

**Indian
Libertarian**

Vol. V No. 7

Xm2, N5

1 June 1957

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

IN THIS ISSUE

ESSAY IN
FINANCIAL LUNACY

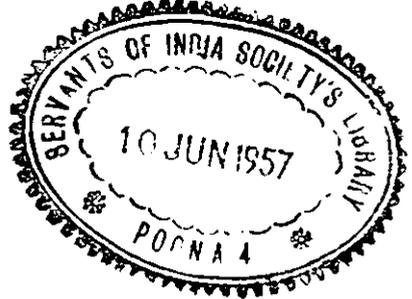
Bhoodan or Communism
By Back-door?

*Communism—Not An Ideology
But A Conspiracy*

Make English the Lingua Franca of India

Unless specified publication of matter does not necessarily mean editorial endorsement

Price 15 Naye Paise



Editorial

PAKISTAN'S INSULT TO INDIAN DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS

THE psychology of hatred for India that characterises the ruling groups and officialdom in Pakistan and the total failure of India's policy of appeasement towards this neurotic neighbour appeared in a flash, in an ugly incident that occurred in Lahore recently. The subject figured in question time in Parliament and elicited the usual inane answer from the Prime Minister (and Minister of External Affairs). It is doubtful if any among the leading nations of the world has a more inept Minister for External Affairs than ours. Two officers, attached to the office of India's Deputy High Commissioner stationed in Lahore, were arrested while shopping on the flimsy pretext of having parked their cars on the wrong side of the road, *handcuffed and detained in prison* for a day till released on the protest of the Deputy High Commissioner. What did India do in the matter? As usual for the umpteenth time, she sent a strong protest! *Strong in words*, which as usual, elicited the response of contempt and laughter. To the angry question by a *Muslim* member of Parliament, whether India cannot do something to vindicate her honour, the Minister for External Affairs had no answer, which again, is characteristic. To this Minister for External Affairs of ours, Pakistan can do no wrong. We can understand some tenderness to Indian Muslims, on the ground that they are to be treated as Indian citizens, in the hope that they will some day actually become such in psychology and conduct. But there is no justification to treat Pakistan, a foreign country, and one full of unquenchable hatred for and jealousy of India (and one intriguing against us every moment of its existence and blackening our name through unscrupulous lies in the capitals of the world), with any undue consideration. Any self-respecting nation would have retaliated, in such circumstances, by arresting and imprisoning two officers of the diplomatic corps of the offending country in our capital. Pakistan can understand no other language. This is what critics mean when they suggest that we should adopt a policy of *reciprocity* towards Pakistan. If such a policy of reciprocity had been adopted, from the day of Partition, our relations with Pakistan would not have been so abjectly helpless today.

BORDER INCIDENTS

News comes to us of a similar incident from the border of the Punjab. An Indian citizen, bathing in a border stream, was attacked and carried away to the Pakistani border! The motive may be redemption money. It is impossible to keep count of such border incidents. Some of them are *organised raids*, with the help of armed police and military personnel. They come in trucks, loot our villages, drive off cattle, and even carry away women, before our border police

can come to the rescue. Even a couple of years ago, the total number of such border raids from Pakistanis, to which the Government had to confess in answer to questions in Parliament, exceeded 3,500! It is clear that the prestige of India is mud in the eyes of the Pakistanis, though our authorities are never tired of claiming that it is gatifyingly high in international affairs. No doubt, America and Russia treat India with outward marks of respect and courtesy. But that is because India is a vast country, and they wish to have it on their side in their mutual conflict. But in actual fact, when any matter of dispute is referred to the UN, as in relation to Kashmir, India gets *the worst* of the contest even when her conduct is impeccable. Politics and defence are rough matters, and call for sterner stuff and stronger patriotism and more robust resolution, firmness and courage, than has been in evidence, so far, in our Minister for External Affairs. A life-time of agitation and basking in the adulation of crowds and the sycophancy of subordinates and inferiors, *does not* prepare a person for the onerous duties of foreign Ministership of a great country like India, just awakening from centuries of dependence and foreign rule. Our people should learn to see their supreme leader in the light of impartial reason, and weigh his actions in the light of actual results rather than continue to see him in a mist of glamour and hero worship.

THE BAGHDAD PACT

A meeting of the Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact nations (Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Britain) was held from the 16th of May in Karachi, with the United States attending as a new member. America will also join the Military Committee of the Pact nations.

The far-reaching significance of the meeting lies in the decisions taken to link the Baghdad Pact nations by rail, road, sea and air. Britain announced two gifts of a million pounds sterling each, and the USA offered a sum of 12.57 million dollars. Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was hoped to link Karachi with Basra, along the Arabian sea coast; Karachi with Constantinople by road and rail and railway and Karachi with the Pact countries and with neighbours outside by air. Telecommunications will also be established to link the countries of the Pact.

These developments will, no doubt, take time. We do not see anything to be jealous about in them. But it is the part of statesmanship to see in present events the seeds of the future, and to take measures to meet possible developments, which may today be still in the womb of time. This journal has, for long, been of the opinion that our policy towards our neighbours was wrong. The principle of diplomatic wisdom lies in being prepared for the hostility of neighbours. And our neighbours in Islamic countries have a tradition of invading and ruling over parts of Hindustan.

Their leaders still cherish the dream of setting up their rule in India, and reviving the past "glories" of Moghul days. Pakistan has been founded through the deliberate inculcation of this ambition in Indian Muslims through the Aligarh Movement. The fatal lack of realisation of the strength of this movement, on the part of Congress leaders, led to Partition and the founding of Pakistan. Pakistan lost no time, from the moment of her birth, in taking measures to revive the Pan-Islamic sentiment among Islamic countries. Today Egypt's Nasser is trying to establish a Pan-Arab empire under his leadership from Algeria to the Persian Gulf. If he succeeds, Pan-Islam will, no doubt, come to entertain vaster ambitions. Pakistan or Turkey may have better luck. It is the part of wisdom for India to reckon with this possibility, and seek to counter-act it with the cultivation of friendly relations with the Western Powers as a make-weight. Today the rivalry between world communism and the free world might occupy the minds and energies of statesmen and publicists. But far-seeing statesmen cannot be blind to developments, inherent in the psychology, history and national ambitions of nations, who are likely to have an influence on our destinies.

The way in which Egypt and Syria are influencing events in Jordan and using Russian support (clandestine but substantial enough by way of arms and cash) shows that Arabs have an Islamic consciousness transcending tribal and national boundaries. Islam runs counter to nationalism, race barriers and geographical limits. The material for a Pan-Muslim consolidation are abundant in today's changing situation in the Arab chequer-board. In this light, our support to Egypt and Syria will appear definitely unwise, especially as they have aligned themselves with Russian diplomacy. We seem to have an unfortunate penchant to side with the worse of the two world rivals, in spite of our spiritual heritage!

PAK ALLEGATION OF INDO-SOVIET PLOT AGAINST AFGHANISTAN

India has had good relations with Afghanistan, chiefly on account of the Afghan's hope that India would assist her to obtain her claims on Pushtoonistan. India has NOT publicly declared her opinion as to the rightness of the Pushtoon demand. We complain that other nations have refused to commit themselves to the justice of our claims in regard to Kashmir. But we display the same non-committal attitude to others, as in this question of the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Pushtoonistan.

Pakistan has been assiduously trying to win Afghanistan over to her side, and to get her to join the Baghdad Pact. She tried intimidation and closure of trade routes to Kabul, but in vain. Recently she has been trying the softer way of wooing Afghanistan, through state visits and state delegations and secret diplomacy. As a part of the new diplomacy, Pakistan has just announced what she calls the revelation of a secret clause in a treaty between India and Russia, purporting to divide Afghanistan herself between them! Of course, we know that India is too naive and honest for such secret treaties. Nehru has denied the allegation and no one can disbelieve him

on this subject. This is one more instance of the policy of Pakistan, which is tireless in sowing suspicion among the nations of the world, regarding India's *bona fides* and high-minded conduct in international relations. In answer to a question from Mr. Ramathan Chettiar whether India would draw the attention of the Pakistan Government to the mendacious nature of this allegation, Nehru replied that he *did not propose to do so, as many similar demarches in the past had been fruitless!* What a confession of failure, (unintended no doubt)! Still our parliamentarians have limitless faith in the Minister for External Affairs, under whose regime, the country's foreign affairs are so catastrophically suffering. Sycophants continue to create fear and despondency in the country with the cry—What after Nehru? The real question is, whether the country can afford to continue to have him at the helm of affairs with health and safety for its destiny!

KALADI SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

The bhoodan movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been over-praised. In the Kaladi Conference this month in Kerala, the Acharya crossed the Rubicon decisively, and endorsed the communist ideal of the destruction of all private property in land! Bhoodan entailed respect for private property but the owner, after the deed of charity, and the lands received in gift by the *donee*, are both to be protected as property.

Libertarians might seek to limit the monopolistic use of land by imposing taxes on unearned income, and by imposing conditions of effective cultivation, and payment of society's dues by way of taxation. But they do not envisage (unless they are anarchists) the complete abolition of individual holdings. Now Vinoba Bhave in his *gramdan* (village gift) villages has taken precisely this step of abolishing individual holdings.

This has become welcome grist to the socialist mill of Pandit Nehru. In his speech at Mussoorie, he repeated his determination to push on with the rapid introduction of "Co-operative farming" of the Chinese variety, which are really *collectives* that leave no property in the hands of the farmer. Nehru wishes to make use of Vinoba Bhave's *gram-dan villages* for his collective farm villages. This is a startling mingling of Marxism and Gandhism. So far as farmers are concerned, socialism in the sense of anarchism and communism and proletarianism, has become the accepted policy of Free India. Whether farmers are psychologically and morally prepared for such altruistic and self-less work is to be seen. Meanwhile, it is but reasonable to demand that leaders, who propose such drastic measures for others, should set an example themselves by surrendering all their salaries, income and private property of all sorts and imitate Vinoba Bhave, before they impose self-denying ordinances on others!

