaken belief in private appropriation of oil royalties by the potentates and the politicians of the Middle East. This is not questioned even by educated people who have been taught economic and social sciences of the conventional kind, because they have been taught to think of the institution of private property in land as a legitimate one.

But the static social acceptance of slavery, of religious persecution, is not harmony; it is in fact discord of the worst possible kind. Truth disturbs; if true, it ultimately makes not for discord but for harmony.

ized modern family must become an organic entity again. For it is the family, not the individual, which is the primary unit of society, and the family's responsibility for its members must be recognized if there is to be any social renaissance. The evidence which establishes the family as the essential nursery of the virtues of good citizenship, is overwhelming. This all-important educational function, now usurped by the school and the State, must once again be re-established as the principal function of family life.

8. Revival of the Small Community : Social and cultural revival of the small community is just as essential as its economic prosperity and political autonomy. Small communities are of course necessarily agricultural for the most part. But if life in them is to be humanized they must be made centres of trade, craft, manufacture, entertainment, and most important of all, of arts and education. When they do not provide all the institutions and include all the enterprises which supply the basic needs and the humane desires of the people who live in them, they tend to decay.

The gifted young who have been given the privilege of higher education, perhaps in distant colleges and universities, should be inspired to bring back to the families which have nurtured them and to the community in which they have been reared, the skills and the good taste they have been privileged to cultivate, instead of as is the case today, having their appetites and their ambitions stimulated for the greater financial rewards which the practice of their professions and vocation enable them to earn in metropolitan centres.

9. Regionalism : Not the nation, but the region is the true unit of the world. Cultural nationalism is today confused with political nationalism. The nation - state of today is almost always an artificial aggregation of regional cultures. Regional arts; regional poetry and literature;

regional music and dancing; regional festivals; regional costumes; regional architecture, and the genius of each region should be developed, and the present insistence upon the standardization of culture and the creation of one, uniform, national culture arrested.

10. Pan-Humanism : All human beings are members of humanity; their membership in each smaller social unit is concurrent, and real social renaissance for all mankind will not come until every vestige of unilateral and exclusive citizenship in nations is abolished and the people everywhere taught to place their obligations to humanity above those of nation-states.

Above the community and the region, not the nation-state but the whole of humanity should be the object of man's patriotism. Not the nation, "right or wrong", but the world, the region, the community, and the family are entitled to claim man's allegiance.

Between the region and the whole world, every other social cultural, economic and political entity is an arbitrary construct which should be utilized only to make possible the development more freely and more fully of regions on one hand and the whole world on the other. To whatever extent intermediate entities (usually national-states) now usurp the normal functions and prevent normal development of the whole world, they should be abolished.

II. POLITICAL LIBERTY

The creation of the New Elite, and the re-organization of educational institutions, so that the masses of mankind may be humanized, though the necessary first step in making possible the birth of the sort of world for which mankind is hungering, will not by itself realize this end. Good intentions and rigorous thinking must be followed by action; the social, economic and political institutions which inflict economic injustices, interfere with political liberty, and prevent the realization of the

good, the true and the beautiful must be abolished; those which are imperfect must be reformed, and those which are missing created by the voluntary activities of individuals and groups, corporations and cooperatives, and where necessary by political action, statutory changes, and constitutional reform.

Man is not a mere animal. He has, it is true, in common with all other animals an inherited, instinctual drive for self-survival (an economic drive), and also in common with all other animals an instinctual drive for self-production (a sexual drive.) But much higher than his hunger for survival and his hunger for mating, is the last of the instinctual drives with which evolution has endowed him—his drive for self-expression. It is for this reason that no political institution can be considered human and properly adapted to the nature of man, if it in any way infringes upon his liberty; if it even in the slightest degree interferes with the conditions essential to individual self-expression and to the full and free development of man's highest potentialities as a human being.

