

# Indian Libertarian

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## EDITORIAL

### TIBET

THE Tibetan problem so far as India is concerned remains unsolved. Further developments after the Dalai Lama's residence in Mussoorie as India's guest signify a retreat on the part of India as champion of Tibetan freedom. Dalai Lama's cautious assertion that the Tibetans recognise the Government of Tibet wherever his Ministers and himself reside in contact with each other has drawn a demurrer from the Government of India that they do not recognise any exile Government of Tibet on Indian soil or anywhere outside Tibet. This is clear warning that India is not prepared to allow the Dalai Lama to function an "exile government" and to rally support for the recovery of freedom by his country from the world at large, just as Republican Spain at death grips with Rebel Franco elicited support from volunteers from outside.

India is not so heroic and far-seeing as a devotee of democracy or the freedom of small nations or neighbours or even of panchsheel to put herself out to trouble for the sake of her expressed ideals.

The hope that India might re-open Tibet's case at the UNO is also dashed to the ground by Delhi's refusal to do so. The agenda of the UN Assembly when it meets in September next does not contain any topic connected with Tibet.

On the contrary we find India entering a resolution for the seating of Red China in the UNO as usual at the beginning of every Assembly sessions for years since the inauguration of the Red regime in the mainland of China!

It is all intelligible from the standpoint of fear and national self-interest narrowly interpreted but sadly contradictory to the far-seeing, idealistic viewpoint to which Indian representatives lay claim when advising Russia and USA to cease from cold war attitudes.

The alternatives before India are 1. to recognise the truly ruthless character of Red Imperialism in China reinforced by her alliance with the totalitarianism of Russia and resolve to defend herself with the help of Western democratic States like the USA and Britain or 2. to throw herself at the mercy of China and become her satellite and agree with her doings however outrageous they may be such as the rape of Tibet and the genocide of her nation. *There is no middle way.*

The hope of maintaining neutrality in the expectation that it would spare her from the hostility of China in the future is foredoomed to disappointment. Chou En lai has already referred to the outstanding "cartographic" problem or the claims of China for territories in Assam and Ladakh in warning tones. He means that India should cease meddling with Tibet if she wants China to be considerate to her when the border areas come to be taken up for negotiation with India!

The way in which China has suppressed Tibet and her national Entity killing over 80,000, destroying monasteries, settling Chinese in Tibet in lakhs, machine gunning crowds, setting buildings on fire, sending Tibetans to Chinese provinces in thousands, torturing thousands etc. has resembled Russian action in suppressing the Hungarian freedom struggle in 1956 in every particular.

The unceremonious way in which the article on

local autonomy in the Tibetan Chinese Treaty has been flouted by China should be a warning that all treaties with China become "scraps of paper" as soon as they cease to reflect the interests of the Red Power in its pursuit of world domination in alliance with Russian communism.

There is no hope that any subservient attitude of ours to her in the days of peace will serve to safeguard our security in times of war and that China and Russia will respect our neutrality in war-time.

It is therefore the part of wisdom to cease to rely on the policy of neutrality which implies too great a trust in the communist camp and to openly align ourselves with the Western world which is after all more dedicated to democracy than the socialist camp, in spite of the remnants of imperialism surviving in Algeria and Africa.

Among political parties it is Jana-Sangh alone that has urged such a radical change in India's foreign relations. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh Member of Parliament, asked the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha to grant the status of *Exile Government* to the Dalai Lama and allow him to rally world support for recovering the freedom of his nation. He asked that India should send volunteers to fight for Tibetan freedom even as China sent volunteers to fight for North Korea! He offered himself as the first volunteer! The Prime Minister was shocked at such extreme sentiments! He forgot that freedom demands audacity and self-sacrifice for survival in strength. India today exhibits the timidity and lack of resource and the staleness of old age and not the vigour and faith of Youth.

India has also forgotten that democracy is indivisible. It is betrayed when our neighbour is attacked. Our strength to defend ourselves when we ourselves are attacked next will have been atrophied.

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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narain (who is both in and out of the PSP) is an exception in sponsoring the cause of Tibetan freedom among front rank politicians. He has held a Tibetan Convention to match the one organised openly by the Reds on behalf of China in Calcutta. He is trying to rally world opinion. He has gone the length of calling on foreign embassies at New Delhi to sound their opinion on this subject.

Of course fellow travellers like Mrs. Rameswari Nehru and her Afro-Asian group led by international communism, as all the world knows, have frowned on Mr. Jayaprakash. Mr. Nehru too has naturally discouraged him privately though he has not so far expressed himself on this matter in public.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narain is a Member of the International Executive of The Congress Of Cultural Freedom which body is strongly anti-communist. But it is doubtful if he will be permitted to pursue his independent line and rally support from the rest of the world in men and money and to actually mount a movement for the liberation of Tibet. That requires sterner stuff than is evident in Nehru to permit and Narain to push through in terms of deeds. Both are men of words and silver eloquence but more is needed for action in the political world, (specially when the ground is shaken by revolt and conquest) than oratory and sentiment.

### **H. V. KAMATH ON THE BORDER PROBLEM**

Mr. H. V. Kamath (who resigned from the civil service during the national liberation struggle before Independence and was a Member of Parliament in the last two sessions) has issued a statement after a tour of the Himalayan regions of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. He reports the prevalence of a strong Chinese propaganda in these areas trying to win the peoples of Mongolian origin here for a *New Himalyan Federation* consisting of Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the North-East Frontier Agency. Indian prestige has suffered grievously in this part of the world on account of the strength displayed by China in the suppression of Tibet in despite of Indian displeasure. Everything depends on the resolution and courage and tact and skill displayed by Indian diplomacy backed by the Indian Government and people for retention of the loyalty of these peoples for India. Mr. Kamath says that the propagandists claim territory up to Silguri in Assam as belonging to China!

### **NEPAL**

Nehru visited Nepal recently and elicited sympathetic *attunement* of the Nepalese King and people with India. It is clear that China is exerting pressure on Nepal to cease alignment with India. Some border check-posts along Nepal's northern border were manned by Indian military personnel. China objected to their presence and had them removed! The ancient understanding between India and Nepal in virtue of which the two countries act like one in most common affairs is now sought to be disrupted by the Chinese. They show no tenderness to Indian susceptibilities. The Chinese have not yet returned the military officers of our Army they captured in Ladakh on the ground of their being found on their soil, though as a matter of

fact, they were *skiing* on ice within historic Ladakh territory! They have also occupied a checkpost on the Indo-Tibetan trade Route near *Hoti*.

The defeated party of K. I. Singh has expressed public criticism of Nepal's alignment with India and wants Nepal to go over to the Chinese side! Mr. B. P. Koirala the Prime Minister and the King are staunchly for cooperation with India. But they have a shade of a doubt whether India would stand up to China in the event of a showdown! They seem to desire a closer rapprochement with the USA as a support for their neutrality or independence as against a possible Chinese invasion or pressure.

Nehru has recently visited Bhutan and Sikkim and has forged bonds of friendship with them. But their adherence to the Indian sphere of influence will depend on the way India behaves in the hour of trial. If she throws up her hands as in the Tibetan affair, she will lose the sympathy and support and loyalty of these Himalayan States. Character is destiny and the character of India's ruler will prove her destiny in the short period.

### PAKISTAN

The decision of changing her capital from Karachi to high ground near Rawalpindi on the historic invasion route is yet unexplained. It will take Rs. 200 crores, (it is estimated) to build the new capital and some 10 years to complete.

One reason may be to have the capital closer to Kashmir and the Indian borders for a military purpose. But proximity to a hostile power is as much *disadvantageous as advantageous*, for bombers can fly in both directions!

Another reason is that it is located in the midst of the Punjab territory and the Punjabi is the hard core of the Pakistani nation today. This will counter-act the political influence of the greater numbers of the Eastern Bengali Muslims who are regarded as too *Hinduised*?

General Ayub Khan defended the extra strength of his divisions beyond Pakistan needs with the statement that they were needed to resist any Indian invasion while Pakistan was occupied on her Western border of 1400 miles! Some members of the American Congress had questioned the wisdom of over-arming Pakistan. This will have the effect of alarming India forcing her to invest too heavily on arms to maintain arms parity with Pakistan, if not superiority.

President Ayub Khan replied to the effect mentioned before and showed the persistent mentality of distrust of India with which all Pakistani politicians are imbued, civil as well as military.

He reiterated recently his conviction, as if it were an axiomatic truth, that if the Kashmiri and Canal Waters disputes with India were not settled amicably, the situation is capable of *causing a world war!*

This is the familiar accent of threat and blackmail against the West to induce them to assist Pakistan whether right or wrong! It is also a threat and blackmail directed to India.

India should reply recounting the full story of Pakistan's debt to India and the full tale of her intransigence and refusal to take a sane and just view of any dispute

with her. It looks as though Pakistan is *not keen to settle any dispute with India*. She wants the dispute to continue to figure as an excuse to carry on anti-Indian propaganda *a la Goebels*, for the aim is not national benefit through conciliation but the damage to India that may be caused thereby in world public opinion as a preliminary to her defeat in a final encounter with Pakistan!

Those who do not realise this deep-seated motive of Pakistani leaders are not qualified to sit in judgment on the Pakistani problem *vis a vis India*.

### IRAQ

General Kassem celebrated the First Anniversary of his Revolution last week. In Baghdad there was an impressive ceremony at which Iraq's armed might marched past the Flag before a foreign elite of 500 representatives. British, American and Russian arms—airplanes, tanks, armoured cars etc. figured in considerable numbers.

General Kassem expressed gratification with India's goodwill and announced a policy of *positive neutrality* in close imitation of India's well-known policy.

Even Egyptian representatives were invited but they did not come.

General Kassem has formed a Government *excluding Communists*. He has reassured the Western Powers of his non-hostility. He seems on the verge of succeeding in forging an Iraqi nationalism independent alike of Nasser, Russian communism and the West. He has withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact.

On the day of the celebrations in Baghdad, communists staged a rebellion at Irkusk in the north near the oil fields but it was resolutely put down by the army.

Though the future is yet uncertain, it may be said that Kassem has a fair chance of winning out in his complex problem of mastering the forces hostile to his rule—whether Nasserism, communism or Western imperialism.

The British tactfully withdrew their armed forces from the aerodrome and base at Hasabnia in response to the request of the Kassem regime. They sent arms to it to keep Iraq on friendly terms and prevent it from relying altogether on Russia for arms.

Western imperialism is no longer a danger to Iraqi nationalism. The danger from Nasser and communism remain. The party system has been abolished and the communist militia has been subordinated to the army. The army has remained *on the whole* loyal to Kassem, wherein lies his hope of ultimate success in the adventure of carving out a regime of his own as the head of a *new Iraqi Arab nation*, independent of Nasser.

### NASSER

Nasser has also been foiled in Jordan and Lebanon. He is now forging friendly relations with the Abyssinian Emperor and with the Sudanese dictator. He has continued to support Algeria. His ultimate ambition is to unite under his command and rule all the Arab States from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. But Libya and Iraq have failed to respond and insist on a separate destiny for themselves, as also Lebanon and Jordan.

The future is obscure because of unstable conditions

(Continued on page 4)

# Behind The News

## TYAGI COMMITTEE PROPOSALS

A number of proposals regarding the assessment and method of collection of the Income Tax have been recommended by the Tyagi Committee on Reform of Direct Tax Administration. Some of the proposals though radical as they are, should be welcomed both by the Tax payers as well as by the government in the interest of simplicity in the methods of tax administration. It is a known fact that the number of cases of tax-evasion has reached alarming proportions of late. It is estimated that tax evasion in India is in the order of Rs. 200 crores per year. The responsibility for this pitiable state of affairs should be squarely placed on the clumsy and cumbersome processes of tax collection employed by the Taxation authorities which in their very nature and application are so harassing as to force even honest and well meaning assesses to resort to methods like submitting falsified reports of income-tax returns calculated to pay less taxes than what are legitimately due if not to evade tax payment altogether.