A BLOW TO LIBERTARIANISM

The Central Budget announced by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari sins against libertarian principles all round.
(Continued on page 14)

Budget Proposals

Essay In Financial Lunacy

By J. K. Dhairyawan

.....

THE Union Finance Minister Mr. Krishnamachari has presented his Budget proposals netting in an increase of Rs. 93 crores of new taxes. To those who had watched the totalitarian trends in the Government, as a result of their adoption of the "socialist pattern of society" and their doggedness to carry through the much-advertised second Five Year Plan, with over a gap of over 200 crores, these new taxation proposals have not come as a surprise. It is the beginning of the end of national solvency and the first of the many signs of a life of sweat, tears and tribulation for the majority of the people, from the poor worker to the so-called rich. With the new taxation proposals there will be really speaking no rich people nor the lot of the average citizen any better. In a way, as it always happens in any "planned" economy, there will be a planned and systematic distribution of poverty all over the country. As some one has said "all the cats look grey in the socialist twilight". India, despite the warnings from Soviet Russia and the Eastern European countries, has taken the slippery path of socialism, and so the country has no option but to groan under the totalitarian burden, imposed on the people.

Criticism Ignored

All the informed criticism from independent economists and enlightened industrialists against the mad career of implementing the second Five Year Plan have been brushed aside by the Government of the day. In fact, the chief inspirer of the socialist fad, the Prime Minister, has gone so far as to say that Democracy and Free Enterprise cannot go together, when the facts of world history point definitely the other way. In fact Democracy cannot exist without Free Enterprise and the freedom of the market place. Without the economic freedom of the individual no real liberty is possible, and when under the so-called planned economy, practically every citizen is brought under Government control for his very basic needs there is the end of liberty and freedom as Democracy understands it. But when these very basic facts, that are clear to any thinking man, are being ignored by the planners of the Government and the men in authority, then the country is set on the high road to chaos and crisis. The latest Budget proposals, which mean that the Government have legally attempted to put their hands in the pockets of all the citizens, from the poor worker, the middleclass man as well the rich, is a portent of the so-called socialist Utopia of the Congress conception which the Government are trying to usher in the country.

A cursory glance at the new taxes proposed cannot

but convince even the blind that nothing has been left to be taxed. From tea, sugar, kerosene, paper, tobacco, petrol, diesel oil to the postal rates have all been taxed or raised to fill in the overall deficit in the Budget proposals presented last time, namely of Rs. 367.89 crores, and reduced the gap to Rs. 275 crores. How this small reduction is going to help the Government and the planners is anybody's guess. But the most paradoxical statement of the Finance Minister was to say that his new taxation proposals are meant as an incentive to saving and to hard work.

Not Correct

In the first place after the new taxes are taken from the people there is very little left with them as savings and one fails to understand where is the incentive to work when even the income-tax now covers annual incomes of Rs. 3000 as against the old ones of Rs. 4200. The Finance Minister's claim that his new taxation proposals provide the incentive to production are equally unfounded. To those who know the investment market and the present state of affairs these new proposals are a direct check on production, since the flow of investment is practically dried up, and these new taxation proposals will leave practically no savings with the upper middle class who are the backbone of the investment market. Another sweeping proposal is the taxing of wealth and the taxing of personal expenditure. This is a coercive measure of totalitarian parentage and an instrument of torture in the hands of bureaucrats. The only relief, if it can be so called, is the reduction of the personal income-tax and super-tax. The highest slab for personal income-tax and super-tax has been brought down from the existing level of 91.8 per cent to 84 per cent for unearned and 77 per cent for earned incomes.

A Totalitarian Ring

When in one breath the Finance Minister says that the new taxation proposals are an incentive to production and to savings, one cannot understand his proposals to put heavy burdens on joint stock companies and institutionalised concerns. Apart from the increase in the tax on bonus shares and allowing of adjustments in other imposts, which are expected to net in another Rs. 7½ crores to the revenue, Mr. Krishnamachari has in a broad sweep included the companies under his scheme of new taxation on wealth. It is only perhaps the "socialist" logic of the Finance Minister that sees in these proposals the means and incentives for further production and the growth of the private sector. But to those who are

not carried away by the siren calls of socialism of the Government, these checks and brakes on the growth of private enterprise are inherent in any state planned economy, and the Indian Government, wedded to planned economy, cannot but go on recklessly in their mad career to completely wipe out the private sector. Words like "incentive to production" and "incentive to savings" are now too familiar with totalitarian regimes. They act as the proverbial carrot to the donkey of the ordinary citizen, to carry on the heavy burden of an authoritarian government. And no wonder that Mr. Krishnamachari as the Finance Minister, under what constitutes in practice as a totalitarian regime, despite its democratic professions, has no other way than to dangle the carrot before the ill-informed and the gullible public.

A Cheap And Crude Trick

Over and above all the sweeping new taxation proposals are the sleights of hand performed by the Finance Minister in raising the Railway fares. Only a day previous to these new increases in Railway fares, we had the solemn assurances from the Minister in charge of the Railways, when he presented the Railway Budget, that "for the present" there will be no increase in the Railway fares. In the first place if the Government had decided to increase the Railway fares they should have formed part of the Railway Budget but then that was not done. Another point that arises from this inclusion of the Railway fare increases in the General Budget is that instead of the gains accruing from the increased fares going towards additional amenities to the travelling public will now go to the General Exchequer to fill in the gaping hole between the country's income and the expenditure proposed by the Government for the second Five Year Plan. This is not merely a question of adjusting the revenues of the Government for national expenditure but a much more serious question that goes against the very foundation of the integrity and the reputation that the Government enjoys. A Government, under any democratic system, enjoys a high degree of reputation for integrity and its word is as good as its bond. But what reputation and character would a Government have when solemn assurances given by one of its Ministers are belied the very next day by another Minister. And the tragedy of the situation is that the present Congress Government does this despite the motto: "*Satyameva Jayate*"—"Truth Shall Always Triumph". Here is a performance of the Government that is quite in contradiction to that motto but also to the recognised traditions of any civilised democratic government.

More Taxes In The Offing

And as if all these pickings of the common man's pockets are not enough we are further advised by the Finance Minister to be ready for austerity measures in the near future. We are assured that they will not be in the form of new taxation proposals but by way of import cuts. If the over-all production rise is expected by the Government, and at the same time, there is going to be further cut in the imports, it will

necessarily mean less imports of machinery and raw products for the growth of Indian industry, it is only the Government and the Finance Minister that can connect the one statement with the other. To those who have watched the workings of the Government, that is wedded to Planning, this sort of thinking and arguments are not new. It only shows the strains under which the Government planners are working from the beginning of the planned economy and as they "progress" in their plans—from one crisis to another—the lot of the common citizen will be similar to that of the "citizen" of any totalitarian country, where he is reduced to the status of a robot—a mere beast of burden to carry on a heavy load of taxes, and a means for stepping up the production—without any economic freedom and with much less political freedom. These fears are neither imaginary nor far-fetched but are the actual experience of countries groaning under totalitarian regimes, euphemistically called the "people's democracies".

When as a result of thirty years' experience and over ten years in Eastern European countries, the common man is revolting under the stress of intolerable conditions, and where even some of the persons in authority are rethinking on the very structure of a socialist planning, we in India, under the sole inspiration and drive of the Prime Minister, are trying to follow the discarded methods of state planned economy. The result is quite obvious. When the so-called plans go awry as they are bound to then alone will wisdom dawn on the authorities in the country that they were trying to achieve the impossible. But in the meanwhile the country would have to pay a heavy and a cruel price for the wrong decisions of the Government, by way of a steady and a continuous deterioration of the standard of living of the common man, with fewer amenities and fewer comforts, with national economy in chaos and disorder, and an ever-expanding impersonal bureaucratic machine,—super-imposed on the nation.

Chaos Is Certain

It is a pity that the Finance Minister, as a former businessman, could not see that all the new taxation measures that he has proposed, instead of acting as the incentive to save and as incentive to produce more, are cumulatively bound to have quite the reverse effects than those the Government hopes for. Since the common man in India, whose standard of living, compared with the general standard, is definitely far below the average subsistence level, and is burdened with such heavy taxation that there will be no savings nor any incentive for saving. Industry which is expected to produce more is hedged in with a number of imposts and restrictions that act as the grinding stones round its neck.

In the circumstances, to hope that the Indian industry will be able to expand and produce more is to expect the impossible. Add to these the promised "cuts" in imports in the near future and the proverbial last straw on the camel's back is reached. To expect under such circumstances, as Mr. Krishnamachari hopes, to induce the foreign concerns to start and expand their activities in the country,

is vain. The foreign concerns are run by shrewd men of business acumen and foresight, and they are not likely to be persuaded by these "baits" of the Finance Minister when they know that there are checks to trade and business, and when the purchasing power of the Indian people is at a very low depth. Foreign businessmen will go to the ends of the world where there are free markets and where the people have purchasing power. But with socialist experiments in the country, with poor purchasing power of the people, and a totalitarian regime in the saddle, no foreign businessman will touch India with a pair of tongs.

