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EDITORIAL

Khrushchev's 'Liberalism' Versus Mao's Dogmatism

AT the time of writing this, crucial talks are going on at Moscow between the Russian Communist Party Delegation and the Chinese Communist Party Delegation to thrash out, if possible, their differences which now threaten to develop into an internecine cold war between the Red giants. The basic issue in this dispute is: Whether the world communist movement will be better promoted and strengthened by following the course set by Khrushchev's so-called Liberalism or Mao's Dogmatism and Revolutionism. Mao has never approved particularly of Khrushchev's policy of down-grading Stalin and reversing his rigid and stern strategy and tactics of promoting world communist revolution. At any rate, Mao does not seem to have forgiven Khrushchev for leaving him over in the cold when the latter took the momentous decision without consulting Mao, to uncrown Stalin whom the communist all the world over, had always been taught to listen, obey and worship in majestic awe and fear.

National And Personal Rivalries

Another thing which is supposed to have first roused the ire of Mao personally against Khrushchev occurred in 1958, when Khrushchev mooted the idea of holding a Summit Conference of three Western Powers and Soviet Union together with India, to discuss the problem of the Middle East arising out of the landing of American troops in Lebanon. Mao took it as a direct affront to China from Russia that Khrushchev should include India instead of China to represent Asia in such a big Summit Meeting. This move was later given up by Khrushchev under the pressure of Mao. This incident was followed quickly by the great ridicule that was poured by Khrushchev upon the much-advertised rural Communes organised in China under 'The Great Leap Forward' movement in the latter part of 1958.

Mao has thus been smarting under a feeling not totally unjustified, that Khrushchev is giving him a cold shoulder in all international affairs and is unwilling to give China her due place of honour as a leading communist country, in the counsels of the world. This has led him to oppose invariably Khrushchev, whenever he makes a direct approach to America for settling problems of international war and peace and also when he makes an attempt to cultivate friendship with neutral countries like India and Indonesia which, Mao thinks, fall geographically within China's sphere of influence. The present talks on Test-Ban Treaty between the Governments of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and the proposed Moscow meeting between the Big Powers on July 15 to reduce world tensions through mutual consultations and agreements, have had the effect of only accentuating these differences and personal rivalries between Khrushchev and Mao. These peace moves, Mao fears, might isolate China in world politics and leave her in the lurch to plough her lonely furrow. So

Mao is leaving no stone unturned to sabotage these talks and these peace meetings between the Great Powers. He thinks that object could be achieved better by lowering the prestige of Mr. Khrushchev in the communist world by painting him as a renegade to the cause of communist revolution as conceived by Marxist-Leninism and if possible to get him removed from the leadership of the Russian Communist Party and consequently from the Russian Government. But the latest reports from Moscow go to show that Mao is losing heavily in this game and except for two or three Asiatic Communist countries and Albania almost all the communist parties and states of Asia and Europe have solidly rallied around Khrushchev. Khrushchev seems now to be in no mood to yield to Mao's blackmailing tactics against him.

Different Aspects of Coexistence

But it must be conceded that with all his faults and failings, Mao is a master theoretician and also a super-strategist among the world communists. In revolutionary experience and knowledge, he stands head and shoulder, above other leaders in the Red camp not excluding Khrushchev. Those who are fairly acquainted with Communist theory will always agree with Mao when he says that Lenin's concept of Co-existence with the capitalist world is poles apart from Khrushchev's idea of Peaceful Coexistence. While Lenin looked upon it as mere tactic for the revolutionary forces to gain time, Khrushchev has come to believe as a realist that in this nuclear age not known to Lenin, 'it is impossible to declare a war on the capitalist country — to defeat capitalism in such a way' and 'only mad men could brew up something like that.' Thus, according to Mr. Khrushchev, in view of the balance of terror existing in favour of the capitalist camp, war could not promote world communism. He therefore, thinks that Peaceful Coexistence (in a physical and not in a dilectical sense) with the capitalist world has become inevitable but at the same time he hopes that it will enable 'the working classes of the capitalist countries to rise against the capitalists.' Mao on his part looks upon capitalist nations as only 'paper tigers'. The dogmatist, that he is, he still believes in the exploded Marxist dogma that the capitalist nations must fly at the throats of one another at some time or the other, making it possible and easy for the socialist one-third of the human world to conquer the rest of it since the latter is riven with fissures and cracks within. But the present world trends disprove this theory and if at all, point the other way. The communist camp more than the capitalist camp appears to be split all over, under its own inner contradictions and conflicts.

Adventurism To Be Tested In Asia

But the non-communist world need not lay much

store by this widening rift between the two communist countries, however welcome it may be in the interests of world peace and freedom. The distinction between Mao's communism and Khrushchev's communism is a distinction without a difference. Both are agreed that capitalism must go and communism should replace it. The difference of opinion between the two is over the question as to how to make a short shrift of capitalism. Mao favours revolutionary tactics of blood and iron, while Khrushchev supports sabotaging and subversive tactics being employed in non-communist countries through his native fifth columnists who are now being described in India as 'Moscow' patriots. As one columnist aptly puts it, this is only an ideological wordy warfare between the 'Have' communist countries like Russia and the Eastern European nations and the 'Havenot' Asian countries like China, and North Vietnam supported by a small European country like Albania. While the former want to rest on their oars for some time and enjoy their ill-gotten gains, the latter think that they have nothing to lose but have some chance of gaining something by their adventurist policy. Perhaps Mao wants to test his adventurist policy in India and Laos and is playing for high stakes in South Asia.

Shun Both Brands of Communism

India must never lose sight of this aspect of the question. Recent happenings have also brought it home to her. Despite the international struggle going on for some years now between Russia and China for leadership of world communist movement and the personal scores sought to be settled between Mao and Khrushchev, India found to her great disappointment that in the Sino-Indian conflict China still remained a 'Brother' to Russia and India was looked upon only as 'a friend'. While U.S.A. and U.K. rushed to India's rescue at a moment's notice, Russia did nothing tangible to help India except parading her neutral pose by promising India half a dozen MIGs and that too for training purposes. It is only Nehrus and Krishna Menons who can be taken in so easily with Russia's neutralist stand as between India and China. That 'non-aligned' or 'neutral' nations become invariably the first targets of attack by the communists, would be obvious to those whose minds are not befogged by pet theories and illusions, from the fate that has befallen Souvanna Phouma's Neutral Government of Laos. Instead of helping it as required under International agreements, Russia is directly or indirectly colluding with China through the North Vietnam and Pathet Lao communist forces, in overthrowing the Government. But they dare not touch Formosa, Honk Hong, Malaya and other countries which have sought and secured safety and protection within the powerful world democratic defence-system.

Thus, it will be seen that as against the free world, China and Russia are ever united, despite their growing differences regarding communist strategy and tactics. The people inhabiting the Asian democratic countries should never forget that

Khrushchev's 'Liberalism' is designed only for bringing about communist subversion in other countries through the good offices of 'Moscow' Patriots, while Mao's dogmatism blatantly advocates a communist conquest of weaker nations by superior military force, and as such, they should shun both these brands of communism as scourges and plagues and fortify themselves against them by forging unbreakable ties and bonds with the leading democratic countries of the West.

THE LAST STRAW

The recent spurt in prices of essential commodities particularly food and cloth has naturally made the common man restless. On this issue, the communist Trade Unions are threatening to plunge the whole country into a series of riotous and rowdy demonstrations and strikes which might adversely affect not only national development programme but also the defence production. Mr. Nanda, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has admitted that the wholesale price index had risen by just under 5% during the twelve months' period ended June 30, 1963, the principal commodities involved, being rice, pulses and sugar. It therefore follows that the retail price figures might show an even higher price level. It is, therefore, no wonder that workers are demanding a proper linking up of wages with the growing cost of living index. As for the middle classes, though they find themselves in a more pitiable condition, they are suffering all these agonies in mute helplessness. They have already lost their shirts and

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are well on their way of having their pants and dhoties taken away from them by the government through heavy taxation of the lower-income groups and Compulsory Deposit Scheme. This soaring cost of living, if not properly handled in time, might prove the last straw on the backs of these unfortunate classes and the discontent thus created might any day erupt into a mighty political conflagration.

But the remedies suggested by Mr. Nanda are old and hackneyed and do not indicate any attempt on the part of the planners to do any fresh and fundamental thinking on this subject. They seem to be still intent on using the temporary palliatives of Co-operatives in urban areas and fair-price shops in rural areas — remedies tried on many occasions in the past and found woefully wanting and inadequate. It has been found that these remedies cannot hold the price line for any length of time. Not even price fixing by the Government and Government's physical control of such commodities can accomplish this feat. It is very easy for the Government to blame this unusual spurt in prices on the private dealers as Mr. Nanda has done. Our rulers must understand that powerful economic forces simply refuse to be throttled and suppressed that way, however much the Government might wish to do so.