One of the proposals of the Tyagi Committee is that the onus of proving the correctness of an estimate of income returns should fall rather on the Income Tax Department than on the assessee when he raises the issue before the Appellate Commissioner. By implication it means that the Income Tax Department should accept the assessee's own estimate of his income and assess him accordingly: if later on he is found to have furnished false returns, he may be severely punished, which is in fact a procedure followed in countries like Norway, Sweden, Italy and France. This suggestion in particular should be welcomed by all democratic minded persons as it is in consonance with the well-known maxim in jurisprudence that a man should be presumed to be innocent unless he is proved guilty. At present the tax payer in India is almost hounded out like a criminal and his bonafides questioned frequently by the taxing authorities. If the Tyagi Committee's proposal is implemented it will minimise the harassment of the lessee by the tax collec-

(Continued from page 3)

in these states wherein *Pan-Arab sentiment is stronger than attachment to local magnates.*

### INDONESIA

There is continued unsettlement in Indonesia. President Sukarno has established his *guided democracy* with himself as President and Prime Minister nominating a Parliament in which the Army is to have a substantial number of seats!

There is a strong Pan-Muslim Party in Indonesia that wants a Muslim State. The secularists and democrats are divided. The army and the personal popularity of Sukarno are the only stable elements in Indonesia. The future is uncertain. The country cannot settle down to the tasks of reconstruction and progress on account of the unsettlement on the political front.

tor, and in turn it can be expected of the assessee to submit true and proper returns of his income, in the absence of coercive methods of tax-collection which do more harm than good.

Another significant recommendation of the Committee is to separate the Appellate Commissioners of Income Tax from the Executive and to place them under the Law Ministry. Again this suggestion keeps well with the norms of democracy one of them being the independence of the Judiciary from the control of the Executive. By seeking to circumvent the Taxing Department from exercising its influence over the Tribunals, the Tyagi Committee's proposals, will maintain the dignity of the Tribunals which will dispense justice to the tax payer. This alone can put a stop to the high handedness of the Taxing authorities who take it for granted that their assessments however preposterous they may be will somehow meet with the approval of the tribunals. Therefore in the interest of honesty in administration in general and the security of the tax payer from the predatoriness of the tax collector we welcome the Committee's recommendations. It is hoped these sane proposals would not meet with the same fate as several other recommendations by similar Committees, in the hands of our government with whom the habit of appointing committees and rejecting their recommendations forthwith has become chronic.

### VIENNA YOUTH FESTIVAL

There is something very fishy about the Youth Festivals held every second year for 14 years now. It is formally organised by the International Union of Students and World Federation of Democratic Youth. But in practice however the Youth Festivals are part and parcel of the tactics of World communist movement to indoctrinate the non-communist youth of the world. The Festivals are stage-managed and sponsored by communist leaders to further the cause of international communism. In 1947 the festival was held in Prague, in Budapest in 1949, in East Berlin 1951, in Bucharest in 1953, in Warsaw in 1955 and in Moscow in 1957 all the venues being in communist countries.

But this year the Communists have for their own reason shifted the venue of the Youth Festival to Vienna in neutral Austria, which decision was taken by the International Preparatory Committee of the Festival, which met in Stockholm. The bulk of the Austrian Youth seems to have sensed the trick and only a small insignificant Communist organisation, F O J represented Austria in the Preparatory Committee meeting at Stockholm. Austria's national students organisations issued warning to their counterpart in other countries about this insidious communist manoeuvre. In fact they seem to have protested to the committee even earlier against the decision to hold the Festival in Vienna. This gives a direct lie to the Communist propaganda that this decision to hold it in Vienna was arrived at only with the consent of the Austrian youth. As a result of this warning, the Swiss students withdrew from the Preparatory Committee. The President of the Swiss Union of students exposed

the bogus of the Youth Festivals when he said that only 12 out of the 75 national union of students in the world have shown any real interest in the Youth Festivals. In spite of all attempts to make the Youth Festivals truly representative of the student world, he revealed they were dominated by the communists in a bid to use the Festivals as propaganda platforms for their ideological world conquest.

But in spite of our knowledge of the true nature of the Festivals, the Government of India's attitude toward the Youth Festivals is—as in many other vital issues—most equivocal. Although the Indian student's Congress has been abolished in 1949, it still entertains invitations to the Youth Festivals. What is worse, communist and disreputable nonentities are allowed, if not actively encouraged to pose as representatives of the Indian youth to the Festivals. They serve only to discredit the Indian youth in the eyes of the free world. A ban on such delegations is the only way to save Indian youth from the guiles of international communism.

### INDIA AND NEPAL

Speaking at a public meeting of the National Democratic Front, Dr. K. I. Singh accused India of pursuing a colonial policy in Nepal. To support his statement he made the wide allegation that the Indo-Nepalese multipurpose Kosi river project and Gandak project were designed to colonise some parts of the Nepalese territory. While this stupid outburst can be traced to Dr. K. I. Singh's frustration at suffering a disgraceful defeat in the first general elections in Nepal, it is clear that this accusation against India is communist inspired. It reminds one of the days when China was hailing Dr. Singh as the future "liberator" of Nepal. But the Nepalese people are quite wary of the adventures of leaders like Dr. Singh and will not easily swallow the ghost-stories of the "liberators". Moreover the Nepalese Congress has the unqualified support of the people armed with powers to undo mischiefs from every quarter. Undoubtedly India can claim to be the pioneer in the movement for international aid to Nepal, and has lived up to her precepts in her dealings with Nepal. India has given crores of rupees for Nepalese economic reconstruction without any strings. Her only ambition has been to keep friendly relations with Nepal. But now India has to sail rough weathers in Indo-Nepalese friendships and therefore should be more vigilant than before in her dealings with Nepal whose strategic position is of much significance to India. Scrupulous care should be taken in diplomatic circles to avoid any friction between the two countries. If the Indian economic aid to Nepal is to bear fruits and the aid appreciated, India has to exercise proper care in the implementation of the joint Indo-Nepalese projects to avoid waste and inefficiency. It will be ruinous to India's prestige if she were to duplicate in these projects the waste and inefficiency for which Indian government's public undertakings are notorious. Failure to exhibit efficiency and economy in her undertakings in Nepal will give an opportunity to the anti-Indian sentiments there to exploit such failings for causing friction between the two countries. India has

to be more vigilant than ever in frustrating attempts to disharmonise Indo-Nepalese relationships, especially when such attempts are backed by an unscrupulous regime like that of China.

### AMERICAN MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

Pakistan does not seem to have taken kindly to the U.S. Congress decision to cut 200 dollars in the military aid programme to Asian countries. The American proposal to reduce the military aid to Pak seems to have created consternation in the minds of Pak leaders and has tempted them to indulge in a sort of mild blackmail in an attempt to influence U.S. opinion. The Pak Ambassador to U.S., Mr. Aziz Ahmed threatened in Washington that if military assistance is reduced, defensive alliances such as the Baghdad and Scato Pacts might lose substance and that member-countries like Pakistan might question the wisdom of remaining in such Pacts. Plainly speaking, it means that Pakistan will walk out of the Pacts if U.S. cuts down its arms supply to Pak. While this is not the first time that Pak has indulged in this sort of political blackmail, it remains to be seen how far she will be able to influence U.S. opinion in her favour.

While India has every reason to be happy over the U.S. Congress decision to cut the military aid to her neighbour, especially after the shooting of Indian reconnaissance planes by Pakistan, she has to consolidate the advantage now gained by pursuing a more realistic foreign policy which would cause no misgivings in those friendly countries anxious to prevent India from falling into the traps of Communism. For, whatever may be said of the niceties of India's Panchsheela, it cannot be denied that the two communist countries—Russia and China—who mouth it more frequently than its author and support it more ardently than its sponsors have used Panchsheela only as a defensive instrument to conceal and abet their territorial aggressions. While Russia and China have not lost a single opportunity to condemn U.S. and other Western countries for their interference in the Middle East in terms of Panchsheela principles, it has not deterred them from committing naked aggression in Hungary by the former and Tibet by the latter. India, the author of Panchsheela has remained a helpless spectator on these occasions, if not abetted the crimes of Communist countries. This has caused serious misgivings in Washington which naturally counts upon Pakistan as a more reliable ally against international Communism than India. It will be wise on the part of Pakistan to accept the cut in the military aid in her own interests and begin to think more in terms of economic reconstruction than in terms of hostility towards her neighbour. India, on her part should give up her pseudo-neutrality and pursue a more honest foreign policy which will convince U.S.A. of the genuineness of India's neutrality. For it is this failure of India to inspire any confidence in her professed neutrality that has prompted U.S. to enter into strategic alliances with Pakistan, detrimental to the interests of India, though justified by her anxiety to forestall communism in Asia.

# The President's Letter to the Prime Minister

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES of Delhi achieved a scoop in publishing a summary of the Letter that the President had addressed to the Prime Minister in June. The Letter was unusual in that it traversed the major part of Government's overall policies regarding national development and was directed to persuading the Prime Minister to exercise caution and go slow in respect of realising them in practice, especially in view of the ideas being canvassed as regards the Third Plan.

The President's move to restrain the impetuous policies of Mr. Nehru has synchronised with the utterances of Shri C. Rajagopalachari and the publication of the principles of the newly started *Swatantra Party* under his auspices. The latter event seems to have acted as a catalytic agent on the President and moved him to put his misgivings and warnings on paper and communicate them to Mr. Nehru formally. There is no doubt that the voice of experience and administrative wisdom is by and large on the side of Shri C. Rajagopalachari in his criticisms of the subversive consequences of the reigning pro-communist policies of the Nehru Government. The spontaneous and large response that has been forthcoming to the *Swatantra Party* on the part of the educated middle class and the trading community generally has confirmed the reading of the situation by uncommitted writers and journalists as well as by retired officials of high standing.

When questioned in a press conference as to his attitude to the President's Letter, the Prime Minister said that there was nothing unusual in it and that the President had written to him several times before, especially at the time of passing the Hindu Code Bills. He also clarified the Constitutional aspect of the relation between the President and the Prime Minister and Parliament as obtaining in the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution is modelled on the British Parliament with the President filling the role of the Crown. As is well known, the Crown in England has no power. He or she has to conform to the decisions of Parliament as formulated by the Prime Minister who is the leader of the majority in it. The Indian President does not correspond in actual power to the American President who is the head of Government and chief executive and supreme commander of the American nation. He appoints his cabinet of Secretaries who correspond to Ministers in our Constitution but without places in Congress. They hold office during the President's pleasure and are liable to dismissal by him without check or hindrance by any other limb of Government.

Mr. Nehru hinted therefore that *he need not take* the President's letter as having constitutional validity which he is bound to respect in letter and spirit. It is only an *advice* and a warning which he may treat in *his discretion*. The President like the Crown in England has the right to be consulted and to advise

and warn the head of the administration. He has the prerogative of dismissing the Ministry if he thinks that the public opinion was no longer represented by it owing to changes in the climate of public feeling while the Ministry was in office. But if the Ministry was returned to power in an election, the Crown has to accept the verdict of the people and acquiesce in the policies of the elected government and the leader of the majority party in spite of any objections he might have for them. While acknowledging that this view of the role of the President in our Constitution is correct and that the Prime Minister is not bound to follow the advice given by the President, the fact of the widespread feeling of the *unwisdom* of present policies prevailing in substantial sections of responsible opinion (which is now spearheaded by Rajaji's new party) gives an edge and influence to his letter. The Prime Minister is bound to pay heed to it if not as his constitutional obligation but as symbolic and expressive of responsible public opinion which in this case has not been enamoured of all his pro-communist ideas.