Six fundamental political reforms are needed if the new world now being born is to provide better for mankind's liberty than the free world now, even at its best, is providing:

1. The Rights and Obligations of Man: Every human being has certain inalienable rights—the right to life, to liberty and to property; the right to defence of his person and property; the right to sue others, including public officials, for compensation for damages inflicted and for the redress of grievances; the right to travel anywhere in the world; the right to free speech and publication; the right to peacefully assemble and seek correction of injustices; the right to freedom from search and seizure of himself, his possessions and his premises except after a due proceeding at law—a proceeding in which he is represented by counsel, in which

the judges are impartial, in which the same facilities are furnished for securing witnesses as those enjoyed by the State, and in which it is presumed he is innocent until the charges against him are proved beyond reasonable doubt. Every regulation, ordinance, statute, or constitutional provision which violates any of these natural rights—being morally null and void—must be repealed forthwith. The violation of any of these rights by any public official constitutes mal-feasance, and every such public official should be impeached for usurpation.

These rights are predicated on the observation of co-related natural obligations—the obligation to respect the persons, the possessions the premises, and the rights of others; the obligation to utter no libels or slanders; the obligation not to interfere in any way with the peaceful religious, political, economic or social activities of others; the obligation to share the burden of protecting these rights and enforcing these obligations by the payment of just taxes and by answering every call of any properly constituted local, regional, or world authority to defend them even at the cost of life and property.

The multiplicity of encroachments on these rights by so called democratic governments and Welfare States, must be ended, and every encroachment repealed. All dictatorial governments, including those ostensibly set up to promote Socialism and called Peoples Democracies, are by their very nature violators of these rights.

2. Limited Government : The functions and the authority of all government bodies shall be limited to those which are necessary to the preservation of these rights and to enforce the fulfilment of these obligations. The exercise of power by a government for any other purpose whatsoever is invalid. Assumption by a government of any function which can be fulfilled by private persons and private enterprise, shall constitute usurpation, and any regulation, ordinance, statute or constitutional provi-

sion which legalize such usurpations should be treated by all persons as null and void.

3. Local Autonomy: No free society can long endure—no society in which the people truly participate and so give continuing consent to what government does—unless the primary political unit, (the village; the borough; the township; the commune; the canton), is autonomous. The present system by which a centralized State exercises power over local communities or “grants” limited powers to them, must be ended. Ultimate political power is in the people; the people delegate specific powers to their local community; the local communities delegate specific powers to a country or district federation; the counties or districts delegate specific powers to a regional federation; and so on until regional federations in the whole world finally grant specific powers to a world federation. Power properly rises from the people; it is a usurpation for it to descend from a centralized State to the people. In the existing nation-states of the world, autonomy calls for political and power-decentralization.

4. Federation: The long history of mankind has demonstrated that democracy—real participation of the people in government—is possible only in relatively small local communities. In all larger units of government, participation by the people becomes a form only; all such larger units of government must therefore be representative or republican in form. Representation calls for federation, not union, for all units of government larger than the local community. Federation must therefore be substituted for the present oligarchical or autocratic organization of all larger units of government, beginning with the country or district, and ending with the world. Not national union, but regional federation; not world union but world federation is called for. The principle of federation calls for a multiplicity of units of government, each with specific functions delegated to it by the

smaller units of government which have constituted it, until at the base, ultimate and residuary powers are exercised by the people in their own autonomous communities.

The strong condemnation of Nationalism here made is predicated upon two assumptions: (1) that the world is now in desperate need of a world authority, federally organized and strong enough to maintain international peace, and (2) that such a world authority is a reality and is equipped with military, naval and aerial forces powerful enough not merely to disarm bellicose small nations like Egypt and Pakistan, but bellicose big powers like Soviet Russia and Communist China.

Until such a world authority is in being, it would be madness for any nation, and in particular for any free nation, to surrender its sovereignty. Nationalism during the Age of Revolution in both America and Europe, when nation after nation was throwing off the yoke of monarchism and clericalism, may have been a historical necessity. Without it, people may not have been willing to make the sacrifices called for. But today it is a historical anachronism. If mankind is to finally throw off the nightmare of war, of constant preparations for war, and of constant fear of wars of aggression, world federation must become a reality so that nationalism can be abandoned.