If the Planners should seriously probe into the matter, they would see that the root cause of the evil lies in the Planning itself which has made our economy lopsided by its criminal neglect of the vital agricultural sector. The rate of progress in agricultural production has come to a stand-still during the last three years. This fact should set the Planners thinking seriously about changing the priorities given under the Five Year Plans to the different sectors of the economy. Even the enormous capital investment required for defence production need not have put such a great strain on the meagre purse of the poorer classes, if this burden had been evenly divided between the State Enterprise, Private Enterprise and foreign military aid. The sooner the Government and Planners come to realise the futility of socialist methods of industrial development in a democracy like India, the better it will be for all classes of Indian society. Let them now therefore set themselves to the task of reversing the process of industrialisation slowly but surely by giving greater scope to free and private enterprise and slowing down the tempo of expanding heavy industries under state control and management, in the light of the bitter experience they have had over all these years, of ambitious developmental — not necessarily economic — planning. With natural economic forces of the free market operating, in a wider sphere of production, distribution and exchange, production will increase in consumer industries as well as in heavy industries in balanced proportions and prices will gradually stabilise themselves. Deficit financing and the burden of taxation on the people will be then greatly reduced and inflationary trends in the prices of essential commodities will be effectively checked. This done, the Government will find it very easy to put down any Communist sabotaging activities in the

country and to maintain the industrial truce between the Government and industrial workers which has been a remarkable feature of our country's economy in the aftermath of China's invasion of India.

STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

Student indiscipline such as was witnessed at the meeting addressed by Acharya Vinoba Bhave at Calcutta University Hall is one of the none too desirable legacies of the Gandhian era. It was expected that on the advent of freedom, Congress leaders who were in power, would abandon their agitational approach to the many pressing problems facing the country and political and social life would take on a new turn of constitutional and constructive activities. But unfortunately enthusiasm for a quick social and economic transformation outran all discretion and sagacity and under the leadership of the impetuous and impatient Nehru, India plunged herself headlong into a disastrous Soviet type of socialist revolution. Since then Indian people have not known any rest or respite from blood, toil and tears; their life has been a weary and tiresome tale of unmitigated woes, endless sufferings and tortuous uncertainties. Particularly the middle classes who principally fought for the country's freedom, are being crushed what with so-called land reforms and crushing burden of taxation and soaring prices. The result has been a social and economic chaos in the country accentuated by the great disparity in incomes between the new rich class of licence-and-permit holders and Ministers, bureaucrats and the toiling classes of the pauperised workers, disinherited peasants and underemployed and unemployed intellectuals.

In this situation the educated youth of the country find themselves completely at bay. They feel unnerved at the thought of an uncertain and bleak future. It is no wonder, therefore, that they are employing the methods of unconstitutional agitation so much popularised by Gandhi during Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience movements and are giving expression to their pent-up feelings of frustration and blasted hopes, arising out of Congress misrule and maladministration.

The warnings given by veteran national leaders like Shrinivas Shastri and Dr. Annie Besant against drawing the student community into the vortex of active politics went simply unheeded and were ridiculed by Gandhi and his Chelas some of whom have now begun to call themselves Sarvodayawadis. It does not therefore become these very men like Vinoba Bhave to complain now against student-indiscipline which they had fostered amongst them in the past, when it appears to have come to them back with a boomerang.

But the Congress Government does not yet see its way to remedy their sorry state of affairs. It continues to put a premium on agitational methods in getting one's grievances redressed and is loth to wisely anticipate the people's difficulties and remove

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FOREGIN POLICY AND PHILOSOPHY

M. A. VENKATA RAO

TODAY, the foreign policy of any nation has to reckon with the position of the Soviet Union in the world as the leader of international communism with its strategy for world conquest. Social Democracies have to get rid of the heritage of class-war, proletarian dictatorship etc. before they could save their egalitarian society from Marxism. But India's foreign policy is not one of commitment to Democracy.

Today the foreign policy of any nation has to reckon with the position of the Soviet Union in the world with its leadership of international communism, its ideology, its strategy and tactics for world conquest.

Those nations that are too small to play a significant part in influencing affairs like the majority of states in East and West—Burma, Ceylon, Viet-nam, Laos, Malaya or Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway—have to align themselves with some bloc or other or remain ostensibly neutral but inwardly aligned towards one side or the other. Switzerland for example will join the West if attacked by communist states and Yugoslavia will perhaps (as the latest moves indicate) will help the Soviet bloc if communism is at war with the West.

But temporary non-alignment apart and **military neutralism** apart, it is absolutely essential for all states to arrive at a judgement as to the side—communist or democratic (Russian-Soviet or Western democratic) **that spells the betterment of mankind on the whole**—all things considered.

This is the supreme moral issue at the back of all political, economic, social, cultural crises that divide nations today. It is the issue which is inescapable; to seek to evade which is to shirk the moral responsibility which inheres in human personality, individual and social. It concerns the leadership of nations as well as the conscience of individuals—the more educated and informed they are, the keener their conscience and stronger their **commitment** should be.

One of the worst features of current psychology (or fashionable trends of feeling and action, ideas and ideals) is latitudinarianism i.e. a tepid lukewarmness in regard to the deep question of life and action, responsibility and commitment. The tendency to blame the environment for all individual weakness (and even crime) is part of the ethos of socialism and welfare today.

It is impossible for any state or leadership among any people to formulate a foreign policy today ignoring the role of Soviet Russia, China and international communism and the kind of regime they stand for, which they will inevitably impose on the whole world if they succeed in imposing their yoke on the rest of the world.

And since Soviet Russia has founded her state on a total philosophy derived ultimately and chiefly, if not exclusively from Karl Marx (as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin and now by Khrushchov) any successful resistance to her claims has to be based in the last resort on ideology. A better philosophy embracing the total universe of nature and man and value (value in place of God) has to be offered to the mind and heart of thinking man today everywhere to back a better social order if the appeal of communism has to be by-passed and surpassed.

Ignoring it will not do. Easy attitudes to the effect that we are not doctrinaires and are not committed to isms and will not take sides etc. will not do in a situation which admits of **two and only two** alternatives so long as action is concerned, it is unintelligent and ineffective to take attitudes of superiority to both claimants and sing to the virtues of non-alignment.

Since the communist Powers claim sovereignty over the entire world and are running an organised propaganda machine and conspiratorial agency in most nations of the world preparing their public opinion for an ultimate communist take-over, there is **no standing room** for the non-aligned neutrals!

It is true that Mr. Khrushchov is loud in his reassuring proclamation (so apparently innocent and soothing and disarming) of the Soviet policy of Co-Existence and support to non-aligned nations like India.

But he has always been honest enough to add the qualification "in the Leninist sense"! What does this qualification or **modification** mean?

Lenin had advised what he called a zig-zag course as in mountain climbing—a devious, crooked course, deviating from side to side, some times even going back a little to avoid a hollow or difficulty or rock—only in order to circumvent it by a circuitous route! He adopted such tactics in his famous New Economic Policy in the initial stages of the 1917 Revolution when the pure 100 per cent doctrine of State Economy was found to be impracticable. He boldly reintroduced some amount of capitalist enterprise and so revived the economy! This was a compromise but was purely temporary.

So today Khrushchov adopts the policy of co-existence with non-communist states—outwardly refraining from making war on them but carrying on subversive propaganda against them all the time with the help of the local communist parties, aiding them with finance and leadership and advice as regards strategy and tactics.

So today Messrs. Dange, Gopalan, Hiren Mukerjee, Nambudiripad and other of the CPI are pure lieutenants of Moscow! Peking is jealous of Moscow's leadership. But neither Moscow nor Peking respects the integrity of India as a sovereign and free nation. This is the stark truth.

We have to look deeper behind this grim political scene into the ideological or philosophical background which furnished the trade meaning and value of the issues involved in the tremendous and fateful conflict between the two halves of the Great World today.

The contrast in philosophical outlook with its components (economic-political, sociological, religious, historical, logical, cultural) will stand out vividly if we contrast Karl Marx's pamphlet **The Communist Manifesto** (which concretises his whole many-sided ideology) with The Covenant of the old League of Nations and the Charter of the present United Nations Organisation. They polarise world with contradictory views of man and his social destiny between which civilised man has to choose today. It is a choice and commitment which he cannot evade. To refuse to choose (As Mr. Nehru asks India to do) is also to choose but to choose wrongly and blindly!

The Communist Manifesto is based on historical and dialectical Materialism. It denies a spiritual interpretation of man and nature. This is its ultimate metaphysics. It commits itself to the dogma that all religion is the opium of the people—used by cunning capitalists or holders of economic power to lull the workers to inertia so that they might not rebel!

It is possible to adhere to materialism as an ultimate philosophy like the **lokayatas** in ancient India but yet hold to a system of human values are a matter of actual experience—moral values conduce to social survival and social order and individual happiness and peace. Modern ethics has many systems like hedonism (utilitarianism or the greatest happiness of the greatest number principle) or evolunism (natural selection and survival of the fittest and in societies the fittest are those with sufficient social cohesion and loyalty and individual integrity), self-realisation etc. which are all resolute attempts to find a rational basis for moral values.

Today those who reject Marxism in its doctrines of class war may yet retain ethical values on other rational grounds.

Those who formulate a foreign policy for their nation have to arrive at a judgment regarding Marx's historical materialism or theory of the evolution of societies through class war and his idea of the end of the class-less state.