The President seems to have expressed his uneasiness in particular about the unwisdom of the recently taken decision of State Trade in Food Grains as a monopoly displacing in time the entire private trading in the field. This decision has been taken in a dictatorial way. It was not discussed in the legislatures of the country, Central or State. It was put into effect following a direction given by the Prime Minister to State Ministers at a meeting of the National Development Council which is not a statutory body. The scope of the trading is immense and involves the commitment of vast resources variously estimated at amounts ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 100 crores! It will displace some 30 thousand whole sale dealers in all parts of the country. It cannot be enforced without controlling millions of retail grain dealers. The consequence will be the acquisition of complete control over the food of the people by the Government, its prices and availability, affecting the daily life of every inhabitant of the country in its vast extent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The audacity of the take-over and the febleness of the protest finding public and organised expression so far are symptoms of the large extent to which demoralisation has already set in among vocal elements in the country. The shadow of dictatorship is already on us chilling courage and enterprise all round. Such a measure involves vast commitment of public funds in the present financial situation of the country without any reasonable prospect of success by way of lower prices and fuller availability of food grains. The record of the Government since Independence in running industrial undertakings and managing food supplies and securing increased production through its Grow More Food campaigns *does not inspire* the public with any confidence that the present venture in wholesale food grains monopoly will succeed in its objectives.

It is understood that the Prime Minister has been

persuaded in this matter by Professor Mahalanobis, the author of the Soviet-style Second Five Year Plan-Frame. He seems to have assured the Prime Minister that the Government could sweep into its coffers something like Rs. 850 crores, at present going into the pockets of private wholesale food grain dealers! But he forgets that such profits will not materialise to Government management which can only make losses!

The administrative failure and debacle likely to result from any attempt to realise this policy is too grave and far-reaching in its dislocation of the economy for complacency.

The President is fully justified in raising this topic for cautious handling by the Government. He seems to have expressed misgivings about this policy and asked the Government to go slow.

The present arrangements and semi-controls of food movements from Zone to Zone and imports of wheat from the USA have not been a shining success to encourage further developments along the same lines of State Control to the limit of rationing price control and government responsibility for feeding the entire people. Wholesale traders' associations have protested and have showed with facts and figures that the present and contemplated measures cannot succeed in their objectives.

Lovers of liberty have here a great opportunity of publishing their point of view and demanding that the State should not enter this sphere. Even if the State were ten times more efficient and incorruptible than it is, it would be inadvisable from the libertarian or democratic point of view to allow the state to take over such a large and vital sector of the private sector. *Self-employment is a value in itself* and should not be surrendered by traders without a stout mobilisation of public opinion against it. Traders might be intimidated by Government. Hence intellectuals and writers and journalists and all who yet have an independent income should band together to oppose these policies. The President needs to be supported by mass opinion and public support. He has done a public service by raising this subject for serious consideration by his Council of Ministers.

The next item in the President's theme of warning and advice relates to cooperative joint farming, the extension of which to the entire field of agriculture throughout the country as the *sole ultimate* form of cultivation was passed as the goal of policy at the Nagpur Session of the Congress Party in January. There can be no harm if joint farming were sought to be formed experimentally in places where farmers were willing to try it or on government reclaimed land given to landless persons like refugees or tenants and agricultural labourers without displacing existing holders and without trying to *herd all peasants* everywhere into cooperative joint farming. These cooperatives require the pooling of individual holdings to which the peasants everywhere have the strongest objection and will not agree unless they are coerced violently or nonviolently by the offer of facilities and denial of Government assistance for acceptance and rejection of Government's proposals for pooling and joint operation.

It is also to be noted that wholesale trade in food grains and other agricultural products has been taken over by communist governments in conjunction with the policy of spreading cooperative joint or collective farming to which it leads. The joint farming puts the harvest in the hands of the governing committee which is dominated by the Government. Government will take its part of the production *directly* without so much as "a by your leave" leaving a portion for distribution among working peasants. Their food goes *first* into the hands of Government and they must be satisfied with what it leaves for them in its mercy! Taking the food grains directly from cooperatives, it is natural that it should have a monopoly in distributing it in the towns and cities at its own rates. The Government thus gets the power to starve or favour town or village at their own sweet will! They will use this power for full control over the lives and labour of the unfortunate people entrusted to their care! This is the grim context of cooperative farming and wholesale State Trading in the socialist camp. It spells the death of freedom to the producer and consumer alike. In the absence of competing traders offering grain to the public, the government will be the *sole trader* and can and will dictate its own price.

The passing of such a Resolution at Nagpur was the immediate provocation for the formation of the Swatantra Party by the Agricultural Federation at Madras in June. A large number of Congress leaders themselves are alarmed by this prospect of cooperative farming. Professor Ranga, the Peasant leader resigned from Congress and joined the Swatantra Party on this ground. He is the convenor of the Convention which is scheduled to meet at Bombay on 1 and 2 of August to finalise the Platform of the new party and to choose Central and State leaders. Prof. Ranga is stressing the democratic values of self-employment and opposes the pooling of holdings that deprive the holder of the right to cultivate his own land in his own way. The plea that the land rights of the peasant will be recorded and a dividend paid to him for it in addition to wages for labour does not cut much ice with the peasant. Once his control over his land is gone, he knows that it is next to impossible to get it back. Without this right to plan and grow his own crops on his

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own field, he will be reduced to the status of a labourer.

Strong objection is also being urged against the proposal to liquidate part of the holdings of owners who have more than a certain ceiling—say 15 or 20, 25 or 30 acres—differing from region to region more in accordance with the Leftist barometer of the legislators than in accordance with the fertility of the soil.

Holders everywhere are resenting the refusal to let them resume for self-cultivation the full extent of the lands left to them after the imposition of ceiling and transfer of lands above that limit to tenant or labourer. Tenants are to get the rights of the owner!

The attempt to reorganise the lives and property of the entire countryside in this vast subcontinent of ours will surely dislocate for years the daily life and production of the peasantry. It will *entail a disastrous fall in production in the short period*. The President seems to have realised this danger and to have cautioned the Prime Minister to postpone *ideological reforms* until a later date. He has advised him to concentrate full attention on the *increase of food grains production by fuller provision to all cultivators throughout the country, (interior villages as well as roadside fields) of water, credit and fertiliser facilities*. If taken, this advice will save the country much unnecessary hardship.

The next item on which the President seems to have dwelt in his epistle to the Prime Minister is unemployment and the need to extend employment—offering small scale industries in preference to huge projects and factories swallowing hundreds of crore with disappointingly small employment opportunities. The advice here also is sound in the immediate future, though basic heavy industries are also essential for rapid industrialisation. The mistake of the Soviets lies in this *disproportionate investment on heavy industries* leaving too little for consumer goods production which are indispensable for daily life.

It is this pattern of over-development of heavy industries together with impossibly high targets far beyond the resources of the economy (not leaving a tolerably satisfactory margin for the accustomed standards of living of the different ranks of the people) that is the source of much distress in the socialist camp. The communist States enforce this distorted plan through totalitarian power.

To succeed in mobilising amounts as high as Rs. 11,000 crores including some Rs. 3,500 crores of fresh taxation and internal loans, it is clear, it will be necessary to jettison democracy and take to full totalitarian procedures. Mr. Nehru seems quite willing and eager to do so, if the Congress Party machinery fails to support him!

The Ootacamund Seminar on the Approach to the Third Plan raised certain radical prospects that bid fair to push the country definitely and irrevocably into totalitarianism if sought to be realised in concrete policies after the present Plan. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao seems to have made a bid to surpass Prof. Mahalanobis in socialist ideas. He wants Government to earn money by taking over further industries with profit potentials and add the cost of development to the costs of pro-

duction and so raise money without direct orthodox methods of taxation.

Mr. Dhebar seems to have become a wholehearted pupil of Mr. Nehru. He seems to have circulated a proposal in Bombay (and hastily withdrawn it) in which he contemplates the *cooperativisation of existing joint stock concerns!* Cooperatives, self-employed artisans and government concerns are three types of production he envisages for the future of industrial organisation *This is pure communism. It will mean the elimination of the capitalist class completely*. Nobody will then have any property to be used for production. The state will monopolise all production whether directly or through state controlled and financed cooperatives. The report has upset those who can visualise the dislocation and destruction, both economic and political, that this vision of Mr. Dhebarbhai entails.

The President seems to have issued a warning against such Plans, resulting in inflation and impossibly high taxation in the initial stages and the centralisation of all economic power in the hands of the state in due course.

These proposals should alert all libertarians or democrats to take due warning and concert measures, through political parties as well as through non-party organisations like the Forum of Free Enterprise and the All India Agricultural Federation and journals of opinion like "The Indian Libertarian" and Institutes of Study and Research like The Libertarian Social Institute.

The President has done well by the country by his letter to the Prime Minister.

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# Swatantra Party's Opportunity

By M. N. Tholal

—:0:—

THE country is indebted to C. Rajagopalachari for having at length seen the wisdom of sowing the seeds of a party which, from the very fact of his association with it, promises to emerge as a strong position to the ruling Congress Party, capable of forming an alternative government in course of time. The party has all the ingredients which make for success. It has for its virtual leader a man to whom Mahatma Gandhi always turned for advice in moments of doubt, who intellectually is second to none in the country and is by all accounts far superior to Nehru who has been trying to make fun of him. As has been made apparent from some recent observations of Rajaji, he is not without that great qualification in an opposition leader—contempt for his opponent—which seems to me lacking in almost all other leaders of the land, due doubtless to the almost universal prevalence of inferiority complex which is the bane of Indians.

Soon after we gained our independence, Jai Prakash Narayan patriotically saw the need of an opposition party and tried to form a coalition of heterogeneous elements, including socialists and communalists, but was won over by Nehru by a virtual promise of succession to his leadership, just as Nehru was won over by Gandhi in the latter half of the thirties when both Nehru and Subhas Bose had started condemning Gandhi after the failure of the 1930-32 movement ascribed by Gandhi to reading and writing in jail by men like Nehru. Nehru can be very very charming when he wants to and he went all out to dissuade Jai Prakash from the proposed venture, and succeeded.

## “LOYAL TO ME”

We had then the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party conference organised at Patna to form an opposition party. Acharya Kripalani presided and behaved like a school master fondling the ferrule trying to control unruly boys and asking them to “sit down” when he did not want to hear them. A pressman who attended the conference observed that Acharya Kripalani seemed to think that dictatorship was necessary to counter Nehru's dictatorship—to protest against which the party was being formed. One of the pillars of this party was the irrepressible Rafi Ahmed Kidwai with his slogan. “Strengthen Nehru's hands.” He at any rate was quite convinced that the party was being formed to “strengthen Nehru's hands” against Purushottamdas Tandon and his group. So apparently was Mr. Nehru, otherwise Kidwai would have lost his seat in the Cabinet. Can such things happen in any other country? A Cabinet minister openly assisting in the organisation of an opposition party and still retaining his seat in the Cabinet? (Rafi's attitude was a threat to the Congress; listen to Tandon and I leave you.) But that has always been so since the Gandhian era began.

Did not Nehru condemn almost everything Gandhi and the Congress stood for and yet remain a Congress leader? Indeed he became its president twice in succession in the late thirties? When critics reminded Gandhi of it, the Mahatma said: “But I know he is loyal to me”—doubtless implying: What is the country weighed in the balance against me? A westerner would have put down Nehru's condemnation of Congress policies without any attempt to leave the Congress as blackmail.

So my friend Rafi Ahmed Kidwai—whose loyalty to the Nehru family enabled him to have several of his friends and supporters appointed ministers in the Central Government—proved a veritable Trojan horse in the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja triangle. Any one could have foreseen it, for Rafi had only one slogan—“strengthen Nehru's hands”—and only one motto—what a terrific combination for dealing with Nehru!—the latter being: “catch him in a good mood,” the reference being to moody Nehru. Several times he advised me to make his motto my own and I must admit that, if I could not do so, it was my misfortune, not his fault.