The United Nations as now organized violates basic principles of federation. In spite of the passionate devotion of those who believe in it, it is a colossal fraud perpetrated by the great powers upon peace-hungry mankind. It is a fraud because of the pretense that as now organized it is an agency for maintaining peace. The test of the wisdom and sincerity of those who apologize for it is this: What are they doing to transform it from a mere league of nations into a genuine world federation, and what are they doing to furnish it with the power which will enable it to disarm all nations and maintain peace among them?

5. Concurrent Jurisdiction : Implicit in the two great principles of autonomy and federation, is the principle of concurrent jurisdiction. Since every unit of government, from the local community to the federation of the world, should have specific and limited powers only, and since those entrusted to large units of government must be exercised within the areas and over the people in the small units, jurisdiction cannot be exclusive and absolute.

If the federation of the world is to maintain world-peace and prevent armed aggression by any nation, it must be able to send its own "police"—its own military, naval and aerial forces—into every nation in the world, and use them for the purpose of enforcing disarmament and ending any hostilities or belligerent activities in any nation at their very inception. No nation has a moral right to attack another, and once an adequately organized world federation has come into existence, no nation will have any need for equipping itself with so-called defensive armaments which always provoke counter-armament by other nations. The present constant danger of war and invasion, and the present tragic waste of natural resources and man-power in separate military forces by every nation in the world, will continue until such a world federation has jurisdiction in every nation; until national sovereignty is replaced by autonomy and federation, and exclusive national jurisdiction replaced by concurrent jurisdiction.

This principle of concurrent jurisdiction applies to all levels of government, because no federated unit of government can fulfill its specific functions if its jurisdiction is limited by the government of any region in which it has to operate. Concurrent jurisdiction is essential if effective federal action is not to be frustrated and conditions created in which centralization of power, and abrogation of limited government, becomes seemingly justified.

6. Consent of the Governed by Self-Determination :

It is a basic political right of the people of every region of the world to live under a government which governs with their consent. Yet, hundreds of millions of people today are governed despotically in violation of this essential human right. Liberty and democracy are mocked by this tragic fact.

Millions of people are governed by so-called "people's democracies" which are in reality dictatorships of native Communist oligarchies, as in Soviet Russia and Communist China.

Millions of others are ruled by a combination of native and foreign oligarchies, as in Hungary and Thibet, which govern only because of the military power of Soviet Russia and Communist China.

Millions, on the other hand, are governed by so-called free and democratic governments, as Belgium, Portugal and the Commonwealth of South Africa govern millions in Africa. Many of these govern democratically at home and despotically abroad.

Finally, millions are governed by military or political dictators and oligarchies, as in Spain, Pakistan, Indonesia, and most of Latin America.

The most tragic fact in these despotisms is the inhuman treatment accorded to ideological, political, social, religious and other dissenting minorities.

World wide autonomy and federation is ultimately the only answer to this problem. Democracy functions effectively only in the smallest unit of government; it breaks down and falls into the hands of political party oligarchies in larger ones. The larger the nation, the more ineffective are democratic and republican constitutions. When so-called democracies break down, foreign intervention is invited. The need for an adequately armed

world federation is nowhere greater than in providing an impartial trustee to set up stable and free governments for the millions now enslaved or subject to foreign and dictatorial rule not of their own choosing.

III. ECONOMIC JUSTICE

If the whole world is to be made free, and the nations of the so-called free world made completely free, justice and not equality must be the aim of the economic order. It is not true that economic equality must be imposed upon mankind in order to abolish poverty. History since the rise of Capitalism, is a demonstration of the fact that prosperity is proportioned to economic freedom. Prosperity is highest where political tyranny and economic injustice is lowest, and poverty is continued in proportion to the extent to which equality is imposed.

Justice is in accord with nature's laws. Equality is an attempt to abrogate them. Justice provides economic incentives; equality destroys them.