This also involves the assumption of the economic determination of truth. Truth is supposed to be determined by the position a man occupies in society—his class status whether propertied or proletariat, **have** or **have-not**. The psychology involved in this has to be weighed—whether this is only a first tendency capable of being sublimated by social disciplines and individual self-education and self-control or not. If not, there can be no prospect of building a better social order except through violence.

Marx's theory of culture as superstructure determined by the economic base should also be reckoned with by the protagonists of democracy.

Marx speaks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has no faith in democracy as it is influenced by the possessing class in every thing through their control of education and the means of propaganda and means of livelihood.

This applies to the new dictators and their bureaucracy as well. They will control all the conditions of life and wellbeing of the mass of the people and will therefore arrange everything for their own comfort!

The doctrine of violence and red revolution plays a prominent part in Marx. He thought that perhaps in England revolution could be made nonviolently but normally the possessing class will rather fight than surrender their position of vantage and property: this is Marxism.

Marx was also international in faith and outlook. We had no place for nationalism in his theory and politics.

The philosophy enshrined in the Covenant and Charter on the other hand is the polar opposite of this extreme view.

It is the quintessence of Western liberalism in the best sense distilling the best values of personality and social order from every age of European history from the classical eras of Greece and Rome and including the net results of the Rights of Man wrung from despots in Revolutions in subsequent centuries.

The vision here is one of free and equal and sovereign nations and peoples, small and big. Just as the liberal state confers equal legal and constitutional rights, equality before the law for prince and pauper within the State, the Charter envisages the rule of law and equal rights before a common law for all nations, small or big, weak or powerful. In the comity of nations, Guatemala or Cuba should have the same freedom of self-determination and equality

of treatment from all by a World Court as the United States or Russia or Germany or The United Kingdom.

Each State is regarded as the incarnation and political expression of a free people with a culture and integral personality of its own, one and invisible held together by the will of the people and not by the force major of any outside Power.

The Logical outcome of this vision is a world federation with a world court functioning under a world system of international law agreed upon by a world assembly in essential particulars of peace and International Research. National Autonomy in national matters and subordination to the World Federation in International subjects—is the logical culmination of the philosophy of nationalism tempered by internationalism adumbrated in the Covenant and Charter.

Each nation is regarded as a unit capable of composing its internal affairs and class conflict itself in terms of larger social interests. The possibility of such larger social interests including the essential interests of classes and groups within each society and nation is the psychological assumption on which the philosophy of freedom inspiring the free world is reared. This is in contrast to the irreconcilable class war psychology of Marx.

Social democrats have to get rid of the heritage of class war, of the anti-democratic, dictatorship of the proletariat, once-class society, the economic determination of the superstructure of culture, the denigration of family sentiments and solidarity, the mechanical idea of man, of the centralised economy and so on before they could save their democracy and their hopes for an egalitarian society from Marxism.

Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke in the United States a good deal about **commitment to democracy**. But India's foreign policy is **emphatically not** one of any commitment to democracy!

For can it be argued with any hope of success that our non-alignment with its leaning to Soviet Russia and its satellites is a shining example of adherence to democracy? Is Russia a champion of democracy? In Hungary in 1956? And in Cuba?

Did we champion democracy in Tibet when the poor people were swallowed by the Chinese Dragon? Did we advocate the poor nation's freedom in the UNO?

While India condemned the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal in strident tones in 1956, has she at any time raised the question of the freedom of the captive nations Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia etc? Have of East Europe—Roumania, Bulgaria, Czecho-

there been any elections at all in these countries including Soviet Russia and China since the Revolution there? Free elections by Secret Bollet? Our claims to be democrats in foreign policy are hollow.

The fact is that we have to revise our entire philosophy interpreting the entire history of Europe and America in the last few centuries since the era of revolutions before we can understand the present world crisis.

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them as is done in all democratic countries, until and unless they are pressed on their attention by processions, demonstrations and strikes organised by Sanghs, Unions and Parishads.

Is it therefore any wonder that the Calcutta students should shout down Vinoba Bhave one of the foremost Chelas of Gandhiji, when he deprecated the idea of students forming their own Unions for 'self-expression' and for self-assertion right in the Gandhian style?

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'Every advocate of the Welfare State and of Planning is a potential dictator. What he plans is to deprive all other men of their rights and to establish his own and his friends' unrestricted omnipotence. He refuses to convince his fellow citizens. He simply liquidates them.'

—Von Mises (*Socialism*).

'In a country where the sole employer is a State, opposition means death by slow starvation. The old principle 'Who does not work shall not eat' has been replaced by a new one: 'Who does not obey shall not eat'.

—Leon Trotsky.

"The word 'inflation' is sometimes used to describe a persistent tendency for prices and costs to rise. This word is misleading because it suggests that the quantity of money has been solely responsible and distracts attention from other causes, not least high taxation."

—Colin Clark in "GROWTHMANSHIP"

OUR CLEVER FOREIGN POLICY

By M. N. THOLAL

ACCORDING to President Kennedy's press statement, Mr. Nehru asked U.S. for air protection. Surely air protection cannot be given at a moment's notice, and the risk of the country being overrun should not be taken. But Mr. Nehru does not realise the implications of such air protection by a foreign power. He cannot fool that power by his policy of 'All take and no give' which is all that his 'Non-alignment' comes to. What Mr. Nehru needs is giving up being too clever.

In the course of a speech at the Calcutta Maidan on July 2 Prime Minister Nehru accepted responsibility for whatever mistakes he "might have committed" but declared that he would not give up prime ministership simply because some 200 or 400 persons took out a procession and demanded his resignation. Any petty leader can get together a small crowd of a few hundred persons and demand the Prime Minister's resignation, and that by itself would be no reason for the Prime Minister resigning. But when Mr. Nehru accepts responsibility for whatever mistakes he "might have committed", one is induced to ask him to come down to brass tacks, be definite and precise, and not just talk of mistakes which he "might have committed"—which does not necessarily imply the admission of a single mistake and is only a concession to popular opinion regarding his blunders which he does not at the moment appear strong enough to defy without any diminution of his stature in the public eye.

His leader, Mahatma Gandhi, once described one of his mistakes as a Himalayan blunder. But this disciple, the Prime Minister, has actually committed a Himalayan blunder of the gravest magnitude, which is apparent to almost every body, and is in no mood to admit it. Indeed, he brazenfacedly asks his critics to tell him what else he could have done under the circumstances, as if there was no alternative to submitting to aggression and invasion.

Fortunately, India is still a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, although she has not been behaving like one. For both these facts Mr. Nehru may well take the credit and the blame. (Among his severe critics today are those nincompoops who have for years been demanding severance of the Commonwealth tie. They are people who run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, without an iota of patriotism in their hearts, thinking that that double game—Leftism is almost always a double game—pays most in politics. But truth to say, our membership of the Commonwealth really meant nothing if it did not mean alignment—not alignment with the die-hard Tories but with the anti-colonial masses and parties of Britain, which include the Tories. Even the British Tories of today are more truly anti-colonial than the Russians and the Chinese who are always condemning colonialism and imperialism, while practising both in their worst form.

But Mr. Nehru's non-alignment has been anti-British and anti-American and can hardly be properly placed in that category. The only justification for

its anti-Western bias was the fond hope that the underserved compliment it paid to Communism would persuade the latter to refrain from aggression at least against India. It did not strike Mr. Nehru that the ruthless nature of Communism would only exploit the isolation of India resulting from his foolish gamble. That is the gravest mistake he has made and, if the security of a country is the primary business of its statesmen, then Mr. Nehru has failed miserably in the main task entrusted to him by the nation. Does he think that is a mistake he has made? Does he, for that matter, think he has made any mistake? The public is entitled to know the answers to these questions.

The answer to the first question is obviously in the affirmative, and no amount of denying or parrying on the part of Nehru or his subordinates can possibly succeed in carrying any conviction to the public mind. The gravest possible blunder that it was possible for him to commit, he has committed, but he does not think of resigning, although he is known to have been talking about it without rhyme or reason. And why should he? He has his Party packed with his supporters, with his yes-men. It was not for nothing that brainless yes-men have been preferred in the Congress to brainy men who could think for themselves and whose allegiance to his personality was therefore doubtful. It was with an eye on emergencies like the present that, against the dictates of patriotism, fools were preferred to the wise, fools who have but one sort of wisdom—if it can be so called—that is to think a thousand times, nay, a million times before making up one's mind to criticise the Leader and the Bestower of All Gifts, and to think always with an eye on gifts, received as well as those to come.

After the last general election the cloth banner announcing the candidature of the Congress candidate remained flying in front of the local Congress office and I asked the local Congress secretary as to why the word "ummedwar" (candidate) should still be there when the candidate had become an M.P. The Secretary replied smiling: "Now he is a candidate (ummedwar.) for something higher, hoping for something better, may be a deputy ministership". This holds true of almost all congressmen. Can such men criticise the man who alone can fulfil their rising hopes?