We have had another party with some promise of success—the Jan Sangh—but the Fates willed otherwise and snatched away its leader, Shyama Prasad Mookerji, just when he had proved to the hilt that he had all the qualities that go to make a first-rate leader. After his death—no man in the party was anywhere near him—the leadership naturally redounded to the lap of the leader of the RSS which was the nucleus of Jan Sangh, and there have been several revolts against the stranglehold of the leader who functions in the background and has for his mouthpiece a safe, if third-rate, President who recently defied an order of the Punjab Government only to pay up the fine imposed to escape imprisonment. No party can go far with a third-rate man as its leader. Over and above that the party and its spokesmen are unduly and unnecessarily—almost nauseatingly—communal. Such a party cannot command respect of the intelligentsia all over the country and decent educated people have to think a hundred times before throwing in their lot with it.

## SOCIALIST WHIMS AND FANCIES

The Socialist opposition, which has been regularly splitting into splinters for want of a good leader, has within its ranks a Nehru's-hand-strengthenener like Asoka Mehta as well as a bitter critic of Nehru like H. V. Kamath, with the chairman of the party, Acharya Kripalani, running the gamut between the two according to his whims and fancies of the moment, some of which are reliably credited to his better half. Ram Manohar Lohia has proved too small a man to run a party, his chief weakness being his dictatorial atti-

tude as a protest against which he formed his party. As against the brands of socialism of these splinter socialist groups the country seems to prefer the socialism that comes from the aristocratic Nehru.

The formation of the Swatantra Party may lead to the split in the Congress which should have come about with the Congress turning Socialist, had Congress leaders been true to their convictions rather than to the opportunities staring them in the face. The lure of offices in the gift of Nehru proved too much and prevented the split. Consequently we see the spectacle of an army of non-socialists acclaiming the advent of socialism to please the job-giver Nehru. Every body knows it, including Mr. Nehru; perhaps that is why the latter emphasises the moral approach so much, the proverbial guilty conscience pricking the mind. But there are thousands of leaders and only hundreds of offices, and if those who do not believe in socialism or co-operative farming, or resent offices being offered to flattering scallywags, resign from the Congress and join the Swatantra Party, Mr. Nehru's moral approach may receive a set-back, without the country sinking any deeper into the mire of immorality. Indeed, if we are true democrats, we should welcome everybody honestly standing for his own convictions regardless of the fear of Mr. Nehru or the favours that emanate from him. Mr. Rajagopalachari can, if he is so minded, give the sensitive Jawaharlal Nehru sleepless nights, for his rapier thrusts are deadly and the diarrhoea of the mouth—the phrase is Motilal Nehru's—from which the Prime Minister suffers will easily supply Rajaji with plenty of opportunities to the delight of all honest men in the country. Other people can do it too, but Rajaji commands the attention of the Press as no one out of office does in the country, and that is one of the greatest advantages of the new party's leader being ex-Governor-General Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar.

### RAFI AHMED KIDWAI'S SUCCESSOR

One certain result of the formation of the Swatantra Party is that there will now be no or little compulsion in the matter of joining co-operative farms. I have not the smallest doubt in my mind, after a talk with a Leftist Central Minister who has been campaigning for it for years, that compulsion was intended. It will be very difficult with the members of a respectable and growing party on the look-out for cases of compulsion or (police) persuasion, which to the mind of the modern Congressman is not the same thing as compulsion. The country has been turning totalitarian under Nehru not because he is a Communist at heart—he is nothing of the sort—but because he is a nabob at heart and is so pleased with his flatterers that he wants to have their wishes implemented at once. The place of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is being occupied by Pratap Singh Kairon. No wonder, because the slogan of the former has been adopted in toto by the latter. Nabob Nehru is too much of a Nabob to have any time for such a nerve-racking occupation as thinking. Besides, what is the use of thinking out things when you know you are going to do just what your flatterers want you to do!

This cooperative farming comes from Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon, just as the Mass Contact Programme of the Congress in the later thirties came from Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to embitter the relations between the Congress and the League after the latter had been hoodwinked and double-crossed by the Congress, and to embitter Jinnah in particular, for the programme was to tell Muslims that Jinnah was a Kafir since he did not observe the Ramazan fasts and did not (or could not) say his prayers five times a day, with the more enthusiastic going a little farther and saying that he ate pork. (Pakistan was a direct result of this mass contact programme of which Nehru was a great admirer.) All this might have been what Englishmen call hitting below the belt but it was part of our moral approach. Did not Gandhiji say repeatedly that he was introducing religion into politics?

And now we have cooperative farming to please Pratap Singh Kairon. If any one has any doubt about it, he can go through the speeches of Prime Minister Nehru and he will find adverse references to the Registrar of Cooperative Societies of Punjab who, I understand, has been observing the letter as well as the spirit of the law he is expected to subserve, instead of doing the bidding of the henchmen of ministers. Now what does this mean—this adverse reference in public to the Registrar of Cooperative Societies of a State? Where did Mr. Nehru get the cue from? Obviously from his hand-strengtheners, Pratap Singh Kairon. In any case, if the Registrar is not doing his duty, he should be brought to book, if not dismissed. If he is doing his duty and it does not please our ministers they can change the law even to the extent of encouraging the embezzlement of public funds. I have never in my journalistic life now extending to forty years come across anything so amazing as this public reference to the Registrar of Cooperative Societies of Punjab by Prime Minister Nehru. It only proves that the latter has no sense of proportion and no sense of fairplay where the propitiation of his flatterers is concerned.

Cooperative farming having come from Pratap Singh Kairon, how can any one opposed to it be allowed to remain in the Congress? Having come from Pratap Singh Kairon it supersedes the creed of the Congress. Having come from Pratap Singh Kairon it is and should be the creed of every Congressman irrespective of whether Nehru holds any office in the Congress and is or is not a member of the Congress Working Committee. That is the long and short of it.

All this points to the need of the Swatantra Party. As if the gods themselves look down upon it with favour they have offered it Tibet to ride upon to glory. What a wonderful opportunity, only if those concerned realise it, for a raging and tearing campaign against Nehru from one end of the country to another. They must always remember that there is no generosity in politics, that our opponents' difficulty is our opportunity. There is no room for shilly-shallying in politics.

# Communist China's Foreign Policies

By T. L. Kantam

**W**ITH the aid of the Japanese arms turned over to them by Russia, the Chinese Communists drove Chiang Kai-shek's National Government from the Chinese mainland and on October 1, 1949 proclaimed the People's Republic of China operating under a provisional constitution based on the Soviet model.

The rise of the Chinese Communists to power has been beautifully described by Prof. Claude A. Buss, one of the greatest historians of our time and an authority on the Far East:

"With deep ideological roots, a small group of toughend, intellectually astute Chinese took advantage of China's political and social unrest to grasp positions of power. They fought as a traditional faction in civil war but with unusual energy and zeal. With flexibility in tactics and ruthlessness in action, they twisted the sorrows of China's war for their own benefit. They captivated the surging tides of revolution in China and utilized them to put themselves in power and to sweep China into the Communist orbit. They dedicated themselves to the complete remoulding of China's internal structure and to the remaking of the world according to Communist blue-prints and under Russian learship. The weight of China's numbers, multiplied by the intensity of China's convictions, aroused the slumbering giant to the consciousness of its strength. Regardless of consequences, Communist China proclaimed the end of the era of humiliation and insult and asserted its demand for what it considered its rightful place with the seats of the mighty".

## MOSCOW-PEKING AXIS

The formal establishment of the Moscow-Peking Axis took place on 14 February 1950 with the signing at Moscow by Stalin and Mao of a treaty of alliance, mutual aid and friendship between Russia and China, though such an alliance had been foreseen much earlier. In June 1948, three months before the proclamation of the new regime at Peking, Mao Tse-Tung declared his famous "leaning-to-one-side" policy:

(We are told) "You are leaning to one side." Exactly... In order to attain victory and consolidate it, we must lean to one side... The Chinese people must lean either to the side of imperialism or to that of socialism. There can be no exception... Not only in China but throughout the world, one must lean either to imperialism or to socialism... Neutrality is merely a camouflage; a third road does not exist."

"Internationally we belong to the side of the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union."

Mao Tse-Tung declared that the People's Republic would stand resolutely on the side of the international camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union with which it had the most friendly and fraternal relations.

One of the supplementary agreements entered into at the time of the treaty of alliance provided for a credit of 300 million dollars to China to be used for equipment and materials for electric power stations, metallurgical and engineering plants, mining equipment for the extraction of coal and ores, railway and other transport equipment and other materials for the restoration and development of the national economy of China. A series of later agreements provided for details of trade and further shipments of Russian machinery, all geared to the demands of China's industrialisation programme.

Russia sent many technicians and advisers to China (some estimates went as high as 500,000) and they brought Chinese workers to Russia for training in industrial plants, mines and railways. The Chinese showered lavish praise on the Russians for their help in Manchuria (which is rich in coal and iron, gold and forest reserves, wheat, millet and soya beans), in railway construction in China proper and on river projects.

In 1953 Russia granted new loans and credits to launch the industrialisation programme and to provide for the construction of ninety-one new enterprises and the renovation of fifty others. China was to send to Russia in return for this very substantial aid, non-ferrous metals, food, rice and grains, wool, jute, tobacco and soya beans.

## STRAINS AND STRESSES

The programme of Soviet economic aid and technical assistance not only advances the common objectives of the two countries but also brings to each partner distinctive gains. On the Russian side, numerous positions are opened up for technicians and other specialists at salaries that are very remunerative for Soviet citizens and do not constitute a drain on the Soviet budget. The Soviet Union also acquires inside knowledge of the economic and cultural activities of China and is able to influence the development of its junior partner. China, on its part gets the services of specialists and technicians which it badly needs to achieve its cherished goal of an industrialised socialist economy.

From the military standpoint, the two countries, along with the satellite states must be thought of as a single armed camp under the overall leadership and direction of a supreme command in Moscow with a major outlying command post in Peking. In line with this single-camp concept, there are thousands of Soviet military advisers in the Chinese armed forces. In addition, Russian troops have been stationed directly on Chinese soil in Manchuria and Sinkiang. These troops are stated to number about 250,000. In view of this vast network of Soviet advisers spread through the entire military structure of Communist China, we may take it for granted that the overall strategic planning is undertaken jointly.

On the diplomatic front, the formation of the Moscow-Peking Axis signaled a formidable accretion of strength to the Communist bloc. China, though not a member of the United Nations, is a contender for big-power status, whose voice must be listened to and whose presence alongside the USSR adds an immense weight to the Communist position. Even when one partner is not directly involved in the question at issue, that partner gives moral support to the position or action taken by the other. Thus, China's conquest of Tibet in 1950 was greeted in Moscow as a "success on the part of the People's Republic of China in solving its nationality problem". Tibet was regarded as having finally entered "the great family of national friendship" thus re-establishing itself as "an integral part of great China".

### CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

China regards the United States as its archenemy. Opposition to the United States was voiced in the statements of Chinese Communists before the end of World War II. Mao expressed his gratitude on 24 April 1945, to Great Britain and the United States, especially the latter, for their immense contributions to the common cause but warned that "any foreign government that helps the Chinese reactionaries to stop the Chinese people's pursuit of democracy will be committing a grave error". The hate campaign of the Chinese Communists represented the United States as the deadly enemy of the Chinese people, as a "rotten imperialist" nation and as a paper tiger. They denounced the educational and missionary work of Americans as cultural imperialism and branded Americans as brutes and bullies. This campaign continues unabated to this day. One of the cartoon strips represented people in New York as eating their own children because they had no food to eat!