If anything, the new taxation proposals clearly demonstrate that the second Five Year Plan has overreached itself, long before it has started. It was pointed out repeatedly by informed economists and enlightened industrialists that the Plan was over-ambitious and unrealistic but the Government with a mullish obstinacy has stuck to the Plan, which has no pride of parentage and no hope of posterity. Apart from the sweeping character of the new taxation proposals it is doubtful whether the Finance Minister will be able to raise the much desired revenue of Rs. 93 crores. There is every possibility of the law of diminishing returns

making its appearance and the Government expectations coming to nought. Moreover even if the expected revenue is realised by the Government, fresh taxations and new sources for tapping more revenue would have to be resorted to to fill in the gap in internal resources which has risen from Rs. 850 crores to Rs. 1,200 crores as a result of the growing rising costs in wages and materials. In fact, it is a rake's progress towards insolvency. In the circumstances it is more than likely that the Plan will founder on the financial rocks.

In the absence of an intelligent public opinion and the lethargy of the so-called intelligentsia, and businessmen the Government which is toying with their fad of a Planned Economy, are playing not only with the life and happiness of the present generation but are leaving a heavy load of chaos and crisis for the generations yet unborn. All this criticism of ours will be lost in the oceans of flattery for the Prime Minister and his toy of the Five Year Plan, the new taxes will be exacted by the Government which has the coercive machinery to do so; but judged by any moral and ethical standards the new taxation proposals are an essay in financial lunacy hard to beat on the part of a government styling itself as democratic and popular.

Bhoodan Or Communism By The Back-door?

By M. A. Venkata Rao

If the Congress session held at Avadi two years ago eclipsed Gandhism as a moderate form of social reconstruction with individuality as its core, the Kaladi session of Sarvodaya held in the second week of May this year marks the startling merger of Gandhism in Vinoba Bhave's bhoodan development with communism. Bhoodan has been overpraised by Indians and foreigners alike. It has an element of value but the extravagant value attributed to it has no basis. The ray of truth and value it contains consists in the demonstration on an unexpectedly large scale that men of landed property could be induced to donate a part of it freely to the landless poor of their locality when rightly approached by persons of unquestionable integrity. This generous behaviour of Indian landowners could be taken as an impressive demonstration of the falsity of the Marxist thesis that property owners will never surrender their privileges without violence. Vinoba Bhave showed to the whole world that the Marxist doctrine of class war, bitter and unreconcilable, was a dangerous exaggeration, that hatred and destructive violence were not necessary for bringing about reforms in land distribution and that in India the respect of the masses for moral ideas still had sufficient motive power to enable the elicitation of sacrificial donations of property on a significant scale.

Inherent Dangers

But the movement had inherent dangers of its own inseparable from the headlong implementation of half-

baked ideas of social reconstruction, involving the basic institutions of property and economy, on a mass-scale. Vinoba Bhave made effective use of the appeal of the old idea of *dharma* that everyone should set apart at least one-sixth of his income for charity. The idea presupposes the legitimacy of property but regulates its use by stipulating that the owner should contribute a share in its yield for the alleviation of the sufferings of the less fortunate. The idea of *dan* and *dharma* carries this element of social responsibility or trusteeship in an ethical sense. The State was entitled to a share of income for the maintenance of its organisation for law and order and defence. But the basis of ownership of property was not infringed. Bhoodan moved within reasonable limits so long as it worked within the orbit of voluntary gift of a part of the landowners' holdings, leaving the rest undamaged. The basis was that land ownership was a necessary good and that the landless should be enabled to acquire land as the instrument of contented labour and well-being.

Vinoba And Communists

The Communist Party of India, true to its Marxist heritage and Stalinist discipline, started by opposing this bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave. They thought that he was stealing their thunder and stealing the hearts of the village poor and getting them aligned with the Congress and the Government. Apart from this reason, they also knew that the mere distribu-

tion of land to the landless was not enough to bring about a Communist society. For if the reform stopped at this stage, it would only result in a universalisation of property and the strengthening of its hold in the minds of villagers. But the end and aim of communism is quite the opposite of this consumation. Marxist communism aims not at a fair distribution of land as a permanent institution but at its *abolition* in the final stage. The slogan—land to the tiller—in their mouths is consciously regarded as applicable only to the first stage of “land reform” in which the landless are won for the Party by the offer of land. Then comes the second stage in which peasants are hustled by various inducements and administrative ruses such as favouritism in Government grants of credit and differential prices (and the threat of violent coercion in the last resort) into *collective farms* in which individual holdings are pooled and individual ownership is gradually extinguished. For, according to the basic tenet of Marxism, *all property is theft* and the peasant should be cured of his passion for ownership of land.

Tyranny of State Ownership

This land policy is on all fours with the industrial policy of communism, namely, complete centralisation of the ownership and management of all industrial and commercial establishments. Individual property thus both in land and in economic life is eliminated and *socialist property* in the hands of the State becomes the rule. The motive is to destroy the differences of class entailed by capitalism between owners and non-owners. All citizens become members of the same proletariat, owning nothing, and therefore, at the mercy of the governing group. The class of owners is eliminated but the much stronger and more vicious class of Government and Party officialdom is created in its place. For capitalists cannot wield absolute power and oppress the “have-nots” to an extent even remotely approaching the tyranny of the holders of State power.

Today collective farming is embarked upon in communist states for obtaining direct and unconditional control of the agricultural crop, which they can trade for advanced technological goods from Russia, Czechoslovakia and other States of the communist bloc. The peasants become mere wage slaves and must be content with the wages and grains given to them. There is no free market in which they can sell even the products of any tiny bit of free holding they might be given in the earlier stage. The Government is the only purchaser.

The inevitable result of all these “reforms” is the loss of freedom and the reduction of the peasant proprietor, planning his own life and work on his own holding to the status of a mere serf, attached to the collective farm, under the control of the central communist government and party. This is no better than feudalism at its worst.

When people appreciated bhoodan, they did so under the impression that the disciple of Gandhi was achieving the solution in non-violent and voluntary ways of the problem of the landless poor in the countryside. It was hoped that this would give new hope and courage to them, set them on the road of a self-respecting life of independent peasant proprietorship

and give them status in the village society. The way would be cleared for the organisation of village life on co-operative lines giving villagers the benefits of technology and credit, of wholesale purchase and sale through co-operative societies.

Trapped By Communist Snare

But today in the Sarvodaya conference held at Kaladi in Kerala, Vinoba Bhave has gone beyond the limited idea of bhoodan or land gifts, within the limits of property ownership, (only equalising it among the villagers), to the definitely communist idea of its extinction altogether. He had, for some time, preferred *gram dan*—the gift of the entirety of the lands belonging to people in a village. All the peasants give all their lands to the village as a whole and the village panchayat will arrange for their joint cultivation and distribution of the proceeds of the harvest among all workers. This is very near communism. Once the peasant surrenders his holding, he has to live at the mercy of the panchayat or other body in charge of all land. Under communism, all the lands of the village are managed as a single farm by a committee of the farmers or by party officials.

The Central Communist Government determines the prices, wages, the portion to be set apart for capital investment and the portion to be given to the State. Democratic management soon becomes a mockery. *Gram Dan* is bound to approximate to this outcome by the very nature of the case in course of time. There is a difference of outlook between Vinoba Bhave and the communist in regard to the objectives of such common farming. Vinoba pins his faith to village self-sufficiency in grain and the other consumer needs of the people. He is for small-scale cultivation without mechanisation and the employment of the latest technology. He is not anxious for any phenomenal increase in this level of production.

The Government of Mr. Nehru and the leaders of the Congress Party are supporting the *bhoodan* movement for their own reasons of party popularity. But Mr. Nehru seems to have the further objective of making the movement the thin end of the wedge to enable the starting of co-operative or collective farms on a large scale. He said recently that the Planning Commission had committed itself unanimously for co-operative farms and that they must be introduced on a large scale in the near future, but added as a sop and consolation that, of course, it must be done democratically through persuasion. He warned that in the *Gram Dan* villages, land should *not* be returned to the villagers, as it would only reinforce their passion for individual holdings. He is hoping, it is clear, that the new aspect of *bhoodan* viz. *gram dan* is looked upon as introducing the climate of non-possession in the villagers which might be used by the Government for introducing collective farming with its stress on increased output through mechanisation. This will furnish the agricultural basis or surplus for the capital needed for rapid industrialisation on scales comparable with those in Russia and China. Thus will the atmosphere and motive and initial success of *bhoodan* and *sarvodaya* pass into the techniques of communism and totalitarianism.

Of course increased output on the basis of the application of increasingly efficient technology and human management is a necessary and desirable goal if plenty is to be achieved. But the goal is not worth anything and even turns into a monstrous evil, if it entails the loss of human freedom and the treatment of man as food for the machine in peace and war. Thus at Kaladi, bhodan and sarvodaya lost their original nature and inspiration and came to merge into the communist goal of propertyless organisations of human labour.

Anarchism, as a social goal, also believes in such co-operative or collective ownership of all property whose use is to be regulated and its products distributed through good-will and understanding without the coercive agency of government or village council. But it has not persuaded anybody except a small number of enthusiasts that such free co-operation in

production and distribution without coercion is possible to human beings at the present stage of human development, Primitive communism is one thing at the stage of food gathering and hunting. But communism at the level of machine industry and collective farming quite another.

Even Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has supported Vinoba Bhave in this latest stage of the abolition of all property. He thinks that such abolition is essential for the higher stage of socialist society. This is pure Marxism bound to evolve into some degree of Leninism and Stalinism but with the inevitable destruction of freedom and the suppression of individuality. This is what happens when leaders seized with half baked ideas adopted through imitation of foreign movements become legislators and are accepted as such by society.