No wonder Mr. Nehru has the hardihood to say that the policy which has led to the present disasters is sound and there would be no deviation from

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ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT**Taxation and Economic Growth**

By G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

SINCE independence our economy has been set to achieve rapid economic growth in order to raise the standard of living of the teeming millions and to achieve greater equality in income and wealth. To achieve these social objectives, to establish socialist pattern of society taxation policy has to satisfy two conditions, namely, to mobilise the domestic resources for rapid economic growth and to create conditions for the implementation of social aims. It must be remembered here that taxation policy of our Government has assumed a great importance in recent years though it is one of the factors that lead to economic growth. Under the present conditions existing in our country the primary need is to increase savings of the people because the economic growth of a country rests on the volume of savings that it is able to accumulate and invest productively. Saving alone does not lead to economic growth. It is the productive investment that leads to a rise in the per capita income of the people which increases the capacity of the people to save more and invest more. As the economy progresses in this manner foreign capital is likely to flow in "to partake of the dynamism of growth adding at the same time to its momentum". So the starting point of economic growth being savings the objective of monetary and fiscal policy should be aimed at stepping up rate of savings to the maximum and secondly to see that these savings are productively invested. This is more important in underdeveloped countries like ours where the rate of savings is very low due to poverty of the people. At present the rate of savings is 7.5%. In 1956-57 the Reserve Bank of India estimated the rate of savings at 8.6% of national income but in subsequent year the savings actually fell to 7 per cent. According to Third Plan the savings stand around 8.5 per cent. This low rate of savings is not adequate enough to lead the economy to the take-off stage leading to self-sustained growth. According to Prof. Rostow an economy should step up the rate of savings to the tune of 20 to 25 per cent of national income in order to achieve rapid economic growth. Our low rate of savings is mainly due to the unrealistic taxation policy which our Government, wedded to socialism adopted in order to remove inequalities in income and wealth and which retarded the economic progress of our country. It must be noted here that during the Second Plan period when there was a high tempo of development and when there was tremendous increase in industrial production, the rate of savings instead of showing a progressive rise either did not rise or rose at snail's speed. Really speaking savings appear to have remained practically stagnant. To this low rate

of savings the Government has a pet answer, namely increase in population but the poor performance on the saving front is mainly due to rising price level due to heavy dose of deficit financing and heavy taxation. It is now universally admitted that savings are not adequate to meet the targets of our investments in Third Plan and much depends upon the mercy of our foreign friends. The Third Plan is based on the rate of savings of 11.5 per cent of national income and in order to achieve it, it is imperative that our present unrealistic taxation policy should be completely overhauled. Only then the economy will be able to achieve the take-off stage in the Third Plan. The present taxation policy has retarded the tempo of economic development and to add fuel to the fire the Finance Minister in the last budget has added Compulsory Deposit Scheme and Super Profit Tax to the list of other taxes which were imposed during the last ten years. At the beginning of the Second Plan there were only two direct taxes, namely Income tax and Estate Duty but the burden of these taxes has been raised progressively in the last decade on the assumption that the taxable capacity of the people has increased due to a rise in the national income. The burden of taxation was so heavy that in 1957-58 while granting relief the then Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari observed "Our present levels of taxes are about the highest in the world and not only create disincentive for earnings, but also encourage evasion". In a recent study, the NCAER has concluded that "the international comparison of tax rates indicates that the Indian income tax is highly progressive — one of the most progressive systems in the world and the tax burden on the upper income levels is one of the highest". To make the matters worse the Finance Minister has added since 1957 to the list of taxation measures wealth tax, expenditure tax, capital gains tax and gifts tax which according to Dr. Gopal are the "nuisance taxes" and he has pleaded that in the interests of economic growth these taxes should be abolished. Not only direct taxes have been increased but the indirect taxes in the form of excise duties have also been increased with the result that the prices of the consumer goods have tended to rise. In the Second Plan period the price level has risen to 30 per cent in five years as a result of unproductive public expenditure. This has affected adversely the rate of savings and the capital formation. Economic growth of our country cannot be relied upon the flow of foreign capital which is uncertain and dangerous. Attempts should be made to mobilise domestic savings and for that realistic taxation policy is needed. "The high rates of taxation in India have been converting

the potential savings of the people into the consumption expenditure of the State, decelerating the pace of economic development. If, for instance, revenue collections had been held down at the 1955-56 level, the incomes of the people would have been larger by Rs. 8600 crores during the six years 1956-57 to 1961-62. If we may place the rate of savings from these additions to incomes at 20 per cent the national savings might have been up by Rs. 1700 crores or by 30 per cent of the actual savings of the period, namely, Rs. 5600 crores. Capital formation, employment and output might have increased commensurately". It is mainly due to heavy taxation — direct and indirect that the desire to save and invest has been adversely affected. At present the people in India have to pay taxes not only if they save and invest adversely affected. At present the people in India have to pay taxes not only if they save and invest but even if they die to step the unproductive public expenditure in the name of "national interest". What this "national interest" is no one knows. It is kept beautifully vague. At present in the name of emergency the people are asked to make more sacrifices but our Ministers both at the Centre and in the States make huge expenditures and it is reported in some quarters that their electric bills amount in thousands. This clearly proves that our Ministers squander the public money for their own selfish purpose which could have been used productively to increase the supply of consumer goods which is scarce.

It is generally recognised that the retained profits in business constitutes corporation savings and in a country like ours where there is scarcity of capital it is essential that the companies are allowed to retain their profits for ploughing back into their business in the initial stages of economic growth to gather momentum so that the existing business may expand and new ventures may come into existence. This will result in the expansion of not only output but also employment the most fundamental and serious problem that we face today is the problem of unemployment which is increasing at the end of every Five Year Plan. When the Third Plan will come to an end, the Fourth Plan will begin with a backlog of unemployment of nearly 27 millions. This huge wastage of human capital is mainly due to taxation policy. Not only personal savings have declined but even the corporate savings fell from Rs. 41.73 crores in 1955-56 to 12.06 in 1957-58. According to Reserve Bank of India corporate savings as a whole fell from Rs. 72 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 25.50 in 1957-58.

From this analysis it is quite clear that it is the unrealistic taxation policy that is mainly responsible for the slow progress of our economy. To achieve the take off stage it is necessary that the whole system of taxation should be reexamined with a view to enable the companies to expand their resources for productive investment. What is urgently necessary is the cut in the public expenditure. Some may say that a cut in the public expenditure will reduce the income and employment but this misconception has been aptly exposed by Prof. Shenoy. He observes

that "the foregone expenditure of the state does not disappear into thin air". He proceeds to say:

"In their place would now appear the additional investment or other expenditure by the people. The total expenditure of the community and the employment emerging from it would not therefore be any the less because of the drastic revenue reductions. Total expenditure and total employment might in fact accelerate faster as a result of the larger savings and investment ensuing from the revenue reduction. If the prodigal is rescued from his errant ways the net outcome to the family and to the people is bound to be positive, not negative. The doctrine of economic growth through reduced taxation and reduced government spending has been latterly gaining influential support. It forms part of the thinking behind the economic miracle of West Germany and of the other members of E.E.C. It is behind President Kennedy's budget to scale down revenues by 10 billion dollars in three years. This is clearly abandonment of the outmoded Keynesian doctrine of economic growth through deficit financing by the state. Though this doctrine still commands a wide following in India and in many underdeveloped countries it is without logical or empirical support. Experience in country after country has demonstrated that deficit spending causes prices to rise and retards development through its debit effects on savings and fruitful investment. Economy in government expenditure on consumption is the key to accelerate economic growth especially in underdeveloped countries". What is necessary is the reduced taxation to create a favourable climate for savings and productive investment. Our economic growth may be slow but it will be steady. This will lead to a substantial fall in the price level and a rise in the value of rupee. Will our Finance Minister learn lessons from other Free Countries and adopt a realistic taxation policy to accelerate economic growth?

MOSCOW PATRIOTS EXPOSED

Communism offers so much to so many, that it can be beaten only by detailed examination and pitiless exposure of its fallacies. The attitude of tolerance which the Government has so far shown, only helps the communists in deceiving the people. Rising prices are of the least concern to the unionised workers represented by Dange, because the system of Dearness Allowances fully compensates them. In fact to the extent they only are compensated, their incomes rise comparatively with the vast body of others with inelastic incomes. Increase of taxes has followed from the pursuit of nationalisation, which is the concession of the Congress to Communism. Nationalisation relieves the rich from investing their savings and burdens the poor with taxes to pay the compensation due. If Dange does not contemplate payment of compensation, the process will not stop till the smallest are parted without compensation from their property. To the extent this checks savings, spending is increased which is an unrecognised cause of our inflation.

— Insight

Business Made Scapegoat For Inflation Folly—II

By PHILLIP H. MOORE, B.Sc. Durban, S. Africa.

THE average citizen might not consider the study of inflation necessary to his well-being; yet inflation concerns money, and everybody carries or uses money every day of his or her life. Inflation is an excessive expansion of money or credit relative to the volume of goods and services available. How does this occur?

Inflation takes place essentially within the banking system. One instance is the Reserve Bank's action in buying Government securities if they fall below a certain price.

This artificially decreases interest rates which encourages borrowing—thus the money and credit supply is increased.