The issue of Formosa seemed to bring China and the United States closer to hostilities than Korea or Indo-China but somehow the threat of war has subsided. Yet the prospect of an early settlement of this question seems remote.

### CHINA AND THE WEST

While relations between China and the countries of Western Europe have followed an erratic course in the diplomatic field, China has been making frantic efforts to improve trade relations with the Western powers. The first major step in this direction was taken at the Moscow Economic Conference of April 1952 when Peking's representatives signed trade agreements with many individual firms from Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland and Finland among others.

Following this beginning unofficial trade delegations have been regularly going from various countries to the Chinese capital to negotiate further agreements and Peking has reciprocated by sending some delegations of its own to the West.

Delegations from the Western countries are quite often sent by the national "friendship" associations, such as the Britain-China Friendship Association. By

far the most important of such visits was that of the British Labour Party delegation, headed by the former Prime Minister Clement Attlee. The relatively favourable reports brought back by this delegation must have been very welcome in Peking for propaganda purposes.

### CHINA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

From very early times, South-East Asia had been extensively settled by the Chinese. Their cultural and demographic penetration continued even after the political decline of the Chinese Empire began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Chinese Communists have, in a sense, carried on this tradition but as followers of the international ideology of Communism, they have also cast China's relations with her South-Eastern neighbours into a different mould.

The fundamental aim of Communist China has been to draw the entire South-East Asia into the "camp of socialism, democracy and peace headed by the Soviet Union" or at least to keep it from any attachment to the West.

### BETRAYAL OF TIBET

Within months after establishing themselves at Peking, the Communists announced that they considered the 'liberation' of Tibet as an immediate goal. They sent troops to the Tibetan borders areas in 1950

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and set up a provisional government. India deplored this action and declared that it was not in the interests of peace. China replied that India's opinion stemmed from foreign influence and that the Tibetan affair was strictly a matter of China's internal jurisdiction. India shied away from a diplomatic duel over Tibet and stated merely that it desired a reconciliation of Chinese suzerainty with Tibetan autonomy and a settlement of the problems by negotiation rather than by force. The atmosphere cooled as China shifted its major attention to Korea. It is a matter for conjecture whether the present tragedy in Tibet could have been averted if India had taken up a firm stand at the time.

The Communists made the cause of South-East Asia their cause and assumed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the "Asian Balkans"—Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya and Burma. They took it for granted that they would be able to dominate South-East Asia as the United States dominated the American continent and Russia dominated Eastern Europe. The Western powers, however, warned China that they would treat aggression in South-East Asia "with grave concern" and intimated the possibilities of "Massive retaliation".

### CHINA AND INDIA

India was almost the first to recognise the Communist government of China. The formal announcement was made late in December 1949, preceded by that of Burma a few days earlier. Burma's recognition was perhaps hastened by the massing of Chinese Communist troops across the common border in Yunnan province.

India has strongly championed the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, stressing its importance as a pre-requisite of peace. It

has not, however, sacrificed its independence of judgment in the interests of China. It supported the United Nations resolution which condemned North Korea as the aggressor but voted against the resolution which charged Communist China with participating in aggression. It refused to send troops to Korea and urged the settlement of the Korean affair by peaceful means. Finally, it took on the thankless job of heading the neutral mission for the exchange of prisoners.

China, however, fluctuated in its treatment of India and in its respect for Indian sensibilities. But in June 1954, Chou En-lai coming to Delhi fresh from what was regarded as a personal triumph for him at Geneva, conferred with Nehru. The outcome of this conference was the *pancha sheela*, "five principles of peaceful co-existence": mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Chou then visited Burma and issued a similar declaration jointly with U Nu.

### CHINA OF THE FUTURE

China to-day presents the picture of a "totalitarian state dedicated in purpose, confident in its successes, Machiavellian in its foreign relations and ruthless in domestic regimentation and the exploitation of human lives for the ends of the state. How Chinese Communist leaders will deploy their rapidly developing strength is difficult to predict. For the time being, they find themselves dependent upon the economic and technical aid which Soviet leaders, in turn, can scarcely refuse to grant. But the Soviets, in giving their support, contribute to the growth of an increasingly formidable rival and in the long run it might be the Chinese who will hold decisive power in the disturbed balance of Communist forces".

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## While The Government 'Watches' The Situation...

### FOOD PRICES SOAR, FAMINE THREATENS BOMBAY STATE

BOMBAY: Meeting in the bracing climate of the old capital of Peshwas, the rulers of bilingual Bombay after two hours of deliberation, unanimously decided that the rising prices of foodgrains needed to be watched!

According to this Poona decision, the Government is obviously keeping a "watch" on the upward trend of the food prices in many parts of the State. But in the meantime the people suffer; the prices have rocketed by 35 per cent and more.

### HUNGER AND MISERY ARE PEOPLE'S COMPANIONS

Large areas of Saurashtra are among the worst hit by food scarcity and the spiral rise of prices. Parts of Gujerat and Maharashtra do not lag behind; hunger and misery are the people's inseparable companions.

In Bombay City too, in spite of rationing, people experience hardships. The poor quality of rice and the worst of wheat supplied at ration shops forces them to pay more at non-ration shops. Both quality

and quantity is available for those who can pay.... And it is not only rice and wheat for which people have to pay blackmarket prices: pulses and other essentials also have gone up by about 45 per cent!

### SCARCITY AMIDST PLENTY

The official explanation is that the main factors contributing to the high prices of essential commodities were not only the availability of food grains quantitatively, but of supplies of the quality in demand. The explanation is, indeed, a fine example of official subtlety and sophistry.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) the world's rice crop for 1958-59 is nine millions tons more than that of the previous year. The Indian production for the same year amounted to the record figure of 73 million tons. Added to this is the rice that India buys from Burma because of the contractual obligations.

Does the Bombay Government mean to say that it cannot get rice from the above and if it gets it, it is not of the quality in demand?

How long can the people endure such a callous state of affairs is anybody's guess.

—Blitz.

# Kerala and the Constitution

(From our own Correspondent)

**D**ELHI journalists are now expecting the fall of the Kerala Government through Presidential action. It is only a matter of time now. For, they could, like the Prime Minister, understand the defiance of the Constitution (who cares for the Constitution anyway, except the high courts and the Supreme Court?) but they cannot, again like the Prime Minister, understand the defiance of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Communist Party of India has blundered in ruling out mid-term elections, as advised by Nehru and accepted at least in theory by the Chief Minister of Kerala. That acceptance had almost queered the pitch for the leaders of the Kerala upsurge, and its turning down by the Communist leaders really leaves the masterful Nehru no alternative to clamping down President's rule on that state.

The situation, despite all attempts to confuse the same, is simple in the extreme. Law and order, it is true, is a state subject but no state government can be allowed to override the Constitution and run its coach and four through the Preamble to the Constitution which guarantees equality to all its citizens, and it is just that equality which the Kerala Government has, according to all reliable accounts, including those of the President and an ex-President of the Congress, been denying to the people of Kerala. After what has been appearing in the Press for months past, it is hardly necessary to recount in detail the transgressions of the Kerala Government. Talks with Communists indicate that they blundered in relying overmuch on the neutralism of the Prime Minister and the supposed influence over him exercised by Krishna Menon, and proceeding as if there was nobody to restrain them. But then this blunder, born of wishful thinking, was natural on their part, because it is always extremely difficult for fanatics to restrain their zeal. The Communists have proved once again, this time in Kerala, that for them co-existence is a one-way traffic; that they believe in it only where they do not form the Government.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

As for the threats of Mr. Dange to produce a similar upsurge everywhere else in the country in the event of the Kerala Government being superseded, all that need be said is that the Communist bull has to be taken by the horns some time or the other, and the sooner it is done the better it would be for the country and the Congress and its Government. The Swatantra Party, although still in the stage of formation, has also now to be reckoned with in almost all major decisions that the Congress Government takes. That Government can hardly afford to add to its unpopularity by mistakes of omission or commission. Also the non-Communists of Kerala are obviously so determined to oust the Communists that there is no restraining them and the Congress would lose that state for its part if it persists in allowing the Communist

Government to go on functioning despite what is happening there. So it is now in its own interest that the Congress Government should decide that there is no point in allowing Communist misrule to continue.

But what exactly is the constitutional position which seems to be weighing heavily on some minds in the country? Those who oppose Central intervention in the Kerala crisis cannot be said to have been thinking clearly. Clause (1) of Article 352 of the Constitution provides *inter alia* that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of any part of India is threatened by external aggression or internal disturbance, he may proclaim an emergency. Clause 3 of the same Article lays down that such a proclamation may be made even before the actual occurrence of aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof. The situation in Kerala is serious enough, both actually and potentially, to justify Presidential intervention. No legal purist can honestly entertain any doubt regarding the power of the President to intervene in these circumstances. The satisfaction of the President, mentioned in the Article, is not a matter of law but is entirely a state of his mind arising out of the facts of the situation, obtaining or impending.

## POWER RESIDES IN PRESIDENT

Moreover, Article 355 says that it shall be the duty of the Union to protect every state against internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every state is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The only question that is relevant to the applicability of this Article therefore is: Is there reasonable ground to doubt that the present Government of Kerala is not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution? If there is, then it becomes the duty of the Union to protect Kerala vis-a-vis such a government. So the imperative duty cast on the Union by Article 355 is twofold. Firstly, the Union must protect a state against internal disturbance. Secondly, the Union has a duty to protect a state against its government when there is

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Please write to:—

The Manager,  
"THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN"  
Arya Bhuvan,  
Sandhurst Road, (West)  
Bombay 4.

doubt that the State government concerned is not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. One of the charges against the Kerala Government is that it frequently ignores Article 14 which guarantees to the people of the country the fundamental right that the state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the law. Several authoritative instances of this have already been published and the state government has not so far challenged the accuracy of the instances cited.

Again, Article 356 says that if the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a state or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may by proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the state and of the powers of the Governor. The words "or otherwise" in the Article italicised by me have been overlooked by the critics of those who demand Presidential rule in Kerala. They empower the President to act without a report from the Governor or to ignore his report altogether. In other words, the power in the matter resides in the President in toto and not in the Governor or the Prime Minister, although the President may well be pleased to have the advice of his Prime Minister and listen to it.

Nor does Article 356 contemplate, as maintained by some, a breakdown of the governmental machinery or a political deadlock as a necessary pre-requisite of Presidential action. All that is required is that the President should be satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Such a situation has doubtless arisen in Kerala in the judgment of all impartial observers. Under the Constitution, it must be remembered, the Union is the residuary legatee of undisposed powers and not the member-states of the Union. This has been done to give the Union inherent power to act in a contingency not provided for by the Constitution. So intervention by virtue of this inherent power would be perfectly legitimate even in the hypothetical absence of the provision of the Articles mentioned above. The President must, therefore, discharge the duty assigned to him by the Constitution.

### NO ROOM IN COLLEGES

With the scheduled castes taking to education and the girls taking to it as ducks take to water, the problem of accommodating students in high schools and colleges has become more acute. The number of students matriculating goes up every year but not the number of colleges in the same proportion. The accommodation in colleges this year is estimated to be about 10 per cent of those seeking admission. The Union Education Ministry has at last decided to appoint a working group to study the problem of college education in Union territories and recommend measures for solving it on a long-term basis. But urgently needed are short-term measures to meet the crisis and the three colleges which have been opened to relieve it are not likely to solve the problem even partially.