It is not justice for the labourer who is slack and shiftless in his work, to receive the same wage as the labourer who works dilligently and efficiently. It is not justice for the man who has devoted years of his life to training himself, to receive no more than the man who has cultivated no skill and has been indifferent to his own training and education. It is not justice to reward in the same way the man who has been thrifty; who has invested his savings productively; who has taken on the risks and responsibilities of conducting an enterprise or participating in its establishment, as the man who spends all he earns, saves nothing, invests nothing, risks nothing, and takes on no responsibilities of any kind.

Justice is the expression of the moral law; equality is a form of compulsory charity. Charity to the victims of unavoidable misfortune, it is true, is a human obligation, but this is a voluntary individual, and not a compulsory political, obligation.

The principle which should therefore govern in a just and moral economic order is: to each contributor and to each factor in production—to labour and to capital, to industry and to agriculture—what each contributes to the production of wealth.

To establish this principle in the new world which should come into existence, seven fundamental institutional reforms of the present economic order are essential.

1. **Free Enterprise:** No truly just social system is possible if freedom to embark upon enterprise is denied or curtailed, or if special privileges are granted to one enterprise which handicap others, or if freedom to work for, or to employ, any individual is infringed by statutory enactments of any kind. Political freedom is mocked when economic freedom is curtailed. To ensure full employment of capital and labour; to furnish incentive and encourage initiative for the fullest use of natural resources, and to assure justice in the division of wealth between capital and labour, between industry and agriculture, between all the factors in production and all divisions of the economy, equality of opportunity is essential, and all special privileges, differential (so-called protective) tariffs, subsidies, quotas, licenses, limited liability corporations, and all cartels or monopolies (particularly in banking) in the private sector of the economy must be abolished. There can be no real free market; no fraternal competition in establishing wages and prices; no just return to agriculture and other producers of basic raw materials, until the predatory competition permitted and encouraged by the

granting of special privileges to particular persons, companies and classes is ended.*

*The cure for what is wrong in the so-called free world today is not to confer off-setting special privileges, (which is what the "New Deal" started to do during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States), but to repeal existing special privileges. What is being now done by the wholesale granting of special privileges, is to make the whole economy subject to the whims and fancies—and often the venality and corruption—of politicians and bureaucrats.

In the endless number of special privileges which has resulted in the wholesale perversion of the ideal of a free economic order in America, one of the most important and least understood consist of those granted to corporations. Three of these are outstandingly unjust: limited liability, non-assessibility of stockholders of corporation, and exemption of directors and officers for liability for misfeasance, non-feasance, and mal-feasance.

In countries in which cooperative enterprise has not developed spontaneously, or in which its growth has been inhibited, (as in America), by the special privileges granted to corporations, it is the responsibility of the New Elite to fire the imagination, stimulate organization, and train management of cooperatives so that cooperatives begin to take the place in the fields of production and distribution which by their very nature call for cooperative enterprise. This is particularly true in banking, in the operation of public utilities, and what I have been calling natural monopolies. It is precisely this which took place in Demark, and in other countries in which cooperation flourishes. The leaders inspired by the Danish folk schools, transformed the economic order of that country in this way. A veritable revolution slowly took place under the initiative of men and women who, though unconscious of the fact, were in actual fact consecrated members of the New Elite.

The terrible handicaps under which proprietary enterprise labours, (as in America), can be corrected, and the transformation of the economic order in so-called free nations—transformation of the existing system of land tenure to one which is genuinely just; transformation of the present inflationary and dishonest money system to a stable one; transformation of the present imperfect market system to one which is free and in which competition is so nearly perfect that prices, wages, rent, interest and profits are fair and just—calls for re-education and leadership by a concerned and thoughtful minority which I have called the New Elite.

Free enterprise in a free economic order is not of one kind—private only. It is in fact of three totally different kinds: (1) proprietary, (2) corporate, and (3) cooperative. With genuine freedom—not the partial freedom which is all that exists in the so-called free world—all three of these spontaneously arise and spontaneously progress unless they are interfered with by the granting of special privileges to one and the others prevented from growing or completely destroyed by the handicaps imposed upon them by law.