Where does the Federal Reserve Bank get the money to buy these bonds? In effect it does it by printing more paper currency. This is inflation in its simplest and most easily understood form. This type of inflation exists in South Africa and the United States of America, but in America it is supplemented by a more sophisticated device which, simply illustrated, amounts to the following:

The Government, by spending more than it has taxed, owes money that it does not have, so it issues a bond for, let us say £1,000. If a member of the public buys this bond then he has to pay £1,000. In other words, the Government spends the £1,000 and gives the investor an I.O.U. (a bond) in return.

Money has been transferred from a member of the public to the Government, but so far there has been no creation of new money and, therefore, no inflation.

If nobody wants to buy the bond or the market for bonds is poor and they cannot be issued successfully—as is the present case in South Africa—then the Government sends the bond to a commercial bank and the bank enters a deposit in favour of the Government.

If the bond amounts to £1,000 then, since nobody bought the bond, there has been this amount of new money created; that is, £1,000 of inflation.

Unfortunately, the inflation does not stop here; the law states that this bond must be considered equivalent to gold in meeting a bank's reserve requirements.

A bank can lend about seven times as much money as it has in gold; therefore, it can lend a further £7,000 by calling this Government bond gold. Assuming there are plenty of borrowers to be served, as is the case at present, then the original inflation of £1,000 becomes £8,000.

This process is technically known as "monetising the debt," because an increase in Government debt

has been turned into new money that can be used along with existing money.

A further example shows how the commercial banks create money. A client deposits £1,000 and the bank knows from experience that only a fraction of this sum is required to meet the cash demands of its customer; the balance can be made available to other customers in the form of overdrafts or it can be used by the bank to purchase securities.

In either case this amount will probably be deposited in another bank, which in turn, can repeat the credit process. The supply of money is inflated and when this process takes place on a national scale the value of money rapidly decreases.

In 1938 the amount of money in circulation in the Union was £99.5 million; at the end of 1952 the amount had grown to 418 million, the major part of which was in the form of bank credit.

The commercial banks do, however, lend money for productive purposes, and the loans have to bear some relationship to deposits; they also must be repaid at some not-too-distant date.

When the Government borrows, the money is not used for productive purposes, and when the Reserve Bank issues credit it is seldom used to increase production. The latter two types of inflation are more serious.

Assuming that the credit expansion facilities exist and have not been curbed by restricting the supply of new money, then inflation is encouraged by wage arrangements that are attached to cost of living indices.

This type of arrangement, which is common in South Africa, is designed to escape inflation but it also encourages inflation.

In a similar manner cost-plus contracts and hire purchase arrangements encourage the use of additional money and credit. The ailment is, however, caused firstly by the mechanism which allows currency expansion, and this is where it can best be cured.

BOOM AND — BUST CYCLE

The prevention of currency dilution is not difficult if our administrators really wish it, but it is often thought that the desire to preserve a condition of over-employment is of first importance to democratic governments, and this condition is more easily maintained during a period of inflation.

Politicians give money to various pressure groups and spend the taxpayers' money on socialised pro-

jects, and they find it easier to obtain the money by currency dilution than by increasing taxes.

High interest rates make Government activities expensive and this situation weighs more heavily with an administration that is socialistically inclined than one that has to consider only private enterprise; socialism, as has been proved in England, definitely encourages an inflationary atmosphere.

There are what might be termed fake cures for inflation. One of these is used to assist the public in swallowing an unpleasant tax increase by accompanying it with the statement that "the tax increase is to mop up surplus money."

If this money were removed from circulation then it would be deflationary but, in fact, it is quickly spent by the Government. There has been a transfer in spending power but no decrease in total spending.

To prevent an inflationary situation it is first and foremost necessary for the Government and other public bodies to practise economy and operate on the basis of an annual budget surplus. Let us consider the recent example of the Natal Province, which has overspent to such an extent that severe increases in taxation are necessary (the alternative of reducing expenditure seems to command little political support).

The Province has even asked the Government to increase their subsidy to 10 per cent. per annum compound. A request of this nature shows either irresponsibility or a lack of knowledge of economics. When the national increase in real wealth is about 2½% per cent. per annum, how can the Province operate on a 10 per cent. basis? Only on the assumption of constantly increasing taxation plus inflation!

Public bodies could assist in decreasing the demand for money by opposing block wage increases, as distinct from individual wage increases. Wage increases that cover a large part of the whole nation and that exceed the rate of increase in production (approximately 2½ per cent. per annum,) enlarge the demand and necessity for new money; they encourage inflation. The cost-of-living allowance and wage agreements tied to cost-of-living indices would come into this category.

In the preceding article the ways in which inflation take place were described. It was shown that a bank's legal minimum ratio of gold to liabilities is an important factor in the inflationary mechanism. The Government should immediately restore the required legal reserve ratio of the Reserve Bank to the 1948 level of 30 per cent. instead of maintaining the present 25 per cent. requirement, the latter of which was allowed during the balance of payments crisis in 1948.

The Reserve Bank's buying of Government bonds should cease. This action is artificially reducing interest rates which, in turn, encourages more borrowing

than would otherwise occur. To stop inflation the Reserve Bank should take the lead in raising interest rates.

The fact that the Reserve Bank buys these bonds with fiat money (paper money made legal by decree) is even more inflationary than the enforced depression in interest rates.

As Mr. McChesney Martin, Chairman of the United States Federal Reserve Bank, said in a statement last August to the American Senate Committee on Finance: "There is no way for the Federal Reserve system to peg the price of Government bonds at any given level unless it stands ready to buy all the bonds offered to it at that price".

"This process inevitably provides additional funds for the banking system, permits the expansion of loans and investments and a comparable increase in the money supply."

In other words, the Chairman of the United States Federal Reserve Bank reaffirms the inflationary effect of bond-pegging.

There has hardly been an example in the history of money of a nation discarding a gold or rare metal standard for its currency without an immediate and continuous dilution in purchasing power of its currency. Thus there is little prospect of an end to world inflation without a return to the discipline of the gold standard, preferably in conjunction with a gold coinage.

Finally, it should be stated by the Government that the stabilisation of the "cost-of-living" is a foremost aim of the country's economic policy, and if prices rise then immediate and effective fiscal measures will be automatically imposed.

If all these remedies are placed into effect the pound will strengthen and become more stable. There will be a decrease in the inflationary boom, but since inflation ends in a crisis and depression it will be more prudent to face the issues now rather than operate on a boom-and-bust cycle.

Furthermore, a halt to inflation will stop the continuous increase in prices, reduce what is, in effect, an equal tax rate on the poorest and richest members of the community, encourage investment and stabilise the value of past savings, will encourage work and discourage speculation and, finally, increase confidence in the political and economic structure of the nation. South Africa will be spared the incalculable hardship and misery that would be sure to follow an extended inflation.

The era of unstable money will continue until a change in sentiment permits the employment of corrective forces. At present there is little indication of the necessary steps being prepared or taken.

THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

By B. SHIVA RAO

SO much has been written on the language controversy started by Pro-Hindi enthusiasts that it is not easy to say something new on this topic. Let me therefore focus public attention on certain aspects which seem to me vital.

When the Constituent Assembly took up for consideration the language issue, the Congress Working Committee recognized (in its resolution of 5th August 1949) that the question of language had two facets, educational and administrative, that many States had regional languages of their own, other than Hindi, each with a rich literature, and further that a common medium for inter-provincial communication was essential. Recognizing the strength of opposition from the non-Hindi areas to the displacement of English, Pandit Pant (at that time UP's Chief Minister) observed in a debate in the Constituent Assembly that the decision of prescribing a time-limit for doing away with English should be left to the non-Hindi speaking people.

At that time, members from the non-Hindi regions seemed willing to express their views without fear. All important questions in the Constituent Assembly were first decided at meetings of the Congress Party. The records (though they are not official) show that on the issue of numerals, whether Hindi or international, the voting was 64 against Hindi, 51 for; on a fresh poll, it was 74 for each side; but the Hindi enthusiasts claimed 75. Even if the contention was right, it was considered extremely unwise to force a decision on the narrowest of majorities.

After prolonged and heated debates in the Congress Party, it was deemed prudent to leave the question of a national language to the free vote of the Constituent Assembly.

In opening the debate on the draft provision Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, referred to the large number of amendments (over 300) and cautioned the House:

Let us not forget that whatever decision is taken with regard to the question of language, it will have to be carried out by the country as a whole. There is no item in the whole constitution of the country which will be required to be implemented from day to day, from hour to hour, I might even say from minute to minute in actual practice. Therefore, members will remember that it will not do to carry a point by debate in this House. The decision of the House should be acceptable to the country as a whole. Even if we succeed in getting a particular proposition passed by a majority, if it does not meet with the approval of any considerable section of people in the country—either in the north or in the south—

the implementation of the Constitution will become a most difficult problem.

Such was the spirit in which the leading members of the Constituent Assembly tackled the issue. It was quickly forgotten by the pro-Hindi sections once the Constitution came into force. In 1955, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, a member of the Language Commission, complained that

in the entire report there was very little evidence of an attempt to understand the feelings and the intellectual approach of the non-Hindi speaking peoples for their own language and also for English....The attitude was far from democratic.