It is a crying shame that even after twelve years of independence the Government has not been able to solve the problem of accommodation in schools and colleges even of the Capital. Nothing could have been easier. For example, what is there to prevent our schools and colleges running double shifts? That doubles the accommodation with a stroke of the pen and helps solve the unemployment problem. One of the reasons why the problem has not been solved in this summary fashion seems to lie in the doubt regarding the wisdom of admitting thousands to colleges, but there is no valid reason to deny admission to those who have passed the admission test. It would perhaps be wiser to raise the standards, which have been steadily lowered to attract students (and their fees), and thus restrict the number seeking admission to colleges and universities. For this purpose a concerted attempt on an all-India basis is indicated and this cannot be made until the Prime Minister takes a hand in the business, such is the state of helplessness of the ministers concerned.

One of the most brilliant examples of the futility of extending the public sector comes from the Capital itself, illustrating the proverb, "*Chiragh ke tale andhera*", i.e., there is darkness under the lamp. While tenants and house-owners have been crying themselves hoarse to obtain electric connections and the electric supply administration has been bemoaning the dearth of power at their disposal, it is suddenly discovered that thousands of kilowatts have been lying unused for years. If you were to go into the question deeply, you will find all these people have been saying to themselves: "What do we gain by sanctioning all these applications quickly?" In fact they lose a good deal, as every one knows, while the state which has been losing by the current remaining idle gains. And the bosses? Why, they are there to be flattered and the best flatterer is the most competent man. In any case they do not lose if the state loses, they do not even lose their promotions, to say nothing of their jobs, because they in turn know how to flatter. Otherwise they won't be where they are.

And now within a few days, the Delhi Power Control Board has sanctioned all applications for new lighting and domestic power loads received up to the end of June!

### LIBERTARIAN FEATURE SERVICE

We have started our Libertarian Feature Service again, and will be bringing it out regularly from time to time. Subscribers of "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" who wish to get it regularly, may please write to:

*The Editor,*

**THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN,**  
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,  
Bombay 4.

# 'Muhammad's Teachings Correct,'--Rev. Owens

'ANGLO-SAXON RACE HAS NO RELIGION'  
REV. J. OWENS

**T**HE intellectuals and religious scholars in the Community have been engaged in an intense discussion sparked by Mr. R. T. X. Ashford, Minister of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, Oakland, California, contentions that "God Is A Black Man." This week the distinguished Rev. John Henry Owens, a Minister, Educator, Civic Leader and student of languages. Rev. Owens speaks Arabic and Greek. He supports the teachings of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah.

Dear Editor:

Have been reading your articles regularly and the discussions in your paper, the "Herald-Dispatch," concerning Mr. Elijah Muhammad and the Muslim Religion. Many of those who oppose his teachings are arguing without any basic knowledge of what they are talking about. Unfortunately the masses, both colored and white, argued with more "heat than light." Basically, Mr. Elijah Muhammad is correct. Of course, perhaps some of his conclusions may be a little personalized due to the fact that the intellectual level of his followers is not on an even plane of understanding. It takes strong talk to unseat wrong teachings of several generations standing.

*No original basic religion has ever been originated by a member of the Anglo-Saxon Race, notwithstanding erroneous thinking to the contrary.* All of the Anglo-Saxon Religions have stemmed from religions originated by non-Anglo-Saxons. The ancient Hebraic Religions, which we now know as the "Old Testament," was a collection of books written by wise black and brown men, or at least, non-Anglo-Saxons, of that day, on statecraft; sanitation in daily life—in fact a practical guide to decent daily living. Although Anglicized as white in color—Jesus and nearly all of the writers of the "New Testament" were men of color, or non-Anglo-Saxons. In fact, the seeds of *Muslimism* were sown by the "New Testament" in that it was a breakaway from the old rigid "Mosaic Code." The later Muslims realized that Christ's error was in trying to win *blinded and error-stricken* people through persuasion and logic. Mohammed, when he started Islam about 600 A.D., said, "Conform or be put to the sword. This is the best for you and if you are too stupid to realize it, it is *just too bad.*" He was freeing them from the *WHITE* overlordship of the *white Romans* and their *co-horts*.

But to continue my original argument—"Confucianism," "Buddhism," "Shintoism," etc., etc., were all originated by non-Anglo-Saxons. To prove without a doubt that the Anglo-Saxons tamper with the Bible to suit their convenience: In modern, non-Catholic Bibles there are seven books expurgated. These are the books of "Tobias," "Judith," "Wisdom," "Ecclesiasticus," "Baruch" and the "Two Books of the Machabees," and certain portions of the books of "Esther" and "Daniel." The basis of this is the fact that the

original Hebrews scattered throughout many foreign lands after the dispersion. The Bible was translated into Greek for the use of Greek-speaking Jews—many of whom settled in Alexandria, and other Greek-speaking localities.

The Old Testament was translated in Greek several centuries before Christ, and it was these Greek-speaking Jews and others even before the time of Christ, who regarded these 7 books as inspired just as much so as any other book of the Old Testament. The only reason why the Palestinian Jews did not consider them inspired was that they were not written in Hebrew, and were written too late to be included in the list of Esdras, a Jewish historian who made an arbitrary selection of *what was and what was not inspired.* (It is truly discouraging to see my people get into these quarrels, which profit no one and when they know so little of which they speak.) The Apostles of Christ used the Greek translation *containing* these seven expurgated books and considered them inspired. Very few of either your colored or white Protestant ministers know of this fact. They haven't studied deep enough. Surely the Apostles would have known whether these books were inspired or not, if anyone did.

Even today, the Catholics accept these seven books as inspired writing, and 300 million Catholics, scattered throughout the world consider them inspired and *all Oriental Christian Sects. Only the Protestant Anglo-Saxon denies them.* The Catholic Bible contains these seven books today. Ask any intelligent Catholic priest. Do not accept my word. *They were not entirely omitted* even from the Protestant Bible until the year 1827. Ask any well-informed Bible scholar. You need not accept my word. The Protestants have always tampered with the Bible to suit their own conveniences.

REV. JOHN H. OWENS

(Also given the degree of "Master of Biblical Interpretation" by a religious group with which I have studied.)

Los Angeles 18, Calif.  
1478-W 37th St.  
January 29, 1959.

## ATTENTION

WE ARE GLAD TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE "INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" WILL CARRY A RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT FROM 1st September issue. Subscription for the "INDIAN RATIONALIST" will be Rs. 3/ per annum, if subscribers want it separately. Subscription for the "INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" along with the Rationalist Supplement will be Rs. 6/.



# **NEWS DIGEST**

## **INDIA'S ECONOMY**

Though India is assured of both internal and external political stability in the coming months, there is an undercurrent of disappointment over the progress achieved on the economic front, state Messrs. Premchand Roychand & Sons, in their Annual Market Review for 1958.

It is observed in the Review that various conflicting trends have clouded the economic horizon and that a feeling of frustration appears to be growing, particularly among the educated unemployed. Ever-increasing population and unemployment are by far the most vexed question of today and unless a successful answer can be found for these, a socialistic pattern of society must continue to remain a mirage.

—*Times of India*

## **SWATANTRA PARTY FORMATION P.S.P. LEADER'S VIEW**

BHOPAL, July 19: Mr. H. V. Kamath, Chairman of the Madhya Pradesh Praja-Socialist Party, today said that the formation of the Swatantra Party would "accelerate the split" in the Congress.

Mr. Kamath, who was speaking to pressman, did not foresee any prospect of an alliance between the Praja-Socialist Party and the Swatantra Party, but, at the same time, did not rule out the possibility of forging a united front in Parliament and the State Legislatures against the Government.

Asked whether he agreed with the Prime Minister's view that the Swatantra Party was a "projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise," Mr. Kamath said that vested interests could be traced in all political parties.

—*The Times of India*

## **DELHI FOUNDATION GRANTS DELHI CIVIC BODY, A BENEFICIARY**

NEW YORK, July 21: The Ford Foundation today announced a number of grants to India totalling over half a million dollars, besides two other major grants to Burma and Pakistan.

These included a grant of 155,539 dollars to the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, to start an experimental community development programme.

### **OTHER GRANTS**

The other grants to India are:

(a) 415,000 dollars to the Government of India for continued training and demonstration aid to village and small-scale industries; and a further 18,500 dollars for continued assistance for an industrial-design exhibit prepared by the Museum of Modern Art;

(b) 13,725 dollars to the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona to continue training assistance in methods of applied social science research;

(c) 34,000 dollars to Punjab University; and

(d) 13,000 dollars to the Tagore Commemorative

Volume Society, for a volume on rural development and social change.

—*The Times of India*

## **"LAST PHASE" OF STRUGGLE TO END RED REGIME**

TRIVANDRUM, July 22: Within minutes of his return to Trivandrum today, the Vimochana Samara Samiti leader, Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan, began consultations for launching the "last phase" of the mass struggle to end the Communist rule in Kerala.

He explained to newsmen at the airport what he considered the "last phase." All villages must rise along with the towns in the State to paralyse "what remains of the administration in Kerala now."

He added: "Then within one or two weeks the Communists would get out. We can later look up the calendar to find out the exact date when they had vanished."

### **INTENSIFIED ACTION**

The 82-year-old leader said that the intensified people's action he was contemplating did not mean there would be Central intervention. The Union Government, he said, was now moving quickly.

It was Mr. Padmanabhan's desire to see the Communists quit power by themselves as a result of the people's action. To achieve this, he began consultations with other leaders.

All those whom he met outside Kerala were looking upon this State as India's saviour from Communism. There was great appreciation for the non-violent agitation against the Communist Government. He added: "The victory was not in doubt. Our ultimate salvation must lie in ourselves and in God."

He is again visiting Bombay and Madras. He told newsmen that the people outside Kerala had delegated the task of routing Communism from India to Kerala. The people of this State could go out to other parts of India for a campaign against Communism after defeating it in Kerala, he said.

—*The Times of India*

A state has reached in Kerala when the Government is not being carried on in a constitutional manner. The Government has suppressed all civil liberties and there is no equality even before the law. It is high time that the Governor exercised his rights according to the Constitution so that a general election could be conducted here.

—P. T. Chacko in 'Organiser'

### **NAMBOODIRIPAD YATRA TO PEKING!!!**

THIS bit of news has been released by the Kerala Liberation Frontists in Delhi. On the eve of the An-kamali firing, two Chinese submarines popped up near Trivandrum and handed in arms to the Kerala Reds to fight the faithful there! It is predicted that they might turn up again and take away Namboodiripad to Peking and refuse to free him till India agrees to hand over the Dalai Lama in exchange.

—*Blitz*

## SWATANTRA PARTY'S ONE CRORE FUND

**BOMBAY:** The Bombay nucleus of the anti-Nehru Swatantra Party has launched a drive for the immediate collection of a Re. 1 crore fund.

Apart from the notorious anti-Nehru industrialists, some multi-millionaire, millowners and tycoons of the silk industry, currently in the Congress fold, have agreed to subscribe to this fund. It is said that the one crore target will be reached before the party's first Convention in the City on August 1.

--Blitz

## PAK BID TO REVIVE KASHMIR ISSUE IN UN

PAKISTAN has approached her friends, America and Great Britain, to raise the Kashmir issue in the UN once again. So far, their attitude is lukewarm.

--Blitz

## 25 INDIANS SAIL FOR AMERICA UNDER SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME

Twenty-five scholars drawn from universities all over India sailed for London en route to the United States.

They form the latest group of scholars picked from hundreds of applicants for grants under the Smith-Mundt and Gulbright Scholarship programme.

## BAN ON "RED" PARTY URGED MR. PANDEY'S APPEAL

The General Secretary of the Bombay Regional Congress Committee, Mr. R. S. Pandey, appealed to the Union Government on Thursday to "dismiss forthwith the Communist Government in Kerala and ban the Communist Party as is done in some democratic countries" to save democracy in the country.

In a statement to the press, Mr. Pandey said that by banning the Communist Party, the Government would help the educated youth in the country "to resist contamination by the perverted ideas which Communism generates."