2. The Free Market: Only through a free market can prices be justly established and economic activities effectively regulated. But in such a market, competition must be fraternal; it must in effect be cooperation between buyers and sellers to establish prices which are just. What I call fraternal competition must replace all the forms of predatory competition which we have mistakenly excused in the present Capitalistic order. To create a truly free market, all regulation and interference by government of prices, wages, rent, interest and profits must be abolished, and the market given the opportunity to regulate them in accordance with the operations of the law of supply and demand.

3. Mutualization: No just society is possible unless it is recognized that there are not two but three distinct sectors to every economy: (1) the naturally private, (2) the naturally monopolistic, and (3) the naturally public. All natural monopolies must therefore be mutualized and owned and operated in the interests of those who use them, and, by rebating all surplus earnings pro rata to users, ensure that their services are furnished at cost, and no profits appropriated by private interests nor exploited by the government. All railroads, power companies, water services, gas companies, pipelines, telegraph and telephone systems, irrigation districts, banks of issue, which by their nature have to be granted the power of eminent domain or

furnished other monopolistic powers, are such natural monopolies.

4. Free Trade : All differential and so-called protective tariffs must be abolished. National boundaries must be abolished. National boundaries must cease to be economic barriers; they must be reduced to mere administrative conveniences. It is a basic human right for individuals of all nations, all creeds, all races to trade freely with one another. If free trade is good within a nation, free trade is good between nations. The cold war now conducted across national boundaries by customs guards must be ended, and the fact that all mankind belongs to one human race recognized if a free and just economic order is to replace the Capitalistic and Socialistic economies of today.

5. Free Banking : Honest Currency : Stable Money : Government control and regulation of banks — private, commercial, and mutual — must be ended. Banks should be freed to provide credit as needed by all legitimate borrowers. The issue of legal tender currency — which is a natural monopoly — should be restricted to cooperatively organized reserve banks. Banking is by its very nature a public service; banking ought to be a profession, not a business. Banks which create credit and participate in the issue of money in any way, ought to be cooperative and not commercial enterprises.

Nothing has done more to discredit Capitalism; nothing has done more to destroy faith in a free economy, than the use of the banking system for private aggrandizement and the use of the money system for meeting the deficits of government. The debauching of the currency by the government and the inflation of money as a result, is a gross immorality which must be ended. The business cycle, with its alterations of boom and bust, of prosperity and depression, of over-production, unemployment and

mass-poverty, is a monetary phenomenon. There is no technical difficulty in creating a stable and honest unit of currency; all the essential technical problems have been solved. Capitalism as we now have it must go, because it has ineradicably identified itself with the exploitation of the banking system and the debasing of money.

6. Free Access to the Possession of Land: A just system of land tenure is essential to end the surplus of labour, with its accompaniment of wage-slavery, and to end the exploitation of farmers by landowners. By giving everybody equality of access to land, the bargaining power of labour in dealing with employers, and of farmers in dealing with landowners, will be equalized because they will have been provided with an alternative to the acceptance of unjust wages or payment, of excessive rent to landowners. All the natural resources of the earth — the land, the forests, the oil, the minerals, and the waters of the Earth — are the gifts of nature and of nature's God to all mankind. No title to absolute ownership of any part of the Earth can be traced back to a deed issued by the creator of the Earth. All natural resources are by their nature **trustery, not property**. Land should be privately possessed and privately used in order to furnish incentive to its fullest and most efficient use, but the unearned increment, the ground rent, and the mineral royalties, instead of being privately appropriated, should be used in lieu of taxes to pay for the necessary services provided by the government.

The insistence of the apologists for Capitalism upon the defense of the institution of private property in land; their defence of the abomination represented by speculation in land, has hopelessly identified Capitalism with the injustices of the present system of land tenure in the free world. If the Socialist and Communist alternative of nationalization and collectivization of all land is to be avoided, with the farmer reduced to a pawn to be exploited

by the State, an entirely new system of land tenure, upon the principles enunciated by Mencius in China and Henry George in America, must be instituted.