The late Dr. P. Subbarayan another member of the Commission, charged the majority with trying to prescribe certain programmes, rules and regulations from the Centre without reference to the actual situation in this sphere of the language in India or to the future reactions and repercussions among a large section of our people. It is also seeking to place as something conclusive before the non-Hindi people of India.

The committee of Parliament, which dealt with the language question in 1959, conceded that the process of change-over from English to Hindi as the Union official language was "to be effected without causing any dislocation and with the minimum of inconvenience"; consideration was to be given to "the progress of Hindi in non-Hindi areas". More than everything else, no "linguistic group was to be placed at any disadvantage" by the changeover.

It is in the light of these observations and the apprehensions expressed by several witnesses, including the Chief Ministers of Madras and West Bengal, that Mr. Nehru gave in Parliament his oft-quoted assurance to the non-Hindi areas. The assurance was categorical, unqualified and absolute.

Why then has the Home Minister, who is primarily responsible for the recent legislation, repudiated Mr. Nehru's promise? This is for me no surprise. In 1960, during the strike of Central Government servants, I wrote to Mr. Nehru that deplorable as their action was, his Government was also to blame, for its failure to carry out his clear pledge to establish negotiating machinery which in Britain is described as the "Whitley Councils". Mr. Nehru frankly accepted responsibility and observed that the pledge would be redeemed as soon as the strike was over. Three full years have passed, I have reminded both Mr. Nehru and the Home Minister more than once. But there is no response, no sign of action.

Moreover, Mr. Nehru's leadership is not beyond

challenge even within the party. It is well known that Mr. Krishna Menon would never have been compelled to go out of the Cabinet last November but for the party's insistence.

The weakening of Mr. Nehru's hold on the party has an all round effect. He gives in whatever his personal judgement may be, if the pressure from within the party is sufficiently strong. The Congress Party is aware of its weakened position in the country, as the recent by-elections have shown. Therefore, on issues which rouse popular excitement, there is a growing tendency to drift with the current, regardless of the perils of such a course. In other words, the Congress Party in Parliament no longer feels bound by Mr. Nehru's assurances or judgement. If a course of action will win popularity, other considerations need not have priority.

South India is not the only region which has strong views on the imposition of Hindi. Bengal has identical convictions. The question before the non-Hindi region is to evolve a policy on a long-term basis to counter the effects of the pro-Hindi enthusiasts. Immediately a list should be made of all the members of Parliament who in the recent debates preferred the easy course of either voting according to the party whip or absenting themselves at the time of voting. They should be made to feel, particularly in their respective constituencies, that men who have not the courage of their convictions have no place in Parliament.

—Swarajya

(Contd. from page 8)

that path inspite of all that has happend in the wake of the Chinese aggression. As a matter of fact, as any one can see, the deviation has already occurred. Only it is not as pronounced as it should be in the country's interest, and Mr. Nehru, to save his face, does not want to admit the deviation that has taken place. He may think that frankness is not in the country's interest—it certainly is not in the Congress Party's interest—but he is surely continuing to live in a fool's paradise if he thinks he can dupe any foreign powers belonging to any bloc.

On the question of recovering the lost territory from China Mr. Nehru gave assurance: "We shall settle our dispute with China, by peaceful means, if we can help it. But if war is unavoidable, we shall fight it out come what may." The promise to settle the dispute with China "by peaceful means, if we can help it" does not appear to be quite the same thing as re-affirming the Parliament's sacred resolve to throw the Chinese out of the Indian soil. It is true, Mr. Nehru says, "If war is unavoidable, we shall fight it out, come what may," but a resolve to fight it out will be much more welcome to his countrymen, and even to Congressmen, if instead of "come what may" they are given the assurance of victory, certain and unproblematical. If is for

this assurance that the Swatantra Party wants India to join the Western Bloc, and Mr. Nehru ridicules the Swatantra Party proposal as if assurance of victory in war is something to be pooh-poohed!

Indeed, joining the Western bloc would solve our problem, because it would enable us to recover the lost territory from China without waging war with China, with its problematical consequence, as Mr. Nehru admitted. Joining the Western bloc would be the greatest insurance against war and the mightiest move for peace. Our non-alignment has been an open invitation to China, and China accepted it. Mr. Nehru should really take his job more seriously. It seems that his belief that China wanted India to give up its policy of non-alignment is for him the strongest argument for continuing the policy of non-alignment. But what makes him think that China really wants us to give up our policy of non-alignment? Does he seriously think that the Chinese leaders will confide in him, or any one else outside the ruling clique, what is in their mind about our non-alignment? The Chinese propaganda that Mr. Nehru is a tool of American imperialism hardly fits in with his belief that China thinks we are non-aligned. It is proof positive of the fact that in their opinion we are aligned with the USA. In any case, we should think of our own interests and not worry as to what China wants us to do or not to do. Surely we should do what China wants us to do, if it is in our interest. It is time we stopped being childish or hysterical about national policies.

Mr. Nehru asked US for air protection during the last Chinese invasion, according to President Kennedy's statement at a Press Conference. Surely, foresight demands that requests like these should not be addressed in a moment of panic or grave anxiety but in anticipation. Surely, air protection cannot be given at a moment's notice, and the risk of the country being overrun should not be taken. Or should it? Mr. Nehru has said he would rather see the country overrun than aligned!

Does Mr. Nehru realise the implications of air protection by a foreign power? Does he think he can fool that power by pursuing a policy of "All take and no give." For, that is what non-alignment would come to with air protection by a foreign power. Very clever policy; indeed, but transparently so, and therefore so foolish that no power would permit itself to be trapped into it. The fact of the matter would appear to be that what Mr. Nehru needs is giving up being clever. Foreigners politically are not so dense as Indians, particularly Congressmen.

WHEELS WITHIN CONGRESS WHEELS

(From Our Correspondent)

The case for the publication of the inquiry report by Mr. Justice Dass on the transactions of Mr. K. D. Malaviya has become much stronger with the controversy between Orissa Chief Minister Patnaik and its ex-Chief Minister, Mr. Mahatab, who has also been Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislative Party at the Centre. The Congress mind in the matter has been revealed by the Congress President who wants to put an end to the public controversy between the two Congress giants. But the Congress President forgets that the wrangling is not over a Congress Party affair but over the conduct of Ministers and surely the public have a right to know what sort of ministers they have to serve them.

The proverb about washing dirty linen in public does not apply because it is not Congress linen but Government linen. It is therefore generally felt here that the Congress President has no right to intervene in a quarrel between a Chief Minister and an ex-Chief Minister over matters of first rate public importance, particularly as the quarrel is over facts. Does the Congress President want the facts to be hidden from public view? Mr. Sanjivayya, as a Gandhite, should remember that Mahatma Gandhi used to say "Secrecy is a sin" and that the Mahatma even opened the columns of his own weekly to a discussion of his private life with the young female inmates of his Ashram, which he need not have done except on the principle that Caesar as well as his wife should be above suspicion. The Congress President seems to suggest that "publicity is a sin". It is certainly throwing a flood of light on sinners, to the delight of the average newspaper reader.

Mr. Patnaik put his finger on the ailment when he said that running political parties is an "expensive business". And where are the expenses to come from except from businessmen whom the Government has in turn to oblige? The first proposition is that the elections must be won. The second proposition is that elections, cannot be won except by amassing huge funds, particularly as the popular tide is running against the Congress. The third proposition is that these funds can only be got from businessmen. The fourth proposition is that these businessmen will not pay unless they are assured several times the amount donated by way of licences and permits. See how simple the whole process is. Then what is the pother about? Any one in Congress who does not concede all these propositions must be a mad fellow deserving expulsion, though a sacrificial goat may be found occasionally to throw dust in the public eye. The *Hindustan Times* pertinently observes: "Mr. Patnaik now wants us to be grateful that Mr. Malaviya did not make Rs. 10 crores which, it appears, he could have easi-

ly done by a slight manipulation of oil policies. He fraudulently suggests that Mr. Malaviya paid the penalty for the Rs. 10,000 that he admitted to have received from Mr. Serajuddin for a colleague's election expenses, even though, on the face of it, this cannot be the case because it had been made clear by Mr. Nehru that this particular transaction was specifically excluded from the inquiry by Mr. Justice Dass."

Mr. Patnaik says Minister Mitra is no longer in business having transferred his business to Mrs. Mitra. It is indeed as simple as that, and what is there to prevent Mrs. Mitra from amassing a fortune? With the Malaviya resignation not a fortnight old, says the Delhi daily quoted above, at least three more Central Ministers are already being freely associated in capital rumour with the affairs of another Calcutta firm under investigation.

JOINT-FRONT

Mr. J. P. Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, has declined an invitation from Acharya Kripalani to participate in a conference of Opposition leaders for the formation of a joint front. The Sarvodaya leader said he had no personal interest in the formation of a joint front by Opposition parties. But, he said, "if the Government and the Opposition parties chalk out a national minimum programme to be implemented jointly by them, I would be interested". Asked in what capacity his co-operation would be available for the implementation of such a programme, Mr. Narayan replied "I would be interested in the public aspect of it. That is, I could go to the people and persuade them to participate in it." Like any other leader? But in that case nobody would perhaps ask him to. If the miracle happens and the Government and the Opposition parties unite for the implementation of a minimum programme on a national basis, Mr. Narayan's help would be superfluous—as superfluous perhaps as Sarvodaya itself—and the rest might as well ask him not to bother.