Motive Behind Pak Campaign

To Hide Internal Chaos and Frustration

By "Vigilant"

THERE is a method in the madness of the Pakistan rulers in their systematic campaign of hate and hatred against India. The latest Lahore incident in which five Indian nationals, two of whom were members of the Lahore office of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, their handcuffing and their public humiliation, are but the symptoms that the rulers of Pakistan have nothing to offer their people than their hatred of India and her Government. During the last ten years not a single opportunity was lost by Pakistani rulers to insult and humiliate India. To begin with, against all canons of international law, the offices and the premises of the officials of the Indian High Commissioner at Karachi were watched and guarded by Police. India and her Government put up with this insult without protest. Another glaring case of deliberate insult to India was the non-invitation of the Indian High Commissioner to the public receptions given to the Indonesian statesman Dr. Sastromadjojo. This was followed by hooting and catcalls against the Indian High Commissioner during the celebration of the Pakistan Republic Day at the official function. There was no protest against the public insult to the Indian representative at Karachi. But what was still more shocking was the fact that Prime Minister Nehru volunteered to offer an explanation on behalf of Karachi. When the head of a State, instead of taking a strong and self-respecting attitude, stoops to win the affection and friendship of a country that swears enmity to India, India, as a sovereign and independent nation, cannot expect any better treatment from Karachi. Our Prime Minister may have his own personal likes and dislikes about the rulers of Pakistan but as a head of a nation, it is his first duty to see that no insult, conscious or unconscious, is offered to India

by any nation with whom we are on diplomatic relations. And if any insult is offered, diplomatic relations should end immediately.

The latest Lahore incident is one more example of the Pak aggression towards Indians and Indian honour. The whole affair seems to have been planned and deliberate. Taking even the statement of the policeman on duty that the car was parked in a wrong place, civilised methods of police conduct required a simple warning, or at most, the taking down of the number of the offending driver of the car, and prosecution following. But to arrest the owner of the car and his friend, to send for the sub-inspector, who comes ready with handcuffs, their marching on foot, their detention in the lock-up, even when their diplomatic status was pointed out to the police, the flimsiest and utterly false charges that they were under the influence of drink, though the doctor's report is in favour of the arrested persons; all these clearly prove that it was a deliberately planned affair with the sole object of insulting India and her nationals. In fact there was no need of an enquiry. These facts are admitted by both the police and the arrested persons. It was a clear case where India should have immediately called for an unconditional apology and suitable amends to the injured persons. But no such things were called for by our rulers steeped in Budhistic philosophy.

But, as usual, India sent one of her protest notes, which from our past experience, was consigned to the waste paper basket by the Pakistani authorities. The Governor of West Pakistan the next day promised an inquiry. But as is the common experience of India during these ten years, the inquiry has now evaporated and an insulting "explanation" of the incident has
(Continued on page 14)

Krishna Menon Made Reputation for Himself but Lost the Reputation of India

By A. M. Rosenthal
in "New York Times"

MR. KRISHNA MENON is no longer just a foreign-policy mouthpiece but a diplomat of interest to diplomats. He is something of a national hero, something of a national leader, one of the best known Indians within India and outside India. He has become a politician, elected to Parliament from a Bombay "prestige" constituency. His voice is heard and listened to, not only on matters of foreign policy but on matters of economics, finance, defence, appointments and planning. There is no man aside from Prime Minister Nehru, who has so much influence in the machinery of the Indian Government.

This prestige is fairly recent. Only a few years ago top-ranking men within the Indian ministries disliked Mr. Krishna Menon and were particularly bold to say so. They disliked him for one of the reasons he has been disliked at the United Nations—for his acid tongue. He has charm, but it is a charm rarely shown except to intimate friends, children and a small group of Westerners, who like to tell themselves that they know the real Krishna Menon.

Dislike, Jealousy And Fear

To people who work under him he is generally unkind. They have to take it, but they do not have to like it. Civil servants also do not have to like the fact that men who have inched their way to the bureaucratic top have had to bow to the administrative and policy decisions, and verbal whippings of a newcomer.

The dislike and jealousy are still there, but to them has been added a new element—fear.

Mr. Krishna Menon runs the Ministry of External Affairs and has a lot to do with other Ministries. It is much better for career purposes to be known as Krishna Menon man than otherwise.

And just as his power in the Foreign Office has grown, so his role in the political life of the country has expanded, too.

For the first time in his life, this man who has never been considered as a "pukka" Congressman, holds elected office in India. Not much more than a year ago some of the men close to Mr. Nehru were fighting to keep Mr. Krishna Menon out of the Cabinet. They lost their fight.

As senior Cabinet member, he sits on more Cabinet committees than anybody else except Mr. Nehru. And some day his listing in the Government Register may be changed from "W.P." (without portfolio) to "Minister of External Affairs."

New Popularity

More interesting than the new fear of the civil servants and the new recognition of the politicians has

been the new admiration for him that seems to be growing in the press and in the public. Just a few months ago, Indian Socialist leaders were saying that his immediate flash reaction to the Soviet attack on Hungary—that it was just a civil conflict—made them ashamed to be Indians. Big men in the Government added their protest, privately. A knowing Indian correspondent took this reporter aside and said that a word has come from the "High Command" that Mr. Krishna Menon was through, absolutely.

Things changed. The Socialists still detest him, but in the Congress Party nobody dares say a public word against him. And he has paid back those who once dared. As spokesman for the Government he has been permitted to adopt an approach that in the United States would be called MacCarthyism—that criticism against him amounts to a "stab in the back" for India.

An Indian editor, who once wrote that Mr. Krishna Menon was bright enough, but had a warped personality and should be taken out of his diplomatic posts, seems to have changed his mind. He now writes that the Minister Without Portfolio symbolizes the passion of India—"her faith and fortitude".

A National Hero

It was the United Nations debates on Kashmir in January and February that brought about the opportunity for Krishna Menon's name to become that of a hero. India felt that the world was against her, and he symbolized a dogged fight against world opinion, against majority votes, against the "ganging up" of the West.

It was Mr. Nehru who grabbed this opportunity. He told the people of Bombay that Mr. Krishna Menon was busy fighting the good fight for India and that a vote for him was a vote for Nehru and India. The Government distributed a twenty-minute picture of Mr. Krishna Menon making a speech at the United Nations. The newspapers got the point and pictures of him at the Security Council table, if they were not captioned "Hero of India" were captioned "The Front".

Colour Consciousness

Mr. Krishna Menon owes everything he has achieved in India to Mr. Nehru.

The years that Mr. Nehru spent in and out of jails, fighting the battle of Indian freedom, Mr. Krishna Menon spent in London. It was a life of poverty and endless political debates, in chilly, unfurnished rooms. The Indian became a Marxist and fought for the Labour Party. He was elected to the Council of the Borough of St. Pancras.

Those were the years that gave him a taste for

things British. He wears the flowing robes of south India at home for reasons of comfort and politics. Abroad he is Saville Row.

Those were also years, his friends say, when the scars of colour consciousness that many educated Indians carry, were burned into his spirit. In his London days he already showed the abilities that were to mark his career—among them the ability to make a few devoted friends and many devoted enemies. Always there was a drive to get in the insult first. Perhaps it came from the colour sensitivity, or from loneliness. Whatever the causes, he has not outgrown them.

In those London years, too, Mr. Krishna Menon fought for India, in his own way. Indian independence was forged in India by Indians, but it was made possible without civil war because Britain and the Britishers were ready for it. Mr. Krishna Menon and the India League he formed played an important part in making Britain psychologically ready. For years he led a group of quick-minded young Indians who argued the case of Indian independence in a place where it was important to argue it—the capital of the masters of India.

Those were the years, too, in which Messrs Krishna Menon and Nehru grew close. To the credit of his political acumen and the advantage of his career, the younger man tied his fortunes to Mr. Nehru before the latter became India's leader.

The former High Commissioner became important

to the rest of the world in 1952 when he was sent to the United Nations as deputy chief of a delegation headed by Mme Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, the sister of the Prime Minister. They took an enthusiastic dislike to each other. They contradicted each other's cablegrams to Mr. Nehru and contradicted each other's orders to the delegation.

Lost The Reputation Of His Country

Mr. Krishna Menon made a reputation for himself at the United Nations and he lost a reputation for his country.

He became involved in negotiations about virtually every international controversy on the agenda. Since everybody knows that his voice is the echo of the voice of a considerably more important man, he has been listened to carefully. Admiring Indians, incidentally, lose sight of the fact that he is listened to so carefully, NOT JUST BECAUSE HE IS HIMSELF BUT BECAUSE HE SPEAKS FOR INDIA.

There is a certain amount of the atmosphere of the Moghul court in Indian public life. If Mr. Nehru's influence were to disappear tomorrow, there are enough civil servants, politicians and businessmen in India who dislike and fear Mr. Krishna Menon to destroy him. But if Mr. Nehru builds him up for five years or so, it is possible that he will emerge as the Indian Left Wing's answer to the struggle for control between the Left and the Right that will start when Mr. Nehru goes.

COMMUNISM—Not An Ideology But A Conspiracy

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

THE Communist Party does not believe in the ballot-box. The Congress government cannot be changed through the ballot-box said Mr. A. K. Gopalan, the communist leader, at a public meeting in Hoshiarpur (reported in "Hindustan Times" dated May 12, 1952).

Another communist leader, Mr. P. Sunderayya, declared on September 4, 1953, that the members of his party were in parliament to see that the Indian Constitution was wrecked and replaced by a new Constitution. (Reported in "Times of India" dated September 5, 1953). He further denied that he and his colleagues had accepted the Constitution of India in seeking election to parliament.

Can a party which wants to wreck our Constitution contest the elections under our constitution when there is a specific provision in our constitution that persons owing allegiance to our constitution alone are qualified to contest the elections?