7. Freedom of Possession : The law of property in the free world must be revised so as to distinguish not only between what is "mine" and what is "thine," but also between what is "ours," between what can be legitimately owned privately and what can only be privately **possessed in trust**; between what is properly called property and between what should be distinguished from it by calling it trusterty. The basic human right to equality of opportunity must be provided by a just property system. Title to property can originate legitimately only in one way: by its production. Once created in this way, title to it can be transferred, devised, or exchanged for other property the ownership of which has come into existence in the same way. In a just system for the possession of property and trusterty, no appropriation of the unearned increment in land can be permitted. Collection of ground rent and royalties on mineral and other natural resources which have been entrusted to private possession would prevent this injustice.

With limited, in place of unlimited government, and with world federation instead of national efforts to maintain national defence, the reduction in the costs of government would be so great that it would be possible to eliminate all taxes on buildings and other goods produced by labour, all income and corporate taxes, all tariffs, all sales taxes, and all the multiplicity of taxes which handicap labour and capital in the task of providing for the economic needs of mankind.

Call to the New Elite : There is an ideological vacuum in the free world, and a similar vacuum is developing in the military and Communist dictatorships of the world.

People everywhere are sick to death of a world which seems to have lost its bearings, which is drifting here and being driven there. They are sick of mass poverty, of unemployment, of dependence for existence upon others, of exploitation, of rural decay and urban blight, of imperialism and militarism, of dictatorship and the denial of liberty. They are sick even of a prosperity in which the spirit of man is alienated. Subconsciously, because of the scientific revolution, they are ready to abandon all the dogmatisms, the bigotries, and the fanaticisms of religion. They are ready to turn from the hate-mongers, the political demagogues, the conspirators, and the revolutionary nihilists. They are ready to abandon all the chauvinisms now being promoted in the name of nationalism.

They are looking for something fresh and new; something which would give this tired old world a purpose and a meaning worthy of the spirit of man.

"Nothing", said Victor Hugo, "is so powerful as an idea whose time has come."

Pan-Humanism may be ready to come into its own.

But Marxism—whether in the form of dictatorial Communism or of democratic Socialism and Welfare Statism—is creeping in or being forced into the world's ideological vacuum because the leaders of the free world have failed to offer mankind a formulation of their faith which both convinces and enthuses, and so wins the puzzled masses and the discouraged intellectuals of the world. They apologize for what is, and so in effect become the defenders of all the injustices and all the evils at which Marxists and other critics of the free world have properly pointed the finger of condemnation.

Marxists promise to abolish all existing evils, and to abolish them with a panacea: the panacea that the State—organized force and compulsion—is the only means by which it is possible to create a good society. Their slogan in

Lenin's Russia was "All Power to the Soviets." What they mean is "All Power to the State."

They promise peace and prosperity to troubled mankind if only the people, nation by nation, embrace their goal and accept their methods. But their program is agitation, subversion, conspiracy, bloody revolution; the liquidation of all capitalists, the expropriation of all property, including the savings of the middle classes accumulated by thrift and self-denial, including the land and even the livestock raised by the hardest kind of work by the poorest of farmers; finally, the annihilation of all opponents and opposition parties and ideologies, and submission to the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat"—submission to dictatorship and centralization of all political, economic, and educational power in the hands of the New Class of one-party "commissars," planners, and bureaucrats for an indefinite period of time. This they claim will usher in a classless society; a society free from all inequality; a society in which there is universal prosperity; a society from which all war, imperialism, and exploitation will forever be banished. Fanaticism and pseudo-science are combined to blind mankind to the fact that force can never be used to do good; that force itself is an evil, and that it can be legitimately used only for the purpose of preventing evils greater than that involved in its use.

By comparison, what have the leaders of the free world to offer to the masses dazzled by these golden promises? What have they to offer to the thinking and concerned minority of mankind which is sick of things as they are and which, fired by the conviction with which this pseudo-humanitarian program is presented, sees only the velvet glove of glowing promises and ignores the iron fist hidden in it?