It is not surprising for a man, who thinks party-less democracy practicable, to think it practicable to make Opposition parties agree to co-operate with the Government for the implementation of a minimum programme on a national basis. Perhaps Mr. Narayan would like Parliament's solemn resolve—to throw the Chinese out from our sacred soil—to be included in the minimum programme. But since we do not hear much of that solemn resolve—on the contrary we hear of the sacred soil being barren—even that minimum is not likely to be agreed upon by the ruling party.

Mr. Narayan is as usual vague and a man who

is bent upon cultivating all parties as well as the Government has got to be vague. He cannot descend from the general to the particular and disclose his own absurdity. In this instance he cannot—at least does not—say what the national minimum programme should be and thus fails to make any real contribution to the debate now on. Mr. Narayan perhaps knows that his countrymen are only interested in miracles and the performers of miracles. He thus advances his thesis of partyless democracy, even as Gandhi advanced the proposition—which remained uncontested even after the birth of Pakistan—that non-violence is the mightiest of all weapons.

Of course, nobody can take the initiative in the proposed coalition, in which the fruits of office will continue to be monopolised by Congressmen, except Prime Minister Nehru, as Mr. Narayan says. In that case Mr. Narayan is only suggesting that the Opposition make a free gift of themselves to Mr. Nehru. But why should Mr. Nehru help in raising the stature of Opposition leaders and why should the latter tell the world, even indirectly, that all is for the best in the best of all possible Indias? These are questions which do not seem to bother Mr. Narayan.

By suggesting that the Jana Sanghis should unite with the Communists, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia appears to be making a bid to snatch the supremacy in the field of absurdity from Mr. Narayan. The latter should take care of his laurels, because even in his desire for all-round unity Mr. Narayan has not yet gone so far in spelling out his unity programme. Acharya Kripalani may not be a national leader, but who can say, after that, that Dr. Lohia is not?

Mr. Narayan is expected to meet the Home Minister, according to the same PTI message. His admirers do not think much of his seeing the Home Minister now and again and have begun wondering if the Prime Minister has no time for him now. It was Prime Minister Nehru, who is reported to have told Mr. Narayan, when a decade ago he sought the latter's help in weaning the Praja Socialists from their "un-Indian" activities in Kashmir directed towards the Kashmiris winning their civil liberties—that after all it was Mr. Narayan who was going to succeed him. Readers between lines have been finding confirmation of the report in Mr. Narayan's avoidance of activity that might displease the Prime Minister and add to his difficulties.

In effect Mr. Narayan has not only turned down Acharya Kripalani's suggestion to participate in a conference of Opposition leaders for the formation of a joint front, he has also told him practically that Opposition leaders should cease to be Opposition leaders and wind up their show.

Book Review

MODERN CONSTITUTIONS: by K. C. Wheare
F.B.A. All souls college, Oxford Home
University Library. Oxford University Press.
First published in 1951 but reprinted for
the fourth time with revision in 1960.
Price 10 s. 6 d — 216 pages.

Professor Wheare is well-known for his authoritative studies in constitutional matters. His book on *Federal Government* along with this present study in the general nature of modern constitutions has been issued in several editions and is deservedly popular. He has written another book more recently in the present year (1963) on the legislatures in democracy which should also be added to the library of the student and publicist.

This little book in the Home University Library series discusses the general ideas and assumptions involved in the framing and working of modern constitutions and distils the cream of wisdom in theory and practice from a close and discerning survey of most modern constitutions, within and outside the Commonwealth. He also refers to the Indian constitution occasionally.

He deals with questions like what a constitution is, the classification of constitutions, the necessary contents of constitutions, the authority of a constitution, some primary forces behind a constitution, the processes of formal amendment, judicial interpretation and the powerful role of usage and convention. He concludes with a chapter on the prospects before constitutional government in the modern world.

The work therefore offers in small compass the working ideas essential to the proper understanding of modern constitutional governments, relating them to the social forces at their back and the human values that inspire their formation and sustenance such as liberty and equality in the rule of law and opportunities for the self-development of all citizens.

The dangers before constitutional government brought by war, economic crisis and totalitarianism and the attitude best adopted towards communism are touched upon in the last chapter.

"In theory there is no inconsistency between constitutional government and suppression of communism. Communists do not believe in constitutional government and do not hide their contempt for it." Page 208.

The real objection to legal suppression of communists and other such traitors is that vast powers have to be given to the police who will operate secretly and this extra-police power will breed other evils in its train and undermine the rule of law and lead to harassment of honest citizens.

Dr. Wheare concludes with Abraham Lincoln's words. "It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy — a government of the people by the same people — can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the

question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the precedences made in this case, break up their government and thus practically put an end to free government in the world."

We in India have now to ponder this momentous problem *vis-a-vis* the communist menace, the D.M.K. challenge of separatism, the Naga rebellion, the Jharkhand and other hill States demand etc.

In acclimatising the democratic constitution India has adopted, her intellectuals in all ranks of life have the duty of bringing to clear consciousness in their own minds and in that of the general public, the general principles involved in its day-to-day working as well as its fundamental values.

This work will be of assistance in this process.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

The Mind of the Nation

KASHMIR'S PARALLEL WITH ALSACE-LORRAINE

"In discussion of the dispute between India and Pakistan a parallel has often been drawn with the dispute between France and Germany. The languages and cultures of the two European nations are of different though related origins, but have grown together, France being for the most part the pioneer and teacher, and Germany making in recent generations a great effort to catch up and get ahead. Politically they have always been rivals, and since the sixteenth century they have fought a whole series of wars, which have culminated in the great disasters of our time and the partition of Germany by the third great European power, Russia.

There is sufficient similarity with the background of the India-Pakistan dispute to provoke uncomfortable reflections. Kashmir plays the part of Alsace-Lorraine, and the China-Pakistan border agreement resembles the alliance between France and Russia which produced the "encirclement" of Germany and eventually the present partition. Only when a third of Germany has passed under apparently permanent occupation by communist Russia have France and Germany come together. Will the reconciliation of India and Pakistan have to await the permanent occupation of a large slice of Indian territory by communist China?"

—Mysindia.

News & Views

KENNEDY, MAC PROMISE MORE ARMS AID

U.S. President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan announced agreement on their policy of "continuing to help India by providing further military aid to strengthen her defences against the threat of renewed Chinese Communist attack" in a joint communique issued at the end of their talks at Brich Grove.

Explaining what this meant, Mr. Harold Evans, Mr Macmillan's spokesman, told a joint briefing with Mr Pierre Salinger, Mr Kennedy's Press Secretary, that the two leaders had agreed on the programme of long-term military aid to India

and this was a follow-up of their Nassau agreement to provide emergency aid.

While he would not elaborate on the extent or the details of the aid, he agreed that the despatch of Anglo-American air units for "familiarization" in India was one of the ideas under consideration.

The paragraph of the communique announcing the Anglo-American agreement includes the following sentence: "They were impressed by the importance to the economic progress and defence of both India and Pakistan, of whose anxieties they were fully aware, of an honourable and equitable settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries; they stood ready to help in any way which might be desired by the two countries."

Mr Salinger, when asked by me to comment on the juxtaposition of these sentences in the same paragraph, said they were in no manner dependent or linked one with the other. The agreement to give further aid to India was not conditioned by or dependent on a settlement of India-Pakistan disputes.

The wording of the sentence for providing aid to India indicates that complete agreement has been reached between Britain and the U.S. as to their share and even their appreciation of the Chinese threat.

They have accepted that the Chinese threat has been "renewed" no doubt by the new build-up of the Chinese forces in Ladakh and in the middle and northern sectors.

Mr Evans indicated that the next step by the British and American Governments would be consideration of the programme with the Indian Government.

AGREEMENT ON U.S. AID FOR TARAPUR REACTOR

WASHINGTON,

Agreement has been reached on all substantial issues involved in negotiations for United States assistance to the big Tarapur atomic reactor project. The agreement is expected to be signed shortly.

The last major obstacles in the negotiations, which have been going on for nearly a year, were overcome.

According to reliable sources the agreement represents a working compromise between the Indian and U.S. viewpoints which, both sides can claim, fulfils their basic positions.

The main difficulty stemmed from U.S. insistence on provisions for international inspection or other safeguards to ensure that none of the atomic fuel or plutonium produced in the reactor is diverted for military purposes.

While India has made it clear that there is no question of its using the reactor for such purposes it has resisted international inspection on the ground that this discriminates against non-nuclear developing powers.

The agreement now reached obliges India to take up the question of inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency only after it is equipped to inspect such large plants as Tarapur and provided other conditions consistent with the safeguards to be exercised by the U.S. under a bilateral agreement are fulfilled.