When the British Government of India lifted its ban on the C.P.I. on July 26, 1942, Mr. P. C. Joshi, the then General-Secretary of the C.P.I. gave the following

statement to the Reuter representative immediately after the latter brought the news of the lifting of the ban, according to the Communist journal "Peoples' War" dated July 6, 1942:—"We are the Indian party of Lenin and Stalin, the great leaders of the people whose teaching and work finds expression in the epic existence of the Soviet people which the peoples of the world seek to emulate in their own lands".

Mr. S. A. Dange, the communist leader, very recently declared after the communist victory in Kerala, that people should know clearly that he and his party-men were Marxist-Leninists.

A Stooge Of Moscow

That the C.P.I. is a limb of Communist International, led by Russia, is clear from its statute No. 3 which says, "All parties comprising the Communist International bear the names of the Communist parties of the given country."

Can a party of Lenin and Stalin (As Mr. P. C. Joshi described it) and a limb of Communist International contest the elections under our Constitution?

Now, what does the party of Lenin and Stalin say? Stalin says in "Problems of Leninism": "Does not the history of all revolutionary movement show that the parliamentary struggle is a school for and aid in organising extra-parliamentarianism of the struggle of the proletarians, that under capitalism (India is still considered as a capitalist country by the C.P.I. as well as Kremlin) the fundamental problems of the working class movement are solved only by force, by direct struggle of the proletarian masses and their insurrections?"

Lenin & Democracy

Lenin also has said, "The Communist party cannot play the game of democracy for any purpose other than that of disintegrating and destroying it and establishing proletarian dictatorship in its place. Given the end, it is necessary to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion and concealment of truth." Communism is related to the bourgeoisie state by Lenin as a bomb to its target.

Can a party of Lenin and Stalin which wants to seize power through force, violence and insurrections and by destroying democracy contest the elections under our Constitution?

Programme of the "Armed Struggle" by the C.P.I. (a pamphlet published by the Hyderabad government-1950) says: "Revolution can be achieved only through guerilla warfare" Can a party which is determined to bring about a revolution through guerilla warfare contest the elections under our Constitution?

The present tactical line of the C.P.I. is only for the purpose of protecting the growth of its secret programmes and coordinating the secret with the open work in order to overthrow violently our constitutionally elected government. Their decision to give up violent means in favour of constitutional means is only to provide, as Lenin has said, a period of recuperation for the proletariat so that they can prepare for the future tasks with more vigour. Mao Tse Tung says in his private lectures entitled "Present strategy and tactics of the Chinese Communist party" "to give up the policy of direct attack temporarily for retreating tactics of parliamentarianism is really adopting deviating tactics of attack".

Only A Ruse

The adoption of legal and constitutional means by the C.P.I. is only a facade to conceal its preparation for armed insurrection.

The highly secret document entitled "Not Peaceful but Revolutionary Path" (Document A.) which was circulated only among the members of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. gives a blue-print of the real programme of the C.P.I., combining legal and extra-legal, violent and non-violent methods for creating "Partisan armies out of urban and rural elements of the population." This secret document came into the hands of the Democratic Research Service which subsequently published the full text of all secret documents and made them available to the editors of all leading papers in India.

This tactical line document (Document A) which commanded the assent of all leaders representing different trends in the party was brought in 1951 by a commission consisting of Messrs. S. A. Dange, A.K.

Ghosh, Rajeshwar Rao, and Basave Punnaiah who went underground to Moscow after the collapse of Raridive's insurrectionary line adopted by the C.P.I. in Calcutta which completely demoralised and disorganised the Communist party of India. This "tactical line" document was subsequently adopted with minor amendments at the All India party conference in October, 1951.

No impartial person will doubt the authenticity of these secret documents. If these documents, as Mr. A. K. Ghosh, the General Secretary of the C.P.I. said were 'false' and 'crude forgery', both the publisher and the Democratic Research Service could have been sued by the C.P.I.

The Tactical Line

The C.P.I. did not dare to do so lest it may be further exposed in the court. The following are the extracts from the "Tactical Line" document:—

1. The immediate main objectives set forth in the draft programme of the C.P.I. cannot be realised by the peaceful parliamentary way. These objectives can be realised only through a revolution by overthrowing the present Indian State and its replacement by a people's democratic state.

2. The C.P.I. has always held that in the present colonial set-up in India and in view of the absence of genuine democratic liberties, legal and parliamentary possibilities are restricted and that therefore the replacement of the present state upholding the imperialist feudal order by a people's democratic state is possible through an armed revolution of the people. The concrete experience of the last three years in India after the so-called transfer of power has only confirmed the thesis.

3. Wrong and distorted ideas have prevailed in our party ranks, about the exact character of the armed struggle and the exact form it will have to take in order to ensure victory. On the basis of wrong understanding of the experience of the Chinese revolution the theses was put forward that Indian revolution would develop exactly in the same way as the revolution in China. In these respects, the situation in India is different. We have no army to start with it has to be created. Above all, the geographical position of India is such that we cannot expect to have a friendly neighbouring state which can serve as a firm and powerful rear.

(To be continued)

AN ADDITIONAL FEATURE TO "INDIAN LIBERTARIAN"

From the next issue of the "Indian Libertarian"—June 15—a four-page Supplement will be added containing articles of permanent value and of ideological importance. The Supplement will be run by Mr. B. S. Sanyal who is in charge of the R. L. Foundation Research Department.

This Supplement will be added to the "Indian Libertarian" without any increase in the price.

To Assure A Regular Supply of the "Libertarian" Send Your Annual Subscription of Rs. 3.50 Immediately.

Plea For Unitary Finance In India

By P. Kodanda Rao

Servants of India Society.

THE current Finance Commission, the second of its kind, was appointed under Article 280 of the Constitution with a view to recommending the distribution between the Centre and each of the provinces the divisible revenues of the Centre and the grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India. The approach is federal, of financial partnership between the Centre and the provinces, so as to make each as autonomous as possible for five years. The partners are, however, unequal. The Centre is the senior partner, and the provinces are junior partners. The latter depend on the former for financial assistance for a variety of purposes. Indeed, Article 275 of the Constitution envisages a permanent dependence of the latter on the former for financial stability and progress.

In A Pickwickian Sense

The federal approach to Indian finance seems a play on words, for India is not a "federation". The "autonomy" of a unit in a federation is a myth when the unit itself can be abolished by the Centre. The erstwhile Princely States have been eliminated; the erstwhile Indian provinces have been "re-organised" and reduced in number, thereby eliminating the identity of some. India is a federation only in the Pickwickian sense!

In view of the differential financial responsibilities of the Centre and the provinces, the allocation of autonomous revenues to each seems as difficult as unnecessary. The financial needs of the Centre cannot easily be foreseen and limited. It has to finance the administration of the Central subjects normally and the Concurrent and even Provincial subjects occasionally, directly or indirectly. It has to finance and equalise development in all the provinces through the single Planning Commission. In case of war and civil disturbance, famines and floods and other contingencies, it has to find the necessary finance. Hardly a single province has raised enough finance for its developments, but almost every one of them has looked hopefully to the Centre. Provinces find it more comfortable to frame deficit budgets and ask the Centre to balance them. It is highly demoralising. The taxpayers, who have ultimately to find the moneys, are concerned primarily with the incidence of taxation rather than the agency which collects it, Centre or the Province; they are concerned to see that it has relation to their paying capacity. The attempt to divide taxes and revenues into two fairly watertight compartments one for the Centre and the other for the Provinces, is likely to be unsatisfactory in any event. The best course seems to be to standardise the taxes on an all-India basis and pool all the revenues into a single fund, and then make annual allocations for different expenditure items, to equalise progress on an all-India basis.

Such unitary approach to Indian finance will, if only

incidentally, strengthen the political unity of India, which is in some danger because of linguistic loyalties.

More Revenue From Better Sources

The real problem seems to be to increase the revenues of India to finance the Second Five Year Plan, with minimum external aid and with least danger of inflation, and at the same time rationalise the tax system, primarily with a view to adjusting the incidence to the paying capacity of the tax-payers.

More finance must be found firstly by *economy* in the current expenditure, and secondly, by *extra taxation*. The *Provincial Governments* may well be abolished, if only in the interests of economy. The Centre can administer the Provincial subjects as democratically as the Central subjects, and with greater economy and efficiency than the present Provincial Governments. The people, particularly the tax-payers, will be better off. Since the Planning Commission makes plans for all the Provinces, and the Centre finds most of the funds, the Provincial Governments are today no more than agents of the Centre, like any of the Union Departments directly under the Centre.

The *Defence expenditure* may safely be halved and kept a little above that of Pakistan from its own resources. If America and Britain should aid Pakistan against India, India has no chance even if she doubled her defence expenditure. It seems odd that India should spend over Rs. 200 crores on Defence, and either starve development, or risk inflation, or seek external aid with strings, implicit, if not explicit.

The *Salt-tax* may be re-levied. Its incidence can be so low that none feels it a burden, but since practically the whole population contributes, the revenue is likely to be handsome.

Next, an *Adult tax* may be levied. A tax of one rupee per adult per annum may not be felt burdensome, and since it is spread over the large adult population, it is likely to yield substantial revenue. In administering this tax, there is likely to be one difficulty the less. The list of adults is readily available, since it is made and kept upto-date for electoral purposes.

A Revision Needed

The current taxes may be reviewed from the point of view of incidence in relation to paying capacity. In this connection, the current *excise taxes on intoxicants* call for review, without necessarily approving Prohibition, notwithstanding the Constitution. The incidence of those taxes is unconsciously high. It can be defended on the ground that it was meant to reduce consumption and not to increase revenue, even as protective duties are pitched high to reduce imports. From the point of view of reducing consumption, the

(Continued on page 15)

MOTIVES BEHIND PAK CAMPAIGN

(from page 9)

been officially published by the Pakistan Government. The car of the officer of the Indian (known to be) Deputy High Commissioner has not been returned as yet.