In sum and substance, **continuance of what we now have in the so-called democratic world.**

But this is precisely what mankind has already subconsciously rejected. It is this subconscious rejection which gives to the Marxists their opportunity. It is the failure to offer an adequate response to the challenge of the times which creates what is here called the ideological vacuum of the world.

Thoughtful and concerned men and women labour, of course, under one terrible difficulty. But if the difficulty is honestly faced — as the political leaders of the free world with their demagogic preoccupation with personal and party interests, are afraid to face it — then it will disappear. The difficulty is this: **it is impossible to make a good world quickly.** It is impossible to abolish the evils with which we are confronted with a five-year plan; impossible even with a two or three of them.

But a peasant—even though illiterate—can be made to realize that he cannot plant a seed today, and reap a harvest to-morrow; he knows that the ground must be plowed, that the rain must come, that the plants must be cultivated, and that months must elapse before the harvest is reaped.

Every labourer can be made to realize that you cannot lay a brick on the ground today, and tomorrow move into a finished house. He knows that a foundation must be laid, walls erected, a roof built, doors and windows put in place, the interior finished, and months must elapse before the house can be occupied.

It is not impossible to make even the masses of mankind realize that a good society cannot be created overnight, and a good life enjoyed merely by wishing for it. If existing evils are to be abolished, and a free and just society created, it will take time; one generation, two generations, maybe three generations.

But if the program presented is adequate, if it deals with the roots of our social and human weakness and does

not consist of expedients for dealing superficially with grave problems, then every year there will be improvement—improvement which will increase cumulatively and at a geometrical rather than an arithmetic rate of progression. To reach down, however, into the hard core of common sense which even the commonest of men possess; to enlist the enthusiastic support of intelligent men and women, the program must be explicit; it must be comprehensive; it must be persuasively presented, and it must be promoted by selfless leaders who do not discredit themselves by apologizing for the evils of the present order.

Neither Capitalism, as it exists in the so-called free nations of the world, nor Socialism in the so-called Welfare States, nor Communism in the so-called "people's democracies" behind their iron curtains, are just social orders. Abandonment of Socialism and Communism, and transformation of Capitalism into a free and just economic order, is what social renaissance calls for.

But no such drastic revolution in the existing political and economic institutions of both the democratic and the dictatorial nations of the world as is here called for, is possible without re-education and humanization of at least a determining number of men and women, nation by nation. These suggestions for institutional reform call for political action, it is true. But political reforms of this kind, important as they are, are not enough to make a good life possible for mankind. The best economic system and the best political constitution is not enough to do this.

In the final analysis, if mankind is to be saved from the mechanized and materialistic barbarisms into which the free world is drifting, and the rest of world being driven, if democracy is to be realized and liberty saved, if men are to be taught to live rationally and humanely, and the people persuaded to make the far-reaching reform needed, the educators of mankind—the New Elite here

called for—must be challenged to furnish the leadership the crisis calls for.

There is profound disillusionment with Socialism in the Marxist nations of the world. There is an ideological vacuum in the free world. These two conditions create the opportunity which must be seized by the thoughtful and concerned men and women of the whole world. To these men and women in every nation and in every race, this cry for liberty, justice, and humanity is addressed.

Ralph Borsodi
Ambala Cantt., Punjab,
October 28, 1958

(On September 24th, 1958. I spoke to a meeting of the Democratic Research Service in Bombay. In the course of my address I argued that in the present world crisis, a prescription of democracy was not enough—that the hunger of people everywhere in the world for a better social system called for a much more complete program of social, economic, and political reform. I tried to mention some of the items which should be included in a program sufficiently complete to satisfy those who were dissatisfied with existing conditions. I insisted that unless leadership in the free world offered a program that was both adequate and appealing, even the most intelligent people would continue to drift into the acceptance of Socialism and Communism. As a result I was challenged to write out in detail what should be included in such a program. This Manifesto is my response to that challenge. The Manifesto was written at the residence of Mr. Nand Kishore in Ambala Cantt., and I must express my appreciation for his hospitality and the facilities which he placed at my disposal. —R. B.)