In any event the issue will not be taken up until after Tarapur goes into operation.

RUSSIAN MAP BACKS CHINA

SRINAGAR:

A map recently published by Russia shows the Aksai-

chin plateau and large chunks of Ladakh as part of China.

The people of Kashmir are furious over this since when Soviet premier KHRUSHCHEV visited the State in 1955, he had not only recognised Kashmir as part of the Indian Union, but had told the Kashmiris that if ever "they need neighbourly assistance" from the USSR, "you raise your voice from a hill-top and we will be here in no time."

The State Government has banned the Russian atlas, which is published by the Directorate of Geodesy and Cartography of the USSR. Documents containing reprints, copies and translations from the publication have also been prohibited as prejudicial.

NEW DELHI SOS FOR US ARMS WASHINGTON,

India has sent urgent appeals to the United States and Britain for speedy and large deliveries of arms and equipment, according to newspaper reports here from New Delhi quoting "qualified sources."

The appeal is linked to the setting up of a military post by the Chinese to the south-east of Daulat Beg Oldi cutting off "substantial Indian area to the north."

AKSAI CHIN WILL BE FREED, SAYS MORARJI CALCUTTA,

India is determined to recover the Aksai Chin plateau and other parts of Ladakh illegally occupied by the Chinese.

Mr Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, is understood to have told this to a meeting of members of the Pradesh Congress executive committee and the West Bengal Congress Legislature Party here today.

Mr Desai was also understood to have ruled out any idea of ceding some part of Kashmir to Pakistan for reaching a settlement.

He said India had to be firm in her policy towards Pakistan lest the latter should try to grab Indian territory by force.

The task of recovering territory was, however, not easy, he emphasised. It required strengthening of Indian defence forces. This in turn called for more money and a lot of sacrifice on the part of the citizen.

China, Mr Desai said, wanted to keep the areas, barren as they were, for humiliating India in the eyes of Asia and the world. The ultimate objective of China, he thought, was to become master of Asia and emerge as the world's biggest force.

OPPOSE STATUTE CHANGE: RANGA NELLORE,

Mr. N. G. Ranga, M.P., and Chairman of the Swatantra Party has urged the peasants to organise strong opposition to the Seventeenth Constitution (Amendment) Bill now before Parliament.

Addressing a public meeting here, Mr. Ranga said once the Bill was passed, the small holders would be forced to part with their lands to co-operative farms. They would be entitled to only a nominal compensation and there would be no appeal against it, he said.

Mr. Ranga condemned the recent taxation measures of the States and the Union Government. The land revenue, he

said, had increased more than 200 per cent between 1962 and 1964.

BRUTAL KILLING OF INDIAN P.O.WS.

Released Jawans Reveal Chinese Atrocities NEW DELHI.

About 800 men of the Indian Army, who have been missing since last year's treacherous Chinese attack, still remain unaccounted for, a Defence Ministry spokesman said here today.

He said that out of about 5,000 men, who were found to be missing or were captured as a result of last year's attack, 3,942 have been repatriated alive, while the bodies and ashes of 26 others have been handed over by the Chinese. Many bodies have since been recovered, but about 800 men are still unaccounted for.

The spokesman said that it had been established through close questioning of the repatriates that some of the 26 men, whose bodies and ashes had been handed over, were, in fact, killed as a result of Chinese brutalities following their stubborn resistance to Chinese "persuasion" methods.

The spokesman said that the questioning of the men had also brought to light many examples of ambushes laid by the Chinese after they had themselves unilaterally announced a cease-fire effective from November 21-22, 1962. "A number of jawans are known to have been killed in these ambushes. Cases have been reported that on being overpowered, the jawans were made to put up their hands in token of surrender. In this position, with their hands uplifted, they were shot in cold blood. Such cases occurred both in NEFA and Ladakh," he added.

SUB-CONTINENT'S DEFENCE

LONDON,

Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary, said "The Chinese action has brought to the forefront what we have long realised, but India and Pakistan do not seem to have realised, that the defence of the sub-continent can only be successfully organised if India and Pakistan combine together to meet an external threat.

Lord Home, who was giving a review of world affairs, during a foreign policy debate in the House of Lords, said Britain had used her good offices to find a solution for the Kashmir dispute.

"There is no agreement at present on Kashmir, but at least there is a clearer understanding of the issue involved by both countries", he said.

D.M.K. SUCCESS IN TIRUVANNAMALAI **BY-ELECTION**

TIRUVANNAMALAI,

Mr. P. U. Shanmugham (D.M.K.) was declared elected to the State Assembly in the by-election from the Tiruvannamalai constituency, defeating his only rival, Mr. T. S. Bhadrachalam Pillai (Congress), by a margin of 1,475 votes.

The by-election was caused by the death of Mr. P. Palani Pillai (Cong.).

DANGER SEEN IN MAKING 'ALL' ARMS CALCUTTA,

Mr. B. M. Birla, noted industrialist, warned against spreading India's defence production efforts too wide.

Presiding over the convention of thinkers on the role of industry in defence, Mr. Birla said it would be wise to concentrate on the production of only those items in which India could be self-sufficient.

It was not possible to produce everything India needed in a short time and so it should decide what to produce what to buy and what to get in gifts from other nations.

India could be self-sufficient in food, cloth, transport except air transport and tents or some kinds of huts for armed forces. India could also produce all the small arms and ammunition and various other small fighting equipment.

But for sophisticated items such as tanks, self-propelled guns, agroplanes, rockets and so on, India would have to depend on other countries, he said.

SWATANTRA NOT TO BACK REDS AGAINST CDS

RAJKOT,

Mr. M. R. Masani, general secretary of the Swatantra Party, has said that though his party is opposed to the compulsory deposit scheme, it will not join hands with the Communists in their agitation against it.

Mr. Masani told the Press conference here the idea of the scheme had been borrowed from the Soviet Union where it was in force. In the light of this, the Communist agitation against it was untruthful. It was only for gaining advantage for the party and not in the interests of the people. Mr. Masani said.

If other Opposition democratic parties organized opposition to the scheme, his party would support it, he added.

ONE-WAY TRIPS TO SPACE

Among the things which the Russians are anxious to hide are repeated failures of their space-flight experiments. In contrast to the candour with which American space authorities have exposed themselves to criticism and even ridicule when they have announced without concealment false starts and miscalculations, postponements and handicaps in their astronomical trials, Soviet space projects are carried on in the utmost secrecy. Even they have to admit that they have made a mistake when a rocket shot at the moon or at Venus does not achieve its goal, since the space ship is no longer in a hermetically sealed Siberia but in space where it can be tracked by many stations on earth. Nevertheless, even these near-misses are billed as successes.

Reports from various observatories and rocket tracking centres outside the Communist bloc indicate that Soviet space mishaps have cost the lives of at least ten men. In two cases, the Kremlin has quietly acknowledged that lives have been lost. In a report of the successful Popovich-Nikolaev flight, the official Soviet government newspaper, Izvestia of January 9, 1963 mentioned that two Russian cosmonauts had been killed. One of these space pilots, Pyotr Ivanovich Dolgov, died on October 11, 1960. Western tracking stations picked up his radio signals until they abruptly ceased thirty minutes after his blast-off. Dolgov's death "in the line of duty" was officially made known in 1962, but not further details were released until the publication of the Izvestia article last January. The other cosmonaut whose death was admitted was named Andreyev. Other data strongly suggests

that at least seven other Russian cosmonauts have died in space.

DOGMATIC POLICE STATES ANACHRONISM: KENNEDY

Berlin, Western Sector: United States President Kennedy said here today the "wind of change" was blowing across the Iron Curtain as well as in the rest of the world.

"The people of Eastern Europe, even after 18 years of oppression, are not immune to change," he told the students of the Free University of Berlin.

He said in a prepared speech that the "new Europe—dynamic, diverse and democratic—must exert ever-increasing attraction on the peoples to the East."

"And when the possibilities of reconciliation appear, we in the West will make it clear that we are not hostile to any people or system, provided they choose their own destiny without interfering with the free choice of others.

"There will be wounds to be healed and suspicions to be eased on both sides," he said.

Living status

Mr. Kennedy said the difference in living standards would have to be reduced—by levelling up not down.

"Air and effective agreements to end the arms race must be reached," he added.

He declared that dogmatic police States were an anachronism. "Like the division of Germany, the division of Europe is against the tide of history," he said.

FREE WORLD AND COMMUNIST WORLD

At West Berlin's town hall, a crowd of more than 130,000 burst into prolonged cheering and chanting of Mr. Kennedy's name as he stepped to the microphone.

The President told them "There are many people in the world today who really do not understand, or say they do not, what is the great issue between the free world and the communist world.

"Let them come to Berlin.

"There are some who say that communism is the way to the future.

"Let them come to Berlin.

"And there are some who say, in Europe and elsewhere, we can work with the communists.

"Let them come to Berlin.

"Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in to prevent them from leaving us.

"Peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of a free man, and that is the right to make a free choice."

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8. *Dialectical Materialism* by Philip Spratt.

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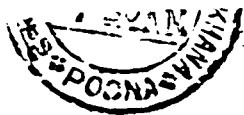
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