He said that the Communists in Kerala did not want to face fresh elections because they were sure that they had "forfeited the confidence of the people of Kerala."

## EXPERT OPINION

Erhard, the Economics Minister of West Germany, has recently been on a tour of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Viet Nam, South Korea and Japan. He is known as the economic wizard who engineered the miracle of post-war West Germany recovery.

On his return home he said about India: "West German industrialists are eager to invest in India if they got 5% partnership in the capital of new industries. He told Nehru that Indian private enterprise should have more freedom and India should beware of "too much planning." Foreign investors want guarantee against political risks.

Erhard's summary: "Far too much trading, far too little production. They all want giant plants. This makes little sense. They have to work from the bottom up and enlist the masses in projects that the masses can see are for their good. Instead of giant plants there should be improved farming and simple machines for small scale craftsmen."

## KERALA BODY'S APPEAL "LIBERATION MOVEMENT"

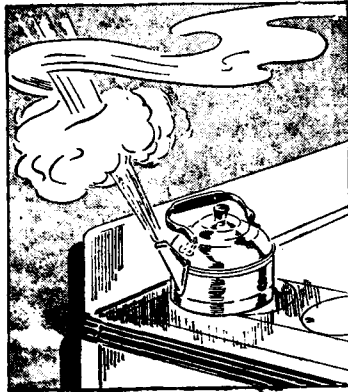
The Kerala Friends' Committee, Bombay, on Tuesday, called for co-operation and support for the "libe-

## DID YOU KNOW ...

By Scio



Crocodile tears are hypocritical tears of pretended grief. The phrase alludes to an old myth that a crocodile sheds tears over a prey while in the act of eating it. Scientists say crocodiles have no tear ducts and cannot weep, but that a watery liquid oozes from their eyes when they attempt to swallow something too large for them.



The white cloud seen billowing from a steam engine or tea kettle is not steam, as commonly believed. It is water vapor. Steam is an invisible gas into which water is converted when heated to the boiling point. The white mist (or water vapor) consists of minute droplets of water formed when the steam has cooled and condensed.



Winston Churchill, former British Prime Minister, has revealed that Stalin told him at the Yalta Conference that the Communists killed or starved to death 6,000,000 Russians in their collectivization of farms in the Soviet Union.

ration movement" in Kerala to uphold fundamental rights, civil liberties and Constitutional rule.

The Committee has been formed to canvass support for the anti-Communist forces in the State. The Committee warned that if the necessary support was not provided in time, democracy would be in danger throughout India.

Mr. K. M. Munshi is the Chairman of the Committee. Prominent among its members are Mr. M. Harris, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Ashoka Mehta, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. K. K. Shah and Mr. G. D. Somani.

### **EXPROPRIATING HINDUS OF EAST BENGAL**

Calcutta, July 14—The recent recommendations of the Pakistan Land Revenue Commission that compensation to zamindars now in Bharat, should not be paid in cash has created deep concern among the Indian nationals, who are owners of property in Pakistan, it is learnt.

Sri S. C. Roy, President of the Association of Indian Property-Owners in East Pakistan, has sent a representation to the Governor of East Pakistan requesting him not to accept this recommendation.

He has said that a large number of property-owners were faced with the problem of paying several dues to the Pakistan Government and other local authorities and they could pay such dues only out of cash compensation if and when received.

Sri Roy has expressed the fear that if the recommendation of the Commission was accepted, practically all the properties of Indian nationals in Pakistan would be put to auction.

Sri Roy has also drawn attention of the Governor to clause 5 of Nehru-Liaquat Agreement which runs as follows: "A migrant who decides not to return (to Pakistan or India) shall have unrestricted right of exchange with an evacuee in either country."

### **U.N. DEBATE FAVOURED P.S.P. LEADER ON TIBET ISSUE**

Bhopal, July 19: Mr. H. V. Kamath, Chairman of the Madhya Pradesh Socialist Party, said here today that he would like the Praja-Socialist Party to get some member of the United Nations to raise the Tibetan issue in the U.N. General Assembly.

Speaking to pressmen, Mr. Kamath said: "We will be happy if India took the initiative in the matter, but looking to the Prime Minister's present attitude, this seems next to impossible."

Mr. Kamath, who is also a member of the National Executive of the party, gave pressmen his impressions of his recent two-month study tour of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and certain Assam areas on the Pakistan border. He had also gone by jeep to the 14,500 feet Nathu La Pass on the Sikkim-Tibet border.

The P.-S.P. leader said that at Gangtok, capital of Sikkim, he had discussions with the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, Mr. Appa Saheb Pant, India's Political Officer for Sikkim and Bhutan, Mr. N. K. Rustomjee, political leaders, teachers, youths, merchants and refugee Lamas.

### **"INSIDIOUS PROPAGANDA"**

The Praja-Socialist leader said that China had not only committed "cartographic aggression" against India, but had also launched what he described as "insidious propaganda" on the Himalyan border for the inclusion of all Mongolian and Mongoloid people in the "great Chinese family."

Mr. Kamath claimed that he had learned from authentic sources during his tour that China had prepared a "secret plan" or a "blueprint" for establishing a Himalayan Federation consisting of Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the North-East Frontier Agency under her suzerainty.

Asked to reveal the sources of his information, Mr. Kamath said that he had collected this and other information from authentic sources, but it would not be possible for him at this moment to disclose the sources.

Chinese leaders, Mr. Kamath claimed, had declared that their territory extended up to Siliguri in Darjeeling District. In the face of all these developments, how could India feel safe and secure, he asked.

Mr. Kamath said he had gathered information that the Communist Party of India planned to join hands with the infiltrating Tibetan Communists in Bhutan and Sikkim to "foment violence and disorder" in those areas.

### **WHICH IS MORE BOGUS—BHOODAN OR LAND REFORM?**

Jammu May 30: Sri Jaidrath Pal of Billawar is reported to have donated 325 kanals of land (1 acre = 12 kanals) to Bhoodan leader Sri Vinoba Bhave, according to a press note released by the Kashmir Government on 29.5.59.

It may be recalled that under the Big Lands Abolition Act nobody could keep more than 182 kanals of land in his possession. So it is a question in the general public here as to how, and from where, Jaidrath Pal has donated this land. Either land reform or Bhoodan is bogus in this case.

### **KASHMIR'S WOE, PAK.'S GAIN**

New Delhi, July 17. While the floods in river Jhelum have caused unprecedented suffering to the people of Kashmir, Pakistan has gained by them to the tune of about rupees one crore.

Giving this information, V. K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, told a meeting organised by the Delhi citizens' committee for relief to Kashmir flood sufferers here this evening that timber worth about Rupees one crore belonging to merchants in Kashmir had floated down to Pakistan in the floods.

He, however, expressed the hope that Pakistan as a good neighbour would restore the property she had so received to its rightful owners.

The death toll in the recent heavy floods in Jammu and Kashmir has mounted to 104, it is learnt.

### **PEOPLE OF KERALA DENIED FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS CHARGES MADE IN K.P.C.C.'S MEMORANDUM**

New Delhi: Charges of subverting democracy, deny-

ing the people their fundamental rights, interfering with the judiciary and deliberately upsetting law and order are made against the communist Government in the K.P.C.C.'s memorandum released here.

The 27-page memorandum, submitted with 21 pages of appendices to the President on July 9, declares that the Kerala Government has "demonstrably outlived its mandate and must face the people without delay."

It requests the President that in view of the widespread unrest and popular demand, fresh elections to the State Legislature should be held "as early as possible."

The memorandum cites numerous instances from official records to show that systematic and ruthless measures are being taken by the Kerala Government to fashion an effective dictatorship of the Communist Party by subordinating the administrative machinery to the Party organisation at all levels. This has resulted in a complete loss of faith on the part of the people in the present Kerala Government.

The memorandum cites some of the acts of the State Government to substantiate charges of a deliberate violation of the Constitution, withdrawal of cases pending against the Communists, vindictive prosecution of the Opposition members and discrimination in the administration.

The memorandum points out that the Communist administration has rendered the Civil Service and the police impotent, and created conditions in which they have to carry out the orders of the Communist Party.

Soon after the present Ministry in Kerala assumed office in 1957, the memorandum says, it became clear to the people that the Ministry proposed to function principally in the interest of the Communist Party. It pursued policies and adopted measures which were discriminatory and not in accordance with the rule of law.

### **PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION**

The Party was born out of the dissatisfaction of crores of self-employed persons—peasant proprietors, artisans and small traders—towards the ruling Party.

Mr. Ranga refuted the suggestion that the Swatantra Party was the projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise. There was something wrong with the political perspective of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, who had made this suggestion.

Mr. Ranga expressed gratification at the fact that the Swatantra Party had attracted widespread attention both in India and abroad. This was not the case with other new-born political parties.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a message, wished the Convention all success.

In his inaugural address, Mr. B. L. Patil, an advocate from Dharwar, asserted that the Swatantra Party stood for the protection of the middle class, the back-bone of the nation.

### **PREMIER'S THREE-PRONGED ATTACK TO BE RESISTED**

### **SWATANTRA PARTY AIMS AT PROTECTING MIDDLE CLASS**

Bangalore, July 22: The purpose of the Swatantra

Party would be to resist the three-pronged attack made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, on Indian economy—ceiling on land holdings, co-operative farming and co-operative industries, Mr. N. G. Ranga said here today.

Mr. Ranga was explaining to the Karnataka Convention of the Swatantra Party, the circumstances in which the new Party had come into existence. The Convention was attended by representatives of various parts of Karnataka.

### **BROADSIDE LAUNCHED**

Launching a broadside against the Nagpur resolutions of the Congress on ceilings on land holdings and co-operative farming, Mr. Patil said that they were signs of the onward march of State Socialism. He felt that not a single peasant would surrender his land to be pooled in a co-operative.

Mr. Patil also criticised the curbs on freedom and "ubiquitous State interference." He said: "Life has become irksome and the administration nauseating."

Mr. Ramchandra Reddy, an agriculturist from Andhra, who presided, said that the Swatantra Party's basic approach was to attack what was wrong and to improve upon what was right. That policy had been supported by persons who had worked as Ministers, Judges and Governors and the press in general.

All speakers paid tributes to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari for his untiring efforts in the service of the country and for keeping the spirit of democracy alive by founding the new Party.

### **PAKISTAN-PORTUGAL PACT**

The Pakistan Government in one of the articles of trade agreement signed with Portugal last year recognises Goa as "an overseas province of Portugal."

The text of the agreement which was released on April 14 said that the provisions of the pact were applicable to territories of Portugal on the Continent, islands and overseas provinces.

The agreement signed on June 16, 1958 provided that both countries accorded to each other the most-

**JUST OUT!**

**ENGLISH**

or

**LINGUISTIC CHAOS**

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

**A. RANGANATHAN**

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favoured nation treatment in respect of customs duties and internal taxes and charges.

Initially the agreement will be in force for one year until June this year but automatically renewable for the successive year unless one of the parties give three months' notice of withdrawal.

Under the agreement, the exchange of commodities between the two countries and trade exchanges will be effected in pounds sterling.

—*The Indian Review*

### BRITAIN'S AID TO INDIA

The U.K. Government has decided to give £20,000,000 as economic aid to India for this financial year, following the recent Washington "Aid India" talks.

According to an authoritative report from London dated April 18, the Commonwealth Relations Office has already apprised the Government of India of this decision through usual diplomatic channels.

An official announcement in this connection may be delayed until the U.S. Congress makes a formal decision. Another factor that has delayed official announcement is that bilateral negotiations are yet to be held with the Governments that took part in the Washington talks.

The Indian representative, Mr. B. K. Nehru, however, has been told about the extent of the aid that could be made available to India. The aggregate economic aid by the five creditor countries will amount to \$250,000,000 for this year.

So far as Britain is concerned, London reports say, only the terms of the loan have to be settled.