Weak-kneed Attitude

The latest Lahore incident will be only one more addition to the long and continuous list of insults by Pakistan against India. By our Buddhistic attitude, or more correctly, our weak-kneed and spineless behaviour, we are in fact inviting more insults from Karachi. Patience and forbearance are valued virtues, both in individuals and in nations, but patience and forbearance have their limits. And when that limit is reached it is time for action and for strong retort. Any self-respecting nation, faced with such an insult of our diplomatic personnel received at Lahore, would have had no hesitation in *breaking off* diplomatic relations with Pakistan. But our national humiliation is that our Prime Minister is wedded to co-existence and "panchsheela" and has a large heart to forget ALL the insults to Indian national honour and forgive the perpetrators of the same.

In Love With Hate

These embittered Indo-Pakistani relations are very well analysed by Anuerin Bevan in one of his articles in an Indian English daily. Says he :

"In all my experience I have not known newspapers doing this (carrying on hate hatred) with the avidity and abandon that I experienced in Karachi. Editors write with no restraint, with little regard for truth and with a venom amounting to complete irresponsibility. I HAVE NEVER KNOWN A PEOPLE SO MUCH IN LOVE WITH HATE".

The explanation for this state of affairs is equally clear and understandable. According to Mr. Bevan, while India, despite the wounds of partition and the massacres that followed it, with the massive exodus of Sikh and Hindu refugees, has managed her affairs with grit and courage. India had had to bear two general elections, her plans for economic and social development, and lastly her stable government. As against these developments in India, Pakistan has nothing to show but a negative record on her national slate. Let us quote Bevan's words :

"Unfortunately this is not the case with Pakistan. Although it is nine years since Pakistan achieved independence IT HAS NOT YET HELD A SINGLE NATIONAL ELECTION... The national outlines of her future destiny are as yet still blurred... Far from new areas being brought under cultivation leaders of Pakistan are disturbed by the knowledge that 60,000 to 70,000 acres of land are going out of cultivation every year due to salination of the soil." •

Mr. Bevan goes on to say that these are troublesome facts and require long-range planning and pati-

ence which the people and rulers of Pakistan do not seem to possess. In the circumstances he says, "it is all too easy to enjoy the refreshment of a good quarrel." That according to him explains the *raison d'être* of Indo-Pakistani tension. This explanation of Mr. Bevan is partially true, but is not the whole truth. The real fact of the matter is that the creation of Pakistan—with two wings of the so-called nation being separated by over a thousand miles—was a concession given by the British imperialists to Muslim fanaticism, and as a parting kick to the Indian Nationalists and Freedom Fighters. Theocratic fanaticism and hatred of Hinduism cannot form the basis of any nation. And as long as the present generation of rulers of Pakistan continue to be at the helm of affairs India cannot expect any better relations between New Delhi and Karachi. But that is no reason why India should offer herself as the willing tool for the "refreshment" of Pakistanis in their itch for a fight or quarrel. The attitude of the New Delhi Government of stooping to conquer Pakistan by love and decency is bound to fail. Tit for tat should be the motto of New Delhi in her dealings with Karachi. Sweet words and arguments do not carry convictions with a bully but a stout stick does the job.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 4)

It is a fearful impost on all sectors of the economic life. It introduces wealth and expenditure taxes without adequate discussion and preparation of the public mind. In principle, they sin against privacy and liberty. The tax on wealth involves the exposure to the scrutiny of the income tax official every scrap of wealth and property, every bit of jewel or heirloom, every bit of valuable in the house. With such a complete inventory of the property and wealth of citizens, it is open to the Government, at any time, to raise the rate of impost. It opens the door to endless harassment of the innocent citizen. It is a blow to democracy, for the number of fearless independent citizens will diminish disastrously. Opposition parties will become more difficult to form. So too the expenditure tax. This will entail the maintenance of accounts with vouchers for every bit of expenditure in daily life which is a misery. It is a temptation for the official to extract bribes or hush money in case of deficient accounts. These are invasions of the sacred precincts of the private lives of citizens. In England, every man's home is his castle. Sardar Patel promised that after the abolition of the rights of the Rajas *every man will be treated as a raja*. But these taxes reduce every sovereign citizen to the status of a *trembling slave* before the all-powerful official. Political opponents can be demoralised through this new weapon in the armoury of the ruling groups.

The imposts on all articles of daily use, and even on food and paper and the large extension of import duties on hundreds of articles, will raise prices all round. This is a sin against libertarianism for it sacrifices the welfare of the present generation of citizens to the problematic good of future generations.

The Mind Of The Nation

CONGRESS INTOXICATED WITH POWER

Though virtually enjoying the monopoly of power at the Centre and in most of the States, the Congress today is moving farther and farther away from the people. It has alienated a substantial section of the middle-class, and even though in rural and culturally backward areas its influence is still evident, other political parties are not sitting idle either.

The fact is so obvious that the Congress leaders cannot afford to ignore it. Mr. Dhebhar, the Congress President, has taken note of it, and has asked the members of the Party "to strengthen the party's link with all layers of society." But the intoxication of power has corrupted the organisation thoroughly. It no longer draws its supporters from the people with whom a shred of idealism is left—which of course is not to say that all idealism is on the other side. But the fact remains that Congressmen throughout the country are known today by their inordinate lust for power and privilege arising out of their party being in power.

—Radical Humanist.

TOTALITARIAN TRENDS—CONTROL OF BANKING

Mr. C. H. Bhabha, President of the Indian Banks Association, has rightly stated that "the highly personalised business of banking has become in India a semi-mechanical business governed by official circulars. "One of the major factors in the control of private business is the control of the credit system,

(Continued from page 13)

high excise taxes have been a failure. Consumption can be better controlled by rationing than by high taxation which increases both licit and illicit consumption.

Further, the excise taxes are paid by a small minority of the people of India, who are economically the poorest and politically weakest, like chamars, dhobis, unskilled labourers and Harijans and aboriginals. They are collected by speculating contractors who bid the highest at annual public auctions for the right of retail sale, and have perforce to make maximum profits in minimum time, and often resort to adulteration of liquor with deleterious materials. The bulk of the revenue is paid by the consumers when they are inebriate and not sober. Increase in excise revenue has always been a matter of apology than congratulation. These taxes, in so far as they are levied, should have relation to the capacity to pay of the tax-payers. No net revenue, much less increasing revenue, should be sought from them.

Some of the above recommendations may not, be inappropriate if it referred to them if only in a supplementary appendix, if it considers them reasonable and desirable.

and since Independence our Government has so effectively shackled credit that it has become virtually impossible for medium and small industry to borrow money for its just requirements.....

Having deprived the banking system of the country of its rightful liberty to transact business, the Government has yet stepped into another field of business activity. This is obvious from the establishment of the many finance corporations at the Central and State levels. The most recent in this line is the scheme of Government to aid small-scale industry by offering machinery and loans.

But as bank credit dries up and the small businessmen are forced to borrow money from the Government, they will lose their traditional freedom. Once you borrow money from the Government you become the stooge and no longer free. It is indeed a deep plan that bureaucracy have worked out for the attrition of private trade and industry in the country.

—Mysindia.

WORLD BANK CRITICISES PAK FIRST PLAN

KARACHI: In a critical survey of Pakistan's First Five-Year Plan, which will complete two years by the end of this month, the World Bank Mission is reported to have listed "defective administration" in the country as a barrier to the maximum and economical utilisation of financial and material resources now becoming available.

The World Bank's report has been kept a closely guarded secret by the authorities, though it is not a confidential document. The reason for the secrecy is understandable, except when it is realised that the Plan, which is supposed to have come into effect from April 1, 1955, is still a subject of deep controversy.

The World Bank has expressed the opinion that the Rs. 1,160 crores of expenditure envisaged under the Plan—Rs. 800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 360 crores in the private sector—is too large and that the outlay could be sheared down to Rs. 990 crores.

The World Bank's report points out that the cost of the import of food grains has not been taken into account in drafting the Plan. This cost is estimated at Rs. 140 crores during the Plan period, or Rs. 28 crores annually.

Major obstacle to the successful implementation of the Plan, according to the World Bank report, are a shortage of technical and managerial personnel, defective administration and the limitations of internal finance.

The dominant criterion of the planners, the report points out, is the net effect on the balance of payments rather than the contribution to national income and the utilisation of the natural advantages while the country possesses in raw materials and the plentiful supply of cheap labour.

—Times of India

Our Bangalore Letter

DOG FIGHTS AMONGST MYSORE CONGRESSMEN

The history of Mysore Pradesh Congress is essentially the history of its leaders with their ever changing loyalty from one group in the Congress to another, and alignment and realignment of different groups, each group plotting against the other. The party is completely dominated by feudal elements, communalists, reactionaries, opportunists and power-mongers, who shift their loyalty from the ruling group to the opposition group within the Congress on slightest pretext. They are virtually the "king-makers" here—rather "Chief Minister"-makers. The ruling group, in order to keep itself in power, has to keep these diverse elements perpetually in good humour. The Chief Minister can never be sure of the loyalty of his own followers, and so he has to tour the whole State from time to time to ascertain the needs of the various group leaders and propitiate them with loaves and fishes of office. He is so engrossed in safeguarding and preserving his own chief minister-ship that he has little time to think of the welfare of the people.

PLOT AGAINST CHIEF MINISTER

It is hardly two months since Mr. Nijalingappa was "unanimously" elected as the leader of the Congress legislative party, and already there are reports of a plot to overthrow him by the various disgruntled leaders.

"A united front" of all disgruntled and "unpropitiated" congress leaders like Huch Maste Gowda, Kadidal Manjappa, Veeranna Gowda, Bhimappa Naik, Sahukar Channaih, T. Subhramanyam, Ambli and the former chief minister Hanumanthaiya, has been forged to pull down Nijalingappa and install Mr. Kadidal Manjappa, who commands the confidence of all these group leaders. The wonder of all wonders is that Mr. Hanumanthaiya, having lost all hopes of becoming chief minister again, has now made a common cause with the very leaders who pulled him down and with the sole object of ousting Nijalingappa from power

and, Mr. T. Subhramanyam, a great friend of Mr. Nijalingappa, till quite recently, has also aligned himself with this group against his erstwhile friend Mr. Nijalingappa. The main reason for the rift between Mr. Subhramanyam and Mr.

Nijalingappa is said to be the latter's refusal to consult the former in forming the ministry!

The coming Speaker's election in Mysore will be virtually a vote of no confidence in Nijalingappa. The opposition group in the Congress wants to set up Mr. Subhramanyam for Speakership against Mr. Kanti, proposed to be set up by Mr. Nijalingappa. Mr. Nijalingappa's Ministry is in for a downfall.

Indian News Parade

SOME HOME TRUTHS FROM EX-MINISTER ON BUDGET PROPOSALS

New Delhi: Ironically enough, the all-party assault on the budget proposals was led by Mr. Krishnamachari's former colleague, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who initiated the debate with a forthright assertion as "a housewife" the proposed excises were "very, very harsh and likely to make life impossible for the poor".

But what caused a flutter amongst her colleagues on the Congress benches, and drew applause from the Opposition, were the Rajkumari's alternative suggestions for raising the much-needed resources for the second Plan. She said that the Government should scrap Prohibition, which "was a dismal failure and would continue to be so" and reimpose the salt tax, raising the price of salt tax from 9 naye Paise to 12 naye Paise and of finer salt from 12 naye Paise to 15 naye Paise. —*Times of India*.

KERALA GOVT. CAN'T FREE CONDEMNED PRISONERS

NEW DELHI: The Union Home Minister Pant said in the Lok Sabha that a State Government was not empowered to commute a sentence of death, in a case in which the State Government had already rejected the petition, and when further, a petition has been presented to the President.

He was replying to supplementaries arising out of a question, relating to the commutation of the death sentence on a communist party worker, Vassu Pillai.

—*Evening News of India*

NEPALI REDS FOLLOW "TELANGANA" TACTICS

KHATMUNDU: Reports of lawlessness organised by the Communists in the southern districts of Nepal, where they are running some sort of a "parallel administration" are reaching Khatmunda.

In a few districts near the jungles, the communists who are following the "Telengana" tactics, are reported to have been maintaining what might be called their own jails and courts.

From one of these areas reports have just been received that communist terrorists opened fire on May 15 killing two landlords Six peasants were also injured.

—*Free Press Bulletin*.

POLITICAL CHAOS IN PAKISTAN—REPUBLICANS TO WITHDRAW FROM GOVT.?

LAHORE: Republican Party leaders have decided to withdraw from the coalition and go into opposition at the Centre, it is learnt here.

They are reported to have conveyed their decision to the Prime Minister Suhrawardhy. They will also give up their quest for power in West Pakistan.

Political observers believe that the decision has been taken as a counter to the Prime Minister's failure to restore the Republicans to power in West Pakistan.

—*Times of India*

AND A QUICK DENIAL BY DR. KHAN SAHEB

KARACHI: Dr. Khan Sahab, the deposed Chief Minister of West Pakistan, has denied reports that

his Republican Party would withdraw support to the Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardhy, at the Centre if his suspended ministry was not restored in West Pakistan.

Meanwhile Dr. Khan Saheb himself headed a deputation of top Republican leaders to demand "immediate restoration of the suspended Ministry of West Pakistan."

—*Times of India*

NOON REPEATS THE BIG LIE

KARACHI: Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Feroze Khan Noon, said here that if India carried out demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, according to the agreement, Pakistan would do the same.

Mr. Noon said that the visit of high Indian officials to Kashmir recently show that India was becoming aware of the rising tide of opposition in its occupation of the State.

These visits and statements by Indian leaders like that of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, he said, were designed to bolster up the crumbling morale of their stooges in occupied Kashmir.

"India fully knows that the day of reckoning is near and foreign oppressors will soon be ousted by freedom fighters of Kashmir," he added.

—*P.T.I.*

SIKH PILGRIMS REFUSED VISAS TO VISIT LAHORE SHRINE

KARACHI: Pakistan has refused the Government of India's request for Visas for 500 Sikh pilgrims desirous of visiting Lahore on the occasion of the martyrdom anniversary of Guru Arjun Dav on May 30.

The reason given for the refusal of visas was that the notice given was "too short". The request for the visit, it is further understood, was made first in early April.

Indian sources said here that India had entertained several requests for Pakistani pilgrims' visits to religious places in India at much shorter notice. The Government of India made special arrangements to provide travel and other facilities to Pakistani pilgrims.

—*Times of India*

MOCKERY OF 1857 CELEBRATION IN PAKISTAN

Karachi: Mr. Iftikharuddin, the

leader of the left-wing National Party told a public meeting at Gujranwalla that it was ironic that the Pakistanis to be celebrating the 1857 centenary, just at a time when the British-dominated Baghdad Pact Economic Committee was sitting in Karachi.

Mr. Iftikharuddin said that the centenary celebrations have been reduced to a mockery. For 100

years after they had tried to throw off the yoke of the British, they were again accepting the leadership of Britain and were but her camp followers.

It was a great misfortune that the feudal classes, whose members joined with the British in 1757 and later on in 1857 still dominated Pakistan's political life.

—*PTI.*

WORLD NEWS

NATO DISINTEGRATING INTO NUCLEAR ANARCHY

The veil on unmistakable signs of disintegration inside the Atlantic was lifted at the Koenigswinter conference of the Anglo-German Friendship Society which annually assembles prominent public figures from both countries.

Despite the lavish display of German hospitality and the usual protections of good fellowship and goodwill, the only real meeting of British and German minds came among the representatives of the two great opposition parties — Labour in Britain and Social Democrat in Germany—who joined together to denounce and repudiate the collective Western defence plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

A shudder of sorrow went down the spines of the British delegations at the German retort to British Whiel Paper, which came first from Dr. Adenauer himself and then from the Defence Minister—that Germany too will now demand nuclear weapons. But they were too polite to tell their hosts how alarmed they would be to see such weapons of ultimate destruction in possession of a country which has so recently run amok.

Mr. Healey, Labour MP and one of the party's foreign policy experts, commenting on the British defence white paper, said: "NATO is disintegrating into a nuclear anarchy."

—*Nora Beloff in the "Observer" (London)*

COMMUNIST "COMMONWEALTH"—A NEW NAME FOR STALINISM

Full pressure is now on for restor-

ing a form—possibly two forms—of international Communist organisation,

One project appears to aim at restoring a single doctrinaire authority for all Communist parties the other at political co-ordination of all Communist Governments in a new "commonwealth"—the phrase used in Warsaw by Mr. Chou En-lai.

Both proposals must be seen as the reaction of the Soviet leaders and of other Communist leaders tied to them, to the disastrous weakening of Soviet authority manifested in the Hungarian revolution, the Polish "declaration of independence", and in the renewal of the dispute with Yugoslavia.

However, all resistance to such a return to international centralism has not yet been overcome by any means. The speeches made during Mr. Chou En-lai's Polish visit and the final communist show clearly that the Polish Communists, while willing to reaffirm their membership in the foreign policies, refuse to subscribe either to the leading role of the Soviet Union, or to the condemnation of the Hungarian revolution or of Yugoslav revisionism.

It would seem that the Soviet leaders are now confronted with the choice of renouncing the creation of a new Comintern for the time being in order to secure full Polish co-operation on the Government level, or of creating the new ideological international without, and indeed against, the Poles, in the hope that the latter will be unable to resist isolation for long.

—*The "Observer" (London)*

Book Review

STALINISM IN ACTION IN HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY by Peter Fryer, Rupa and Company, Oak Lane, Bombay and Calcutta 12 for Dennis Dobson. 5sh.

THOUGH there are many and diverse versions of the happenings in Hungary when the whole population, specially the students and the workers, rose in revolt against the communist regime in that country, this book by an eyewitness is one of the most important documents of those fateful days. And what is more, the writer of the book is, or rather was a member of the British Communist Party and an accredited correspondent of the British communist paper, *The Daily Worker*. That gives to the book an authenticity and a value, which are undeniable, and form its chief credit.

That this young British Communist should bluntly and boldly put his narration, as he saw the events in Budapest and other parts of the country, and which cost him his job on the communist paper speaks volumes of the intellectual integrity of the man. Fourteen years of membership of the Communist Party of Britain did not blunt his intellect is very creditable. The events he saw in Hungary convinced him, as nothing could, that communism in practice is anti-democratic, anti-people, anti-humanitarian, and what is more a system that is most brutal and barbaric. This is a book that must be read by every young man and woman, specially those who are carried away by the false cries of Marxism, that communism in practice is heaven on earth.

TRUE TO JOURNALIST TRADITION

Peter Fryer at 29 has been a communist for 14 years. He was on the staff of the *Daily Worker*. In that capacity he was dispatched to Budapest to cover the Hungarian revolt. He was in Budapest from October 26 to November 11 and could see the tragic drama unfold before his very eyes. And he has

done one of the most truthful and honest jobs that ever a newspaperman was called upon to do. Though his reports were not accepted by his paper he has been true to the best traditions of independent journalism.

In reviewing the book it is better to quote the author in his own words. His narration is like a stream of live words that gush forth at every step. What started the revolt of the Hungarian people? Here is what Fryer has to say—no anti-communist nor an American hireling, flushed with dollars—but a British Red.