Once again the British loan is expected to be split into two parts—one for 20 years and the other for 10 years.

The Export Credit Guarantee Act, will be used to channel the British loan to India as last year.

Mr. Swaminathan, Minister in charge of Economic Affairs at the Indian High Commission in London, will have consultations with the British Treasury and the Commonwealth Relations Office on the terms of the new loan.

—*The Indian Review*

### WORLD WHEAT AGREEMENT

The Government of India have decided to accede to the new international wheat agreement, the terms of which were given final shape at the International Wheat Conference convened by the United Nations at Geneva.

The maximum price under the agreement is 1.90 dollars per bushel as against 2.00 dollars per bushel under the current agreement, while the minimum remains, as under the current agreement at 1.50 dollars per bushel.

—*The Indian Review*

### WOMAN TO UMPIRE MEN'S CRICKET MATCH

A woman will shortly umpire a men's cricket match. She is Netta Rheinburg, who recently became the first

woman to pass the Association of Cricket Umpires' examination and who has received her first invitation to umpire a men's match in May. She is "absolutely thrilled about it. And she adds that it will be just another match as she is well accustomed to umpiring two-day matches in women's country cricket.

Miss Rheinburgh, who no doubt will have a place in cricket's hall of fame, is a former England player who for the past 12 years has been Secretary of the Women's Cricket Association, London.

—*The Indian Review*

## HUMOUR

### SCOTS

Blood will tell.—A Scot went to a hospital to give blood to an ailing woman. The transfusion was successfully accomplished and the grateful woman sent the worthy Scot \$50.

Some time later the woman's physician found a second transfusion necessary and again the Scot was called upon. Again he gave his good blood, and again he was rewarded, but this time with \$25.

The third transfusion became necessary. Again the Scot responded. The transfusion was successfully accomplished.

But by that time the woman had so much Scotch blood in her veins that she wouldn't give him anything but a "thank you."

\* \* \*

### BORN FOR THE JOB

Congress minister: "My son says he would like a job in your department."

Government Official: "What can he do?"

Minister: "Nothing."

Official: "Good. Then we won't have to break him in."

\* \* \*

### STYMIED

Doctor: "If I consider an operation necessary, will you be able to afford it?"

Patient: "Would you consider the operation necessary, if I cannot afford it?"

\* \* \*

### PROMOTION

Counteroffer—CLERK: "I have been here ten years doing three men's work for one man's pay. Now I want a raise".

MANAGER: "I'm sorry. I can't give you a raise just now, but if you'll tell me who the other two men are I'll discharge them."

—————:o:—————

## ECONOMIC NOTES

### THE THANK YOU ECONOMY

"Thank you very much," said the grocer to the lady as she paid him 18 cents for a can of beans.

"And thank you," responded the lady. "I want the beans more than these pennies, so I am as obliged to you as you are to me."

"Aren't these voluntary transactions what's meant by the free market?" queried the man with the apron.

"Surely. I like to think of it as the Golden Rule practiced in the market place. Would that all of my income were as willingly exchanged as this."

"That goes for me, too. Hm! I never thought of it this way before; but when the government takes my income to give to others, I don't say thank you, and the ones to whom it is handed never say thank you to me. That's the thankless way of life, isn't it?"

"How right you are. The thankless way of life is rapidly replacing the thank you way. And why? I suspect it's because folks like you and me don't know how to explain the thank you way."

### GOVERNMENT & EMPLOYMENT

It is an axiom of economics that when an effective demand appears, a supplier will also appear. Sometimes the supplier will set up shop in anticipation of an effective demand—as when frozen food manufacturers gambled on the housewife's dislike of kitchen drudgery. An effective demand is simply desire backed up with the means of satisfying it.

Government cannot create effective demand: that is something individuals have with them. But government can effectively squelch demand by depriving the producer of the results of his efforts. The grower of cabbages cannot satisfy his desire for shoes if the government taxes away his cabbages. And, if he has no cabbage to exchange for shoes the cobbler will see no point in making them. He becomes an out-of-work capitalist. Then again since many taxes are a cost of doing business, the cobbler may have to increase his price accordingly and thus reduce the effective demand for as many shoes as he can produce.

Furthermore, the Government can by taxation and interference discourage the supplier. If excessive taxation reduces his returns to the point where he is not compensated for the risk involved in his venture, or if Government continually harasses him with regulations and controls, and business life becomes unbearable, he may decide to quit. If he quits or if he does not expand his business, workers will be out of jobs.

There are other causes for unemployment (of both labour and capital) like union scales that price their members out of effective demand—but all of them are of minor importance compared to taxation and intervention. This ought to be evident even to a professor, but his addiction to complicated phrases induces such a fear of "oversimplification" that he cannot see the obvious. So, when the phenomenon of unemployment shows up, he is inclined to look to the magic of intricacies for explanation and for solution. If only, he reasons, we can put up a plant for making buggy whips: the workers will have wages to spend on buggy

whips: whether they want this commodity is unimportant. And that is exactly what will happen if this "depressed areas" bill becomes law. In order to create employment, the Government would invest taxes—a prime cause of unemployment—in some make-work project.

It is hardly necessary to argue the point that Government-induced or government-supported capital ventures will not solve the problem of unemployment. In all likelihood such ventures will aggravate the situation. In the first place the taxes which will have to be raised to support such ventures will cut down effective demand. Then it is in the nature of things that the government-supported industries will be subject to constant surveillance, investigation and regulation, so that they will not be able to operate efficiently. Finally, in order to make these plants work at all, the managers will have to be accorded such privileges as will give them special advantages over private plants in the competitive market, and thus drive the latter out of business.

### THE WELFARE STATE

The following forceful comments about the welfare State come from Land and Liberty, February, 1958. They apply in principle to Australia as well as to Britain.

"This reverential attitude to the whole caboodle of palliatives for social injustice is very revealing. It shows conclusively that politicians rightly realise that poverty is still endemic in Britain, and that this is the most intractable of all political questions. It is possible that some of them genuinely do not understand why those who produce an ever-increasing volume of material things remain poor. Others, more knowledgeable, lack either the courage or the will to strike at the root cause of poverty.

"Be that as it may, the fact remains that despite every wonderful advance in the productive arts during the past half century, the wages of millions of people in factories, shops and offices, and the savings of those who have retired, are insufficient for them to enjoy the modest comfort to which their labours entitle them. They are poor through no fault of their own, but because of the great wrong whereby the natural source of public revenue, the community-created rental value of land, is treated as if it were private property. It is a matter of simple economic arithmetic that if a privileged few get something for nothing, the rest get nothing for something.

"The greatest of the many interrelated evils from men's maladjustment to the land on which he lives and works is that wages are kept to a bare minimum. As a result, constantly increasing rent absorbs most of the benefits to technological advances which, in other circumstances, would raise everybody's wages.

"This so-called welfare State tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. Grossly inefficient, it is administered by a costly, swollen bureaucracy which encroaches on the freedom and privacy of those whom it is designed to assist. It helps least those who are most in need of aid, and, conversely, it aids those who could stand unaided on their own feet. Moreover, it is financed

by methods which are destructive of existing wealth and of the incentive to produce further wealth. Inadequate and irrelevant as an answer to poverty—although it does help to make life tolerable for many who would otherwise experience extreme hardship—it is the fruit of political cowardice in not tackling the root cause.

“Hand in hand with the social services, and part and parcel of the welfare State, has been the deliberate debasement of the currency. This is the meanest form of taxation—viciously destructive, thoroughly dishonest, and wholly undemocratic. It has enabled successive Governments to command a greater share of the wealth of the community than the amount voted by Parliament.

“The harmful effects of inflation are too well known to need enumeration here. However, it is worth noting that as the value of money depreciates, the value of land appreciates. Inflation has a tragic effect on those living on fixed or very slowly rising incomes, and on savings. But it does not worry those who enjoy land values, and, in its early stages, it is “good for business,” stimulating the national economy and opening up new jobs on every hand. Sooner or later inflation gets out of hand, the day of reckoning arrives, and the currency collapses through lack of confidence.”

#### CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The following are observations of W. Arthur Lewis on Co-operative Farming.

“It is of the greatest importance everywhere that farmers should hold their lands on terms which give them security and incentive, and it is also of the greatest importance to have adequate institutions for making capital available. These questions apart, far too much emphasis is placed in current discussion on other institutional matters—especially fragmentation, size and marketing—and much too little upon their means of increasing efficiency—especially water supplies, seed farms for improved seed, fertilizers, and agricultural extension services.

“One gets the impression from much of the discussion that not much can be done to increase agricultural productivity without vast institutional changes in the countryside. This is not so. The typical farm in Japan is still only between two and three acres in size; nevertheless productivity per acre on these farms is two to three times as great as in other parts of Asia. Productivity per acre in Japan increased by nearly fifty per cent in the thirty years before the first world war, and had doubled by the middle 1930's, without significant changes in the size of farm. The secret of rapid agricultural progress in the underdeveloped countries is to be found much more in agricultural extension, in fertilizers, in new seeds, in pesticides, and water supplies than in altering the size of the farm, in introducing machinery, or in getting rid of middlemen in the marketing process. In any case increasing farm size and introducing machinery are doubtful policies for over-populated countries.

“The present institutional frame work is in most underdeveloped countries (but not all) quite adequate for an enormous advance in productivity by means of the introduction of improved technology. Indeed the best hope of raising the standard of living in most of

their countries lies in the fact that the backwardness of their agricultural techniques makes possible spectacular advances in production at relatively low cost.”

## Letter to the Editor

Madam,

I thank you for sending me a copy of your publication “English or Linguistic Chaos”. The writer Mr. Ranganathan has made out a strong case for retaining English as the official language of India and his arguments in support of his contentions are difficult to refute.

Hindi is one of the most undeveloped languages of India and lacks in literary merit. But it is unfortunate that the Government of India is wasting lakhs of taxpayers money on “growing” the language artificially. One of the stupid attempts made by the blind protagonists of Hindi is their effort to translate into common English words which have attained their familiarity by long usage. Thus “signal” is replaced by “awat jawant such patra,” “post box” by “patra ghuseroo,” and “handkerchief” by “hasta mukh vastrakhand.” If similar equivalents were to be invented for the existing scientific and technological terms, I am afraid our scientists learning them will soon cease to be scientists. It is now high time that we defanatised our Hindimaniacs?

Lucknow,  
23rd July 1959.

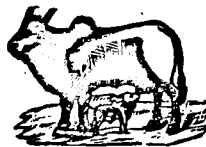
Yours truly,  
“T.D.”

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- Prosperity through competition*: by Erhard, Ludwig.
- United States and India and Pakistan*: by Brown, W. Norman.
- Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*: by Ikram, S. M. & Spear, Percival (Eds.)
- Mother-Right in India*: by Ehrenfels, Baron Omer Rolf.
- Economy of Pakistan*: by Andrus, J. Russell & Mohammed Azizali F.
- Nehru: Political Biography*: by Brecher, Michael.
- Indian Temples*: by Monod-Bruhl, Odette.
- Our Growing Human Family*: by Masani, Minoo.
- Indian Economics*: by Jathar, G. B. & Jathar K. G.
- Life of Muhammad*: by Guillaume, A.
- Basic Data of the Economy of Pakistan*: by Peach, W. Nelson & Others.
- Muhammad at Mecca*: by Watt, W. Montgomery.
- Muhammad at Medina*: by Watt, W. Montgomery.
- Effective Answer to Communism and why you Don't get it in college*: by Brown, Harry Gunison.
- Communist China 1957*: by Union Research Institute.
- River Flows East*: by Po, Nan-kung.
- New Men*: by China Viewpoints.
- Essays in the Theory of Economic Growth*: by Domar, Evsey D.
- Co-operative Farming*: by Nehru, Jawaharlal.
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