“The people revolted because after eight years in complete control of the country, (the Communist) had failed to give the people either happiness or security, either freedom from want or freedom from fear.... It gave them a police state as repressive and as reprehensible as the pre-war fascist dictatorship of Admiral Hogarth. The workers were exploited and bullied and lied to. The peasants were exploited, bullied and lied to.

“This was done with the help of the ubiquitous secret police. It protected the power of the ruling oligarchy. To this end it used the most abominable method, including censorship, thought control, imprisonment and murder.”

MARXIST FANATICISM

And why was all this done? Fryer has an answer for it. Says he:—

“...we communists are ALWAYS right; we know ALL the answers and if we DIDN'T the questioner has base motives....”

Here in a nutshell is the condemnation of the whole system of communist thought and practice—whether it is called Marxism, Leninism or Stalinism. All flow from the doctrinaire attitude of Marxist thinking and teaching and Marx's unfounded theory of class warfare and class-hatred. For once a communist has nailed the truth, and the whole truth, to his mast. And

naturally he ceases to be a communist any more.

The book has to be read and re-read to understand what barbarism and brutalities are perpetrated in the name of a communist regime, and the communist regime in Hungary was no exception. Here is what Fryer has to say of the actual conditions of the people of Hungary. The Hungarian Government reared on communism had a trained secret police which “tortured all communists as well as non-communists—who dared to open their mouths against injustices”.

SADISTIC TORTURES

About the most sadistic forms of torture indulged in by the secret police Fryer mentions a typical case of an old communist, “too sick and too old in pain to have any energy for hatred. The Russians had merely stuck cotton wool on his arm and set it on fire. But the Hungarian AVH men, to whom they handed him over, had pinned his genitals to a table and flogged him..... There were Gestapo-like torture chambers with whips and gallows and instruments for crushing the people's limbs..... There were batteries and tape-recorders to take down telephone conversations.... There were prostitutes retained as police spies and *agents provocateurs*. And the gang brutes of this strong arm of the “People's Democratic” State were paid 3000 to 4000 florins as men. 9,000 to 12,000 as officers—**THREE TO TWELVE TIMES THE AVERAGE WAGE**—plus luxurious flats **WHILE THOUSANDS in Budapest lived in CRAMPED ROOMS AND CELLARS.**”

This is the communist Utopia that Hungary was under the Red regime, and mind you, this description is by a communist. How can any communist, in the face of these startling disclosures, blind himself to the facts that ALL communist regimes, in the very nature of their formation, lead to brutalities and inhumanities, that pale into insignificance the so-called evils of capitalism and parliamentary democracy.

Against the false and trumped up charges that the revolt in Hungary was the result of reactionary and fascist forces, backed by outside

American help, Fryer categorically denies all these statements. He says :

"If the Americans were guilty of seeking to foster counter-revolution with Mutual Security Act, surely the Rakosis and Garoes are a hundred times more guilty for providing the soil in which the seeds sown by the Americans could grow. The mystery of how people were armed is no mystery at all. NO ONE HAS BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE A SINGLE WEAPON MANUFACTURED IN THE WEST."

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY is the shocking drama of the present-day world, where nearly half of humanity has gone under the octopus of communism, and where the Kremlin is carrying on a cold war to advance its tentacles over the remaining parts of the Free World. Mr. Fryer deserves the thanks of humanity for giving the free world an account, documented with facts and figures, and eye-witness stories, that unravel the nakedness and crudities of any communist regime. This book should help in bringing about a strong revulsion in the minds of the so called intellengtsia,

who sit on the fence of the ideological war between communism and democracy in the world. It is a MUST book for every intelligent student of contemporary world events, the more so when communists all the world over are posing as "democrats" and people's "champions". To talk of an honest and decent communist is as good as to talk of a gentlemanly burglar.

J. K. D.

BOOKS ADDED TO R. L. FOUNDATION LIBRARY

The following are the books added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Bombay, during the months of February and March:

1. Naik, K.N.; *Co-operative Movement in the Bombay State.*
2. Livingstone, R. W. (ed.); *Mission of Greece.*
3. Kolhatkar, V. Y.; *Reconstruction of Indian Agriculture.*
4. Enzic, Paul; *Economic Consequences of Automation.*
5. Thayer, Philip W. (ed.); *Nationalism and Progress in Free Asia.*
6. Muranjan, S. K.; *Modern Banking in India.*
7. Persons, T. & Bales, R. F.; *Family Socialization and Interaction Process.*
8. Masani, R. P.; *Role of Wealth in Society.*
9. Bevan, E. & Singer, C. (Eds.); *Legacy of Israel.*
10. Crump, C. G. & Jacob, E. F. (Eds); *Legacy of the Middle Ages.*
11. Desai, R. C.; *Standard of Living in India and Pakistan.*
12. Mehta, S. D.; *Indian Cotton Textile Industry; Economic Analysis.*
13. Davies, C. C.; *Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula.*
14. Kini, K. S. & Rao, U. B. S.; *Oxford Pictorial Atlas of Indian History.*
15. Somervell, D. G.; *History of the United States to 1941.*
16. Ragozin, Z. A.; *Media; Babylon and Persia.*
17. Barker, Ernest; *Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors.*
18. Kaldor, Nicholas; *Expenditure Tax.*
19. Werth, Alexander; *France, 1940-1955.*
20. Burrow, T.; *Science and Man's Behaviour.*
21. Jones, Francis S.; *No Rice for Rebels: Story of the Korean War.*
22. Bouman, P. J.; *Revolution of the Lonely.*
23. Jung, C. G.; *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology.*
24. Aron, Raymond; *Century of Total War.*
25. Brion, Marcel; *Schumann and the Romantic Age.*
26. Zinkin, Maurice; *Development for Free Asia.*
27. Russell, Bertrand; *Inquiry into Meaning and Truth.*
28. Gruber, Karl; *Between Liberation and Liberty.*
29. Glover, Edward; *Freud or Jung.*

30. Kenner, Hugh; *Wyndham Lewis.*
31. Poplai, S. L. (Ed.); *Asia and Africa in the Modern World.*
32. Conze, Edward; *Buddhist Meditations.*
33. Shroff, Aloo Dinshaw; *Conciliation and Arbitration of Industrial Disputes in India.*
34. Gardner, Richard N.; *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy.*
35. Bree, Germaine; *Marcel Proust and Deliverance from Time.*
36. Maritain, Jacques; *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry.*
37. Percy, Lord of Newcastle; *Heresy of Democracy.*
38. Ford, Lester R.; *Differential Equations.*
39. Henriques, Robert; *Red Over Green.*
40. Kohn, Hans. (Ed.); *German History: Some New German Views.*

Readers of the "Indian Libertarian"

Please Note!

For some time past we have been posting copies of the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN to persons whose names have been recommended to us by our readers. These copies have been regularly sent for over six months—a sufficient time—for these persons to have an idea of the contents of the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN.

Though ours is a non-profit making concern we cannot afford to send the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN indefinitely without receiving the subscription for it.

Those who are convinced that an Independent and Informative journal like the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN should continue and prosper, are requested to kindly send a post card to us intimating their desire to receive their copy of the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN in future and send their subscription of Rs. 3;50 nP by M. O. or P. O. so as to reach our office by the second week of June.

In case of non-receipt of a post card it will be presumed that they are not interested in the journal and NO COPIES of the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN will be sent to them from June 1957, which please note.

Manager, Indian Libertarian,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst
Road, Bombay-4.

Leading News Magazine

ORGANISER

A National Views and News
Weekly Published from Delhi
with an ALL-INDIA
circulation

Edited by K. R. MALKANI

Published By Bharat Prakashan
(Delhi) Ltd. Delhi 6.

Single Copy As. 4

Annual Subscription Rs. 12.

The Duncan Road Flour Mills

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



Write to:

THE MANAGER
DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4

Telephone: 70205 Telegram: LOTEWALLA

Agents at Poona

LALDAS AMARSEE & SONS,
437, Raviwar Peth,
Poona—2.

Telegraph add: 'STELLATEA' Telephone: 2468

Before making any of your
INSURANCE CONTRACT
kindly consult:

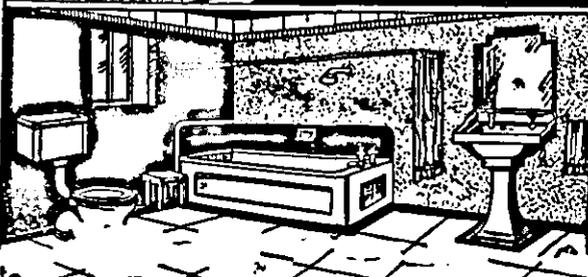
Bhaichand Damodar Esq.
BOMBAY — CALCUTTA

*A successful and immense underwriting is
done since 20 years with cent per cent
competency and sound experience.*

Telephones:

38081/38082
Bombay

6181 City
Calcutta



VICTORIA SANITARY STORES
54, 3rd, BHOIWADA, BHULESHWAR

SHRI V. H. MERCHANT
BOMBAY 2

Phone: Office 73530 Residence 40829

*For every intelligent student this book shows
the way out of present day chaos*

THE ANALYSIS OF USURY

By Jeffrey Mark

Published by

The Libertarian Publishers Ltd.,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
Bombay 4.

Price: Rs. 3/-

This is a book that analyses the basis and foundation of Usury. Today in Capitalist countries the control of credit is monopolised by banking system. This is a perversion, for the community is made to pay large sums of money by way of interest to banks for hire of money which in the last analysis, is its own credit. On the other hand Socialists understand this perversion but Socialism is corrupted by political and personal ambitions and its leaders.

This book suggests a way out

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW