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IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
<i>EDITORIAL:</i>	
India Can Still Save South-East Asia ..	2
The Nature of the Red Regime of China	
<i>By M. A. Venkata Rao</i>	5
Complacency With A Vengeance	
<i>By M. N. Tholal</i>	8
<i>ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT</i>	I—IV
<i>DELHI LETTER:</i>	
Prime Minister Frames the Issues	10
India's Strategy In Sino-Indian Conflict	
<i>By Indira Acasty</i>	13
Book Review	14
Gleanings from the Press	14
News and Views	15
Dear Editor	15



EDITORIAL

India Can Still Save South-East Asia

THE much-advertised 'Burmese Way to Socialism' has only turned out to be a broad and straight road to communist Jerusalem. There is nothing uncommon about it. Burmah has only proved that haste in political and economic matters too as in every other is not only waste but also disaster. Economic laws have their own way of wreaking vengeance against those who defy them. U. Nu, the ex-Prime Minister of Burmah was the first to realise this danger of run-away socialist planning. He therefore wisely proposed to hand over to private enterprise such of State enterprises which could not be efficiently managed by the State agencies.

But this sagacious move went against the very grain of the so called "Leftist Progressivism" of General Ne Win, and his followers. So they seized power from U. Nu about a year ago and set up a military government with the avowed object of replacing 'Parliamentary Democracy' by 'Socialist Democracy', and 'Capitalist Economy' by 'Socialist Economy.' This military junta found in the already existing Burmah Economic Development Corporation a ready-made potent instrument of State-ownership. This Corporation first took charge of the Burmah Oil Company Limited. According to this new regime, Socialist Economy meant and included socialisation of agriculture, industry, distribution, transportation and communication. It was no surprise, therefore, that within a few days after the resignation of the moderate and dogmatic Socialist Aung Gye in February last, Burmah launched upon the full programme of 'Army Socialism'. The Government announced taking over the entire rice distribution trade from next year. This was quickly followed by nationalisation of all Banks national and foreign, with only meagre compensation to be paid to the owners after assessing the value of assets not at current market prices but on the basis of the actual price paid by the owners at the time of purchase. This ingenious method of compensation to the owners had already been followed by the Ceylonese Government in their deal with U.S.A. Oil Company with the result that U.S.A. had to retaliate by suspending financial aid to Ceylone. Burmah would have to stew in her juice of her Army Socialism in the same style, with disastrous consequences on the national economy.

SHADOW OF RED IMPERIALISM

All these developments bring out in bold relief the grim fact that Red Imperialism of China is casting its ominous shadow far and wide over South-East Asia. The pro-China Reds are exercising a considerable influence over Sokarno's Government in Indonesia and are openly demanding a share in the Government. They are dominating the labour unions and controlling even Sports Associations. The result is Sokarno's 'Controlled Democracy' is fast as-

suming the form of 'People's Democracy' prevailing in the communist countries of Eastern Europe. Burmese and Cylonese Governments who are going full steam ahead with their socialist programme of nationalisation of industries and even the press, as stated above, are slowly but surely regimenting the life and thought of the people under their dictatorial rule. Pakistan on the North-Western side of India groaning under the dictatorship of Ayubkhan, is also wending her way to the Chinese Red camp. Thus all dictatorial regimes in underdeveloped South-East Asia are coming closer and closer, as if in a conspiracy to stifle and even to wipe out completely what little of democratic freedom is still lingering in countries like India and Malaya.

INDIA'S ROLE

In this struggle between Freedom and Totalitarianism going on in South-East Asia, on which side of the barricade does India stand today? Encircled as she is by pro-China nations, she cannot remain for long uncontaminated by the virus of communist totalitarianism. By now, Indian people must have realised the real reason why these small Asiatic nations are loth to condemn the aggression of China on India and are very anxious to bring about a settlement on the border question which favours China and lets down India. Indian patriots must have also realised how these small nations obsessed with the idea of rapid industrialisation, fall an easy prey to the subtle but powerful propaganda of the Red countries that the Russian or the Chinese way is the surest and quickest road to material progress and welfare. Let them therefore scent the danger that India might go the same way these small nations have gone, if she does not learn betimes how these so-called Asian Ways to Socialism—Burmese, Cylonese, etc.,—are leading these small countries into the blind alley of communist totalitarianism. India is also sure to turn red, if she does not rethink and reassess her 'Socialist Pattern' and goes on experimenting with her grandiose Plans and unrealistic foreign policies which have spelt so far nothing but economic ruin and political humiliation to the country. To those unprogressive Leftists and Fellow-travellers who in the name of 'Nehru's Socialist Pattern' and War Economy, plead for 'stronger doses of socialism' to cure the country of its present ills, we can only point out how Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism failed in increasing the living standards of the people in Russia and China, as compared with those of the 'free' leading countries of the West and how, for that reason alone, Stalin had to think of extending Russia's frontiers westwards in the thirties and the forties and how the imperialist Mao of China has now been driven to look on South-East Asian countries with a greedy eye.

A contemporary of ours recently bewailed that in this emergency India is not yet going the socialist

way even when the small nations like Burmah and Ceylon are doing so. To such dogmatic socialists our reply would be: 'We refuse to believe that Socialism is any longer a progressive ideal. We oppose this out-dated socialism by our Liberal-democratic Radicalism which believes in the power of the creative forces of private enterprise and individual freedom to promote India's material welfare and well-being and to guard her interests both in war and peace. As far war-economy, we can do no better than reply in the words of Professor Mises: "There is no record of a 'socialist' nation which defeated a 'capitalist' nation. It was not 'Socialist' Russia that aided 'capitalist' America with 'lend-and-lease'. The Russians were lamentably defeated before American-made bombs fell upon Germany and before they got arms manufactured by American 'Big' business".

The time has therefore come for India to take a definite stand on this issue. There cannot be a middle-of-the-road position between reactionary Socialism and Liberal Democratism. It can be safely asserted that if India takes the liberal-democratic path to national progress and prosperity, she can still save South-East Asian freedom from the menace of China's 'Red' Imperialism.

STRANGE BED-FELLOWS

Like common adversity, common hatred also seems to make strange bed-fellows. The Islamic country of Pakistan and athiestic red China have now come together to nibble away patches of Kashmir territory which legally and constitutionally belongs to India. The cynical way in which Pakistan has entered into a pact with China regarding the boundary between the Pak-held Kashmir area and Sinkiang unmistakably shows that Pakistan's rulers are bent on sabotaging Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir due to be held shortly at Calcutta. For, the Pak-China pact defeats the very purpose of these talks, which is to explore the possibilities of an amicable settlement between the two countries and thus to make it possible for them to present a united front to the Chinese aggression on the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

One would not therefore be far from being right in concluding that Pakistan hopes to occupy forcibly the whole of Kashmir with the military aid of China and she has arrived at some sort of secret understanding with China on this question. How this amazing step of Pakistan could be reconciled with her membership of anti-communist military alliance such as CENTO and SEATO, is beyond one's understanding. The day however, will not be far off when Pakistan will realise that by signing this pact she has signed away not only India's territory to China but also her own honour and freedom.

On the whole, Pakistan has gained nothing by this pact. She has only lost a fund of sympathy she commanded in regard to this question, not only in the free world but also among the democrats of India. India could call still this Pakistan's bluff and bluster and bring both China and Pakistan to their senses, if she should only act up to her democratic faith and vacate China's aggression on India, right up from Kashmir to NEFA, with her own efforts

replenished by the powerful military aid so generously offered by the Free Democratic Alliance of the West.

NEHRU ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Prime Minister Nehru has now-a-days become very touchy regarding the criticism appearing in the nationalist press against some of his pet economic illusions and political theories. He therefore lets no opportunity go to have a dig at the Indian press in the name of preserving 'freedom of the press.' The other day he delivered himself of a long homily on this subject in his address to the Press Institute at Delhi. It is now wellknown how he and his Government look at the question, from the warnings given by them to four newspapers which were all non-communist and whose only sin was that they criticised the Government for their never-ending negotiations with the Chinese invaders, and thus damping the fighting spirit of the people. In Mr. Nehru's opinion the press could enjoy the freedom only to praise and applaud him and not to criticise him even in good faith and out of patriotic motives.

The socialist that he is, he always feels like dilating at length as he did at Delhi, on the evil of 'concentration of money' in the newspaper industry. 'Newspaper Chains' which organised opposition to Government. One is almost afraid that with his craze for nationalisation, he is preparing the ground as in Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan for bringing the newspaper industry in India increasingly under the governmental control. He perhaps thinks the pre-

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sent control exercised by the Government over the press, through the favour of Government advertisements, newspaper quota system, licenses, is not enough. The great publicity given not only to his speeches and statements but also to those of his Ministers on all subjects under the Sun, whether deserved or not, does not yet satisfy him fully though it has greatly surprised and even scandalised foreign observers. He must know that there is not one 'Chain' but many Chains of newspapers which are more pro-Congress than anti-Congress, including the communist Chain which has been certified by the Press Registrar of India as the biggest Chain in the country. Then again 'concentration of wealth' is not unusual in this industry alone, though it may be an unmitigated sin and evil in the eyes of seagreen State Socialists. It is the common phenomenon in every growing private enterprise. The evils of monopoly could be very well mitigated in this trade too as in any other trade, by suitable legislation enacted on lines followed in all democratic countries. Moreover, it must be remembered, these various 'Chains' compete with one another for winning public support. If the Prime Minister has come to believe that the public read more of anti-Congress newspapers than pro-Congress ones, he has only to thank his own unpopular policies for this state of affairs. But it is totally wrong on his part to presume that the press can manipulate public opinion as it chooses. The fact is, the public and the press react on each other and influence each other's opinion. In our opinion, the consumer—in this case the reader—remains the master of the situation in this newspaper market too as in every free and open market. Things would certainly go very awry and fearful, if instead of the industrialists owning and running the different press 'Chains' which make for efficiency and also low costs, ill-informed and power-mad politicians ruling the country should control and direct the press and its opinion. That would simply spell the doom of all freedom of the press and free expression of public opinion.

RAJEN BABU PASSES AWAY

Another stalwart of India's struggle for freedom has passed away. Though it was known for some time that Dr. Rajendra Prasad had been ailing with grievous intestinal trouble, the country was not prepared for the sudden and poignant way in which his illustrious life and career came to an end. A devout follower and trusted collaborator of Mahatma Gandhi, he remained true and faithful to the Gandhian creed to the last of his days. His modesty and humility were remarkable, even though he was highly gifted with many qualities of head and heart. In him was harmoniously blended all that was best in India's traditional past and her present modernism. So wherever he went and whatever position he held in the Congress or in the Government, he commanded a measure of respect and confidence from all sections of the people which falls to the lot of only a few public men.

His Presidentship will be long remembered for the many stirring events, political, social, and eco-

conomic that happened in India during the period. It is not yet sufficiently known how the cleverly sagaciously steered India's political and ship safely through the storms and stresses created by the so-called progressive leftists and how his quiet but firm handling of piquant situations saved India from the dangerous consequences of extremist politics and ideological enthusiasms. After his retirement from his Presidentship, he had many hard things to say against the present policies of the Government regarding Tibet, formation of all parties national government, the Kashmir issue. This must have been greatly distasteful to the present leadership which is so self-satisfied and self-complacent even in face of severe reverses India has suffered in domestic and foreign policies.

That such a mature-minded and sagely Indian leader should pass away at this moment when his advice and guidance were solely needed is the greatest misfortune that could befall this country. The whole nation is in deep mourning and rightly so.

D. M. Kulkarni

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"If it were true that socialism could be achieved only at the price of complete destruction of personal liberty, individual initiative and independent thinking, then preference would have to be given to the private capitalist system with all its inevitable defects and shortcomings. This truth must be spoken out frankly. Those who deny it contribute to subjecting mankind to a new and still more abject slavery."

—Rudolf Rocker.

"Ambition, impatience and hurry are often admirable in an individual; but they are pernicious, if they guide the power of coercion and if improvement depends on those who, when authority is conferred on them, assume that in this authority lies superior wisdom and thus their right to impose their beliefs on others."

—F. A. Hayek.

"Liberal Democracy is democracy as the organisation of liberty. Its significant feature is the way in which liberty and equality are interwoven with the aid of solidarity, willingness to help one another, check selfishness and promote the interests of others as much as one's own."

—Massimo Salvadori.

"Beware of any man, any group of men who claim that given absolute power they can create an earthly paradise. Such fanatics are pre-destined to create the very close approximation to hell which one finds in totalitarian prisons and concentration camps, no matter how pure and idealistic their original purposes may be."

—W. Chamberlin.

"THE PERIL TO LIBERTY TODAY COMES FROM THE LEFT, FROM SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM."

—W. Chamberlin.

The Nature Of The Red Regime In China

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Independent India was the first to recognise the Communist regime in China, ignoring, at the instance of Mr. Nehru, the uncritical enthusiast about communism in general and Russia and China in particular, the rivers of blood shed by Chinese leaders and the systematic rejection by them of liberal principles, ancient and modern. There is no sign even yet that our leaders have got rid of this illusion. But it is of crucial importance for the nation through its intelligentsia to size up the truly wicked and uncivilised nature of the Communist regime.

INDEPENDENT India was among the first to recognise the communist regime on the mainland of China. She did so with unseemly enthusiasm, ignoring the rivers of blood shed by its leaders over the years and the systematic rejection they displayed of all liberal principles, ancient or modern.

Free India confronted communist China right from its hour of total triumph but as events have shown and as critics have been justified, she has learnt nothing of value, nothing of the grim truth of the regime and of the character of its supreme leaders. This systematic evasion of reality and systematic cultivation of illusion is in no small measure due to the uncritical enthusiasm of the Prime Minister of India for communism in general and for Russia and China in particular.

The confrontation of China and India on the Himalayan ranges, in Ladakh and in NEFA in September-December 1962 brings to sharp focus and crisis the results of our false approach and false interpretation of the Chinese phenomenon.

There is no sign even yet that authority has yet got rid of its voluntary illusion. But leadership apart, it is of crucial importance for the nation through its intelligentsia to size up the true nature of the Chinese regime. This is essential and indispensable for the radical remodelling of official policies which cannot be postponed much longer without irreparable disaster to the country.

It is proposed to indicate a few features of the red regime in China as a basis for a rethinking of national policies.

A number of vivid accounts of the state of things in Red China occur in Mr. Liu Shaw-Tong's book *Out of Red China* which was published in an English translation in the USA in 1953. The author was a student in Peking university when Mao's armies "liberated" it in 1949.

Along with a vast audience of several thousands of students he was pressed into service of the Organisation, as the communist party was called by those who addressed them. They were told that they had voluntarily joined the Organ-

isation for serving the Revolution!—which was a great privilege. They were astonished at the new definition of voluntariness and privilege but could not help it!

Mr. Tong was attached to the South-bound Army in its information or propaganda department along with several dozens of his classmates. He moved south with the "liberating" army contingent and served the Revolution for over a year. He was shocked and disillusioned at the radical transvaluation of values—with definitions of truth and goodness, right and wrong, duty and humanity, progress and reaction, democracy, freedom, justice, equality and so on with the rest of the spell-binding words made sacred from the democratic revolutions in Europe and America.

He at last found an opportunity to escape to Hong Kong and so ultimately to the USA where he wrote out his experiences. It has been published in simplified English in a paper-back edition under the title of *Out of Mao's China* in 1960. This book is mentioned here in spite of the years that have passed since it was written in 1953 because of the vivid, dramatic quality of Tong's presentation out of his own experience.

It is a failing of human nature to be unable to learn from experience easily, one's own or from that of others. Today when authority is exhorting writers to stimulate patriotism by their writings, it is easy to see how difficult it is to realise in the imagination, as it were face to face, the events that took place and are taking place in communist countries in general and China in particular. We have to penetrate a thick veil of illusion created by wish-fulfilling fellow-travellers and sentimental sympathisers who think they are doing a noble act in expressing bright approval of things communist as progressive and condemning present society as reactionary.

The book recalls to the present writer an incident related to him at a party in Bangalore in 1943 by Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, a Malayan millionaire, British subject and president for some time of the Malayan Legislative Council. He was a refugee after the Japanese occupation of Malaya and Burma, etc.

He gave the story of some Japanese soldiers killing a number of Chinese women who, tired of hiding in the forest, came out and surrendered themselves to the Japanese, kow-towing (bowing) humbly. The Japanese cut off the heads of the poor women—a perfectly needless butchery of defenceless women, serving no purpose whatever! Mr. Lock expatiated on the cruelty of the Japanese war-lords and soldiery. But his description applied, it seemed to his hearers, to the yellow man as such. It applies today admirably to the Chinese communists.

The Chinese communists have attained power, not by peaceful agitation as in India and as in democratic electoral processes by parties contending for the favour of the voter, but by means of a protracted civil war, of which for a long time (over fifteen years) guerilla war was a principal feature.

There is no comparison whatever between the writings of Gandhi, Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Patel, etc. on the one hand and those of Mao Tsetung and Liu Shao Chi on the other. The latter are military manuals. Mao speaks of rules of war, of attack and negotiation, "front" and fighting as alternative tactics for the same end, viz., capture of power.

Politics, he says, are a game of power. And power, he adds, issues out of the barrel of a gun!

An American correspondent asked Mao Tsetung whether it was true, as was alleged, that his party had liquidated 8 million peasants in the process of establishing co-operative and collective farming in China. Mao shook his head and answered—that the figure was only eight hundred thousand (8 lakhs)! Even taking him at his word, 8 lakhs of peasants killed for realising the policy of collective farming is sufficiently characteristic of the "scientific" and thorough violence of the Chinese communists. Violence is part of their creed. They are not squeamish about it. Life is cheap in China. The notion of human dignity which we associate with democracy as its noblest spiritual or ethical quality is unknown to the communist movement.

The examples that Mr. Liu Shaw-Tong gives in the book mentioned above, of cruelty in various departments of policy are shocking but bear the stamp of truth.

In 1947, the agrarian revolution was being introduced in various districts of the northeastern part of China which has passed into the hands of Mao and his men years ago. Peasant youth had enlisted in Mao's armies which had risen from a few thousands to more than a million by then. With the turning over of Manchuria's rich industrial and military resources to Mao's forces by Russia (who had conquered the Japanese after Hiroshima), Mao's armies had swelled and his areas comprised large provinces in the North and Centre and West.

Guerilla officers and men were strictly forbidden to visit their villages and relatives when their contingent passed near them on their

movements. A senior guerilla officer could not resist the temptation but stole from his regiment on horseback and visited his village. He saw the villagers crowding round his father whose hands were tied behind his back. He was a landlord, though he had only ten mou which he had bought out of savings. His mother and sister were weeping. The cadres saw him and respecting his uniform put the case before him. But as a communist officer, he had to swallow his family affections. He said with great difficulty that he would not interfere with the People's Court; whereupon, the crowd set upon the poor old man and killed him by ruthless beating as people kill a bandicoot!

The example of the officer was propagandised in all parts of the communist army as one to be followed.

This was done in most villages, destroying the old family sentiments and sanctifying popular greed and violence and giving them the sacred name of law. Indian intellectuals, lawyers among them, are not wanting who can defend even this travesty of law and morality!

In another village, a landowner, a small-holder was killed. The committee expressed regret and allowed his wife to retain nine out of the twelve mou that the owner had. The wife soon hanged herself out of grief and despair at the ill-treatment meted out by the communists.

The committee then decided that since the mother was dead, the son could do with three mou! But they soon visited him and told him that he had been given the honour and privilege of volunteering for the National Army which wants young and healthy men. And since an army man needs no land, even the three he had been left with, was taken away by the People's Court! There was no appeal.

Mao Tsetung told Mr. Nehru and other visitors that he was not in a hurry for introducing co-operative farming but would wait for fifty or even eighty years! But the very next year, orders were issued for the formation of millions of "co-operative" farms!

The amount of freedom given in establishing communes ought to be known to everyone—which is nil. The people had to work in accordance with the scheme of the communes, on pain of terrible punishment.

In the Southward Bounf Army, Mr. Tong worked and issued news sheets as instructed by his chiefs. He and his colleagues had to write that the people welcomed the liberation army everywhere enthusiastically, whatever the truth might have been in particular places!

A guardsman related to Mr. Tong in confidence how an old woman killed thirteen red army soldiers, who had been billeted upon her household! It appears that a local communist committee man, out of some grudge, always mentioned her family for the billeting of soldiers and for hospitality for visiting communists. The

family was robbed of its food stores in this way unfairly.

The old woman managed to kill thirteen soldiers after feeding them while they were sleeping. It is not known whether they were poisoned or killed by a sharp weapon, cutting their throats with the help of menfolk.

But newsmen had to suppress this incident. They had to put glowing accounts of how happily and joyously the people welcomed the communist "liberators".

The propaganda chief laid down three principles for the guidance of his subordinates.

1. News should promote the Revolution. Objectivity of the bourgeois type had no meaning for the communists.

2. News should be written from the standpoint of materialism—historical and dialectical. That is, the proletariat should always be praised in the class war.

3. Presentation should be argumentative to give an appearance of method and scientific procedure and so of truth.

These instructions follow from the Marxist theory of the economic determination of truth, according to which truth, universal, necessary and objective, does not exist!

The way in which the Chinese propaganda is proceeding in confusing issues and making the worse appear the better case and aggression, no aggression at all, in the Indo-Chinese war these days, is a perfect example of the sophisticated "principles" of Chinese communism. Both aggression and propaganda bear unmistakable signs of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Mr. Tong says that what is happening in China is Universal Tragedy but it is not realised as such because of the dry unimaginative presentation of the situation by most writers. Also the matter is confused by the will-to-believe the best of communism that Leftist groups have developed everywhere, out of a false sentiment of admiration for the communist revolution as the agency for solving all problems of mankind at one stroke—war, poverty, inequality, oppression, class exploitation!

PUBLIC INFLUENCE AND PRIVATE SQUALOR

The future of India lies in the hands of millions of small entrepreneurs and not in big corporations or centralised governmental planning, according to Prof. Milton Friedman, a world-renowned economist. Detailed governmental control and detailed central planning were, in fact, obstacles to economic growth, he added, speaking on "Economic Growth: End or Means?", in Bombay, on Tuesday.

Speaking under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise, he said that economists really did not know enough of what caused economic growth: "While free enterprise by itself does not cause eco-

omic growth of the kind which produces things desired by the people according to their personal values, without free enterprise there can be no such growth," he said.

Prof. Friedman, Professor of Economics at Chicago University, said that economic growth in terms of statistical aggregates like Gross National Product, as in communist countries, was an end in itself. Central planning in such countries had failed to produce goods and services wanted by the people. Where growth is an end in itself, as in communist countries or in such historical examples as Egypt during the time of the Pharoas, there was totalitarian government extracting the savings of the people to create "public affluence" and "private squalor".

In contrast, he observed, economic growth which was merely a means to an end meant a "self-sustaining society" where goods and services wanted by the people were produced.

He said that governmental enterprises were bad because they did not admit mistakes, but continued to subsidise them. The free enterprise system is a "profit and loss" one and mistakes were rectified. He was against private enterprise seeking governmental protection. Free enterprise should really mean freedom for all citizens to start an enterprise of their choice and run them at their own risk. He added that monopolies were created when government controls or other favours were given to private enterprise, and this was bad.

"The great virtue of a free enterprise society is that the capitalist has least power whereas in collectivist societies capitalist has the most power," Prof. Friedman observed. The main thing is good life of the people and not "monument building" by Governments.

NON-ALIGNMENT TIGHT ROPE

This writer believes that the present state of emergency should continue since the nation must steel itself against any relaxation of vigilance, determination and effort in the face of the ever-present Communist Chinese menace. But an obligation equally lies on the Government not to relax the tempo of its own and the people's vigilance by distracting the country's attention and unnecessarily alienating friends with its acrobatics on the precarious non-alignment tight-rope. As we have often said before, the preservation of India rates above the preservation of non-alignment. We believe that non-alignment is the best policy for India in the present circumstances though we do not accept the theory that the wonder of our achievements has got the rest of the world gazing at us rapturously in admiration and envy. Non-alignment is no eternal doctrine applicable to every country in all circumstances. Here again it would be not only foolish but dangerous to fall a victim to slogan-mongering which is so fashionable with the Government. The state of emergency should certainly continue. But emergency should not be made an alibi for authoritarian government.

— Frank Moraes in 'Indian Express'.

COMPLACENCY WITH A VENGEANCE

(M. N. THOLAL)

Mr. Nehru says he has 'no sense of fear' from China. Nevertheless it is his clear duty to create legitimate fear about the possible Chinese invasion again. It is, also, his duty, as our Prime Minister, to guard our country against treacherous attacks of the enemy. If he cannot see to it with the help of the national forces at his disposal, it is his plain duty at all costs to obtain sufficient external aid—alignment or no alignment.

REPLYING to the debate on the President's Address, in the Rajya Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru admitted that it would be absurd on India's part not to ask for help in this "basic struggle for life and freedom." If for various reasons, such as commitments in other parts of the world, adequate help is not forthcoming he said, such a situation "will be none of our creation." If adequate help is not forthcoming on account of the helpers' commitments in other parts of the world, the resulting deplorable situation, it is true, "will be none of our creation"—though obviously our duty to our motherland dictates that we leave no stone unturned to see that commitments in other parts of the world are reduced to increase commitments to India, having regard to the urgency of the situation following the Chinese massive invasion of India. Can our Prime Minister lay his hand on his heart and say that that is being done?

But if adequate help is not forthcoming for entirely different reasons, for some of which the present Government may be responsible, then the responsibility for the resulting deplorable situation will be ours, and the situation will be of our own creation. Some of the various reasons for which adequate help may not be forthcoming are worth going into, having regard to the gravity of the situation resulting therefrom. If those who help us expect us to concentrate all our strength in meeting the Chinese menace, instead of dispersing it along the Indo-Pak border, there would appear to be nothing particularly wrong with them, for they would then be only expecting us to realise the nature of the menace to which we have been giving adequate expression.

They would thus be only expecting us to help ourselves before we expect them to help us. Mr. Nehru himself has been emphasizing the doctrine of self-help to the extent, indeed, of appearing ridiculous, having regard to the difference in the military potential between India and China. If, further, their expectation of self-help in this regard is based on their expectation of our following the principles which our Prime Minister enunciates and adumbrates every day, can it be said that they are trying to attach strings to their offers of assistance? In this hour of the nation's crisis let us be absolutely sure that no one is able to accuse us of jingoism and expansionism, of which we accuse China.

In describing the present situation as "this basic struggle for life and freedom," Mr. Nehru indirectly told us who our real enemy is, who our great enemy is. Let us then make friends with the minor enemy, in the interests of that very basic struggle, particularly as that minor enemy knows, in his heart of hearts, that our real enemy is also his real enemy. If the principles we flaunt before the world every day also demand that the minor enemy should be converted into a friend and ally by simply translating those principles into practice, then the case for the conversion of the minor enemy into a friend becomes incontrovertible.

Let us not try to be too clever in this grave hour of our national danger. Let us not foolishly talk as if those whose help we seek—those who can help us out of our present predicament—are and should be more interested than ourselves in preserving our freedom and independence. Any one who has been following our foreign policy has good reason to suspect that even those who have come to our help against China have been saying to themselves regarding China and us: "Served them right". Let us not make them help us niggardly with clenched teeth, in a mood that might make them gloat over our reverses and our losses, as much as the enemy and his friends. In a speech, soon after the invasion, the Prime Minister rightly enough said that those who had offered to help us were interested parties, meaning thereby that they were interested in combating Communism. Was that a discreet utterance? The Prime Minister's daughter, who reportedly has more influence and power than all the Cabinet Ministers put together, said recently that the help received from our helpers was small. Surely this is no time for belittling utterances which can, even by stretching the imagination, be construed as biting the hand that feeds, particularly as the Prime Minister himself has been deprecating the need of request for massive aid.

Mr. Nehru said the Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier. (The Government hoped thus even after five years' continuous aggression by China). A few days earlier he had said, "Anything can happen any moment". Two days later, replying to the de-

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

INFLATIONARY BUDGET

By Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

The unprovoked Chinese aggression has compelled our Finance Minister to frame an unprecedented budget which will spell a measure of privation for the people in almost all walks of life. The main purpose of this all time record budget is to raise additional revenues for defence and development purposes. In the opinion of Finance Minister the basic consideration in framing taxation policy must be not only to raise the revenues, but it must also promote the rate of economic growth and correct the imbalances in different sectors. But it must be admitted that the Finance Minister has thrown overboard the latter objective by imposing harsh taxation measures on the poor people who are already overburdened by the taxes and the rising price level during the last five years. During the Second Plan period the retail prices of the most of the essential commodities have risen by about 42% and the Government of India has miserably failed to stabilise the price level. Even the Selective Credit Control measures adopted by the Reserve Bank of India have failed to lower the prices with the result that the middle class—the backbone of the society has practically disappeared from India. At present we have only two classes, namely, the rich and the poor and by the new taxes the poor will become still poorer. The aim of our Government is to maximise the welfare of the poor people but one regrets to say that the new taxation policy will impose a heavy burden on the poor section of the people that they will not be able to bear. To meet the Chinese aggression the people have voluntarily responded to the call of the Government. The private sector also did the same and co-operated with the Government by keeping the prices stable. But in framing the Budget the Finance Minister has not kept the principle of equity before himself. Every tax policy must be based on twin principles of equity and justice, but our Finance Minister wedded to socialism has thrown to the winds the principle of equity and this can be seen when he decided to appropriate half the income of the companies in excess of six per cent of the capital and the reserves when the capital market is already sick. As a result of these measures the future development of our country will be the monopoly of the public sector and the private sector will not be given any opportunity to play its vital role in the economic growth of our country. At present our plans suffer from the paucity of capital and since the promotion of capital formation is essential for development it is difficult to defend the rationale of this tax proposal. Mr. Desai has repeatedly said that

the private sector need to play a big role in the development plan but this tax measure will certainly kill the incentive of the private sector to save and invest. The budget gives an impression that the Government of India wants to make the full use of the mood of the nation for mobilising the resources to the maximum. For this reason Mr. Nehru Prime Minister of India urged the people to view the new tax proposals made in the Budget in the light of Chinese aggression and bear them cheerfully. He admits that the new taxes would undoubtedly increase the burden on the people but at the same time he says that the burden must be borne in the interests of the country's freedom and integrity. One could have understood if the additional revenues had been raised for economic development but it appears that the Finance Minister was in a state of dilemma when he has found himself helpless before his colleagues. In the opinion of Estimate Committee the non-plan expenditure should be greatly curtailed to reduce the deficit but this also has been ignored by the Finance Minister. Not only this, but the Finance Minister has kept a big gap of 41 crores which will be filled only by deficit financing. It was estimated that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 110 crores should be resorted to annually but additional dose of 41 crores will certainly lead to inflationary spiral. As a result of taxation proposals many essential commodities have gone under-ground and the people find very difficult even to live. We are told again and again that our Government is making frantic efforts to maximise welfare of the poor people but the welfare is still far off and it is doubtful whether our present Government wedded to socialist pattern of society can ever realise the objective. Welfare of the people can be maximised only when the prices of the essential commodities and the value of the rupee are stabilised but from the present market trends it can be easily seen that in the near future the prices will never come down; on the other hand the prices will show a tendency of rising, which will cause terrible suffering to the middle class families.

Out of Rs. 275 crores that will be raised by means of additional taxes 9 crores will go to the States and the balance of Rs. 266 crores will go to the Centre which will bear the responsibility of gigantic defence effort. The Finance Minister estimated the revenue at the existing level of taxation at Rs. 1585.73 crores and the expenditure at the record level of Rs. 1852.40 crores. In order to raise funds both for defence and development the Finance Minister envisaged the total

plan outlay of Rs. 1651 crores as against current year's outlay of Rs. 1465 crores. The provision for defence has also been increased to Rs. 867 crores as against the revised estimate of Rs. 505 crores for the current financial year which itself is higher by Rs. 108.44 crores. The determination of our Planners to stick to the plan targets makes it impossible to switch the resources from the development to defence. Under these circumstances both defence and development have to be accelerated with the help of limited resources and the only remedy is to curtail consumption. In order to achieve this objective the Finance Minister has resorted to Compulsory deposits scheme. As a result of this scheme certain amount of income of the people will be withdrawn and by that amount consumption will be reduced. As a consequence of reduced consumption the efficiency or the productivity of the workers will tend to fall which will raise the cost of production. At present what is of paramount importance is the productivity of the workers in every field to bring down the price level. The new taxation proposals will accelerate the rising price level which is inimical to the economic growth of the country.

In his budget proposals he has effected marginal changes in direct taxes which will yield an additional revenues of Rs. 69.6 crores exclusive of Rs. 40 crores to be collected from compulsory savings. The levy of super profit tax on the corporate sector is defended on the ground that the expenditure in the public sector on defence and development will result in windfall profits to some of the industries. This will have depressing influence on the capital market in view of the high rate of corporate taxation. Import duty on a number of articles has been imposed while export duty on tea has been abolished in order to encourage exports. Though most of the articles on which import duty has been imposed, are machinery and raw materials yet the rise in the prices of machinery and raw material goods which are producer goods and intermediate goods are likely to enter into the cost of production at one stage or the other and this will bring about an all round increase in the cost structure. Everything depends upon whether the manufacturer will shift the burden on consumers or not. A surcharge of 10 p.p. on all import duties has inflationary potential. The surcharge on tyres and motor vehicles will affect the masses and they will push up the transport charges. Though Finance Minister has scrupulously avoided articles of common consumption like sugar, cotton fabrics, footwear, matches, yet the duties on cement, cotton yarn are likely to raise the cost structure. On the whole the luxury section of all sections of the community has been taxed without any mercy to raise the required amount of resources. In short, the Finance Minister has cast his net very wide and roped in practically everything on which he can lay his hands. The Budget proposals are designed to reduce consumption but this policy may also affect the growth of our economy.

"Even after this massive dose of taxation the country will have to suffer a deficit financing of the order of Rs. 157 crores. This in itself will generate inflationary forces in an economy which is already bedevilled by the recurring assaults of price inflation. New imposts on industrial raw materials might accentuate these inflationary prices. Tax measures should not thwart the drive for increased production. Today to have more goods on production line is as essential as to increase Government's revenues". But one must say with regret that Mr. Desai has not paid sufficient attention to this aspect and the result will be that the prices will tend to rise unless immediate steps are taken to check them in time. Prices can be maintained stable only if the production of consumer goods is accelerated which will also prove beneficial from the point of balance of payments position. At present our market is a sellers market and unless it is converted into buyers market all attempts to reduce the gap in the balance of position will be nullified by the rise in the price level due to new taxation measures.

PERSONAL TAXATION IS THE HIGHEST IN INDIA

The following report is of interest and significance. It is from the "Economic Times", Bombay, dated February 20, 1963.

"Personal taxation in India today is the highest in the world.

"Making this statement in Calcutta on February 19, Mr. D. L. V. Rowe, a director of Bird and Co., gave some figures to substantiate his view. The figures are for married men with two children. In giving these figures he said he did not forget that most, if not all, fringe benefits came in India, within the I-T-O's net, and hence were included in income.

"Mr. Rowe was speaking on 'A Company Director Looks at Indian Income Tax' at the symposium of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries India Association, which was inaugurated here by the Sheriff of Calcutta, Mr. R. N. Sen.

"The Comparative figures given by Mr. Rowe were:

	(Old Budget)					
	India	U.K.	U.S.A.	Malaya	Japan	
Income	%	%	%	%	%	%
13,333	6.9	7.7	2.9	2.5	15.6	
26,666	17.9	18.8	11.4	6.9	23.0	
40,000	27.7	22.6	14.8	10.3	27.5	
53,333	35.9	24.5	16.9	12.9	30.6	
66,666	42.5	26.5	18.7	15.6	33.6	
80,000	47.7	28.8	19.9	18.7	35.3	
93,333	51.5	31.6	21.6	21.7	37.2	

"So Mr. Rowe said, from the start, a company director faced the difficulty of remunerating adequately a staff which he had taken a great deal of care in choosing and training and, for that matter, leading."

Helping Emergent Countries "Leapfrog" To Modernity

By AUSTEN NAZARETH

Can a newly emergent country lift its income five per cent a year, each succeeding year?

Experts believe it can. How to make such a goal a reality is an important focus of the discussions in progress at a great international conference now in session at Geneva.

These are the targets of the United Nations' "Decade of Development":

A 2½ per cent rise, every year, in the personal income of each person in the developing countries of the world;

A 5 per cent increase in the national income—the total earnings from goods and services—of every developing country upto 1970, and continued expansion thereafter.

We can hit these targets, many authorities opine, if the available natural and human resources are properly mobilized. The present conference at Geneva is discussing fully how resources and skills can be mobilised for economic growth.

Like many governmental and inter governmental enterprises these days, the Geneva conclave is known by a rather uninspiring if handy set of initials—UNCAST. I think its full title, though quite a mouthful when spelled out, is much better, much more clearly descriptive of the high promise it holds: The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less-Developed Areas.

It is almost a platitude to mention a tremendous boost science and technology have given in the past century or so to development, to increasing prosperity, and to raising incomes in Europe and North America. The rest of the world is now acquiring the use of the same scientific and technological tools to speed its own development.

The process of development is accompanied by growing pains. It brings in its wake characteristic social and economic problems. Fortunately the countries now developing can in large measure avoid these growing pains by learning from the accumulated experience of their predecessors.

This wealth of experience is being sorted, sifted, analysed, and fitted into patterns of practical use by the nearly 2,000 experts now conferring at Geneva. They are scientists, technologists, engineers, educators, bankers, economists and government officials. They come from almost every land on earth—close on a hundred different countries, both developed and developing—as well as from a score of international specialized agencies. Not without significance, the president of the conference is an Indian, Professor Maneklal S. Thacker.

It is not surprising that United Nations Secretary-General U Thant has called this one of the most important UN-sponsored meetings ever held. Under discussion at Geneva are 1,800 special papers covering a vast spectrum of the knowledge and progress of the developed countries of the world. These papers fall into 12 major categories—from human and natural resources to health and nutrition, from agriculture to communications—each closely linked with balanced development efforts.

As befits a country which is an outstanding example of the role of science and technology in national development, the United States' interest in the Geneva meeting is manifested in many aspects. It has sent an impressive delegation of some 100-top-notch American experts from various spheres, both private citizens and public officials. It has submitted 140 of the conference papers. It was, in fact, one of the five nations which sponsored the U.N. resolution calling for the conference.

U. S. interest is even more fundamental. The idea of the Decade of Development not only has—and has had—strong American support, but was actually first proposed by President John F. Kennedy in an address to the U. N. General Assembly on September 25, 1961. In his proposal—which the Assembly approved in a resolution on December 19 the same year—the U. S. President urged that the world organization expand and co-ordinate its efforts behind a worldwide drive to "enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become, in fact as well as in law, free and equal nations".

This generative U.N. statement by Mr. Kennedy was an expression of a world outlook in obvious line with long-standing U. S. objectives. For the United States has led the way in large-scale programmes of technical and economic assistance to countries across the globe. In the past two decades it has given more than \$70,000 million for this purpose.

As examples, we need only take some of the most immediate—in India itself:

Projects receiving U. S. assistance include a huge motor-tyre factory near New Delhi, an aluminium factory at Rihand, a synthetic-rubber factory in Uttar Pradesh, and a cement factory in Mysore.

In the field of transportation, India has utilized American assistance to buy jet planes, diesel locomotives, signalling equipment, steel to manufacture locomotives and goods wagons, and motorcar components.

Eight Indian thermal and hydro-electric power projects with a total installed generating capacity of 12 lakh kilowatts are financed

wholly by U. S. loans; American loans and grants are, in part, meeting the cost of 13 others which will together produce 16 lakh kilowatts.

The United States is providing the services of eight American engineers to help increase coal production in India, and four American training advisers to set up a comprehensive training programme in this country for steel engineers.

The U. S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) mission to India has provided the services of five American guest professors to the Bengal Engineering College at Howrah to help develop the training of engineering teachers.

A consortium of nine well-known U. S. educational institutions has been formed to aid the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur.

Before U. S. delegates to the United Nations conference left for Geneva, they called on President Kennedy at the White House. "There is no reason why the developing nations have to make the same mistakes made by the nations which industrialized early—no reason why our great body of advanced technology should not be brought to bear so that the newly developing nations can leapfrog the interim stages in the process of modernization," the President told the American experts.

He added: "The most constructive task of our age is for the affluent countries to help the other two-thirds of the world to provide quickly the material basis of a decent life for all."

—American News Feature.

Experts' Findings

Govt. Can Do Without Extra Taxes

The Government of India can obtain adequate funds for defence and development even at the existing levels of taxation.

In fact far from the need to impose additional taxation, a case can be made out even for granting tax relief.

This view has been expressed by the Society for the Propagation of Democratic Thought in a brochure entitled: *The Emergency And The Exchequer*.

A study made by the Society shows that on the existing level of taxation, the Government can obtain an additional Rs. 447 crores in 1963-64.

In concrete terms, the Society estimates that the Government should be able to save Rs. 205 crores by avoiding waste and effecting economy in various directions.

Revenue from customs and Central excise could be higher by Rs. 182 crores and income-tax and corporation tax by Rs. 40 crores.

Contributions by companies to the National Defence Fund, on the basis of current trends, could be estimated at Rs. 20 crores, it says.

In the circumstances, the Society says, there is hardly any need for additional taxation.

The Society also warns that any further increase in taxation will retard production, push up prices, slow down exports and discourage the flow of foreign capital which is essential for rapid industrial development.

Revenue Trend

Analysing the trend in revenue, the brochure points out that receipts under excise, customs and income-tax in 1962-63 will be substantially higher than the budget estimates.

Actual collection of excise, the largest single of revenue, amounted to 227.74 crores in the five months ended August, 1962, and for the whole year, it may well be about Rs. 560 crores.

Similarly the revenue from customs for 1962-63 is estimated at Rs. 240 crores on the basis of the actual collection of about Rs. 100 crores in the five months—April to August.

Thus the total collection from excise and customs for 1962-63 is likely to be Rs. 800 crores—Rs. 240 crores from customs and Rs. 560 crores from excise.

The yield from income-tax and corporation tax also is expected to be much higher than the budget estimate of Rs. 352 crores.

The brochure says increased economic activity will also bring in more revenue under income-tax and corporation tax.

The yield from income-tax for 1962-63, without taking into account the increased rates, was estimated at Rs. 148 crores and assuming an increase of five per cent in the revenue, it should be possible to realise an additional sum of about Rs. 8 crores.

As regards corporation tax, the assessable profits of companies in the current year may be estimated at Rs. 400 crores as compared to Rs. 356 crores in 1961-62; and with company tax at 50 per cent, the collection will be Rs. 200 crores or Rs. 32 crores over the budget estimate.

In this way, even at the existing rates, it will be possible to find about Rs. 40 crores in 1963-64 from income-tax and corporation tax together.

Expenditure Side

Dealing with expenditure, the brochure estimates that on the basis of the experience of previous years and taking into account the increased expenditure on defence due to the emergency, the expenditure for 1963-64 will be about Rs. 1,775 crores.

But about 50 per cent of the additional defence outlay will be in terms of foreign exchange which has to be obtained through loans or aid.

This means that the expenditure next year will be about Rs. 1,603 crores or Rs. 1,398 crores if the economies suggested are actually implemented.

As against this figure, the revenue will be about Rs. 214 crores more than the expenditure, the brochure says.

bate in the Lok Sabha on the President's Address, the Prime Minister said the fact was that the danger from the Chinese was not past and he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks. (He added that India had to strengthen itself. Does he think India can strengthen itself in a few weeks?) Or, if another attack comes from the Chinese side, will he repeat what he said in the Rajya Sabha: "The Government had hoped that in the next few years it could prepare the country economically and militarily, but the Chinese attack came much earlier"?

—And does Mr. Nehru seriously believe that the difference in military potential between India and China will disappear in the next few years? That belief can only be based on the optimistic assumption that, while we shall go forward industrially and militarily, China will be going backward, and that in the near future Russia will stop its huge military aid to China. If these are the assumptions, as they seem to be, what can be more compact than the attitude of the Nehru Government?

But it is no use thinking at present of the next few years. We have to think of tomorrow, of the next few weeks first, since Mr. Nehru himself has told us of the possibility of anything happening any moment, that the danger from the Chinese was not past and that he did not know what would happen in the next three or four weeks.

"NO SENSE OF FEAR"

Said Mr. Nehru: "I have no sense of fear from China or any other country." Perhaps, Mr. Nehru wanted to convey to the House that he was no coward. If that was all he wanted to say, we should have no quarrel with him. But what is this "fear" that Mr. Nehru deprecates indirectly? Fear is not necessarily always a sign of cowardice. Indeed, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, "fear" is a "painful emotion caused by impending danger or evil." (According to Mr. Nehru himself, the danger from the Chinese is not past, or, in other words, the danger is impending). Fear can and does make sensible men take precautions for safety. When Mr. Nehru says, anything can happen any time—and he has a right, indeed it is his duty, to warn us of impending danger—he creates fear in us. When he says he does not know what will happen in the next three or four weeks, he creates fear in us—legitimate fear. This is legitimate creation of legitimate fear. How then is he able to say that he has no sense of fear from China? One can understand a Communist saying that. How can one understand the Prime Minister saying that, except in a spirit of bravado?

It is his duty to create legitimate fear. But it is also his duty, as our Prime Minister, to gu-

ard our country against treacherous attacks, to see to it that the enemy is unable to penetrate deep into our territory. If he cannot see to it with the help of the national forces at his disposal, it is his plain duty at all costs to seek and obtain external aid sufficient to prevent successful invasion of the country—alignment or no alignment. No patriot can dare differ with this proposition without forfeiting his right to be a patriot. That is the plain truth of the matter.

Defining the aims of the Government's policies, Mr. Nehru said one of these was "to develop the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression". This is in the best Gandhian vein, but easier said than done. Everyone knows that Gandhiji used to say "Pakistan over my deadbody." And every one knows that at the A.I.C.C. meeting which finally considered partition, he stood up and spoke in support of partition. He realised that this time a fast unto death would indeed be a fast unto death and he did not even threaten it, wise man that he was. It is not so easy to embrace death, as Mr. Nehru seems to imagine. (With reference to his threats of quitting, people have been saying, "It is not so easy to quit as he imagines"—and rightly because quitting is like courting political death. How much more difficult must courting physical death be?) There has in these many decades of our struggle for freedom been only one instance of a man—hallowed be thy name, O Shradhdhanand!—defying British bayonets with his bared onward-marching breast. Just one instance. One swallow does not make a summer.

Surely Mr. Nehru knows all that. And yet he prefers to talk, like that lover of the absurd Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, of developing the people's mind to resist to death and not to submit to aggression. This desire radically to change human nature in a few weeks or months or even years, belongs legitimately to the reformer and not to the politician. Judging from Mr. Nehru's utterances, it would appear to be high time for him to transfer himself to where he rightly belongs, where he can live in a world of his own creation without being disturbed by reality.

The Prime Minister said India was not weak and would never submit to force. What else has she been doing for the last six or seven years? He also said countries with whom some members wanted India to become aligned did not want it, because they would have to shoulder too heavy a burden—for a Government, he might have added, whose Prime Minister takes a peculiar delight in ridiculing their alliances. "What about NATO?" asked Mr. Ruthnaswamy, as if to provoke the Prime Minister and the latter said, while NATO had not failed, SEATO and CENTO had failed completely and miserably.

(Continued on Page 12)

Prime Minister Frames The Issues

(From Our Correspondent)

The lessons of October-November have not been fully learnt by the Government. The Western powers, as Mr. Nehru says, 'do not want to underwrite the defence of India', because our Government does not want them to do so. The Prime Minister has condemned NATO, SEATO and CENTO many times but never condemned Sino-Russian Alliance or Warsaw Pact. The Prime Minister is more interested in his principles than defending 'a physical patch of territory'. His 'complacency' even after successful massive invasion of India by China, could be clearly seen from his attempt to cover his Government's failure by calling it 'a moment of success'.

Prime Minister Nehru's replies to the debates in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha on the President's Address were, as usual, rambling discourses. Speaking in the former he felt that, while fighting the Chinese menace, India should keep its principles in tact. The reference presumably was not to the principles underlying the Constitution, but to those of his own enunciation which are dearer to him than the former. What, it is being asked, if those principles prevent us from fighting the menace for all we are worth? "We are bound by our own limitations and not China's," he asserted without fear of contradiction. Of course, of course, and it is these limitations which stand in the way of the country meeting the menace as it should be met.

The Prime Minister admitted that a change had taken place in India's basic policies because of the force of circumstances. It was the part of statesmanship to foresee and anticipate the force of circumstances, but, far from doing so, it seems to observers here that the force of circumstances has yet to be realised in all its intensity because the circumstances themselves are not being properly understood. Wishful thinking, the mother of complacency, reigns supreme, because reality is too painful to contemplate. And this despite the fact that the Prime Minister has had to recognize that "anything may happen any moment". There seems to be no correlation of activities and decisions with this sombre realisation. And yet the Prime Minister said in the Rajya Sabha, as if in answer to Rajaji, that at no time had the Government been complacent about China.

The lesson of the October-November invasion seems to have been lost upon the Government. "We are getting help," says Mr. Nehru, "They do not want to underwrite the defence of India or take the defence of India completely in their hands." Why should they, when our Government does not want them to do that—neither

by word nor deed? 'We are getting help, as he said. But the question is, and it is being asked everywhere here, whether that help is enough to act as a deterrent to the Chinese, and, if that does not prove to be the case, whether it will prove enough to enable us to repel the Chinese, if and when they launch their next invasion. If the help we are getting can do neither, then it is of no use. But here is our Prime Minister reaffirming his non-alignment every day and condemning and ridiculing the Western alliances—to the exclusion of Communist alliances—and he says of the western powers that they do not want to underwrite the defence of India!'

It is a simple question of putting first things first. "India is the main target of Chinese attack," says Mr. Nehru rightly, "It is challenge which we cannot ignore... we have a duty to ourselves, to Asia and the world in this matter." So far so good. We are all on common ground. But, he proceeded to observe: "In trying to meet that challenge, if we give up the principles for which we have stood, that is the greatest surrender to China than anything we could do or suffer." Is the surrender of our Quixotic principles a greater surrender than the surrender of our country or a part of it to China? No sane man or patriot can have a moment's doubt regarding the answer, and yet our Prime Minister does not seem to be clear in his mind about it.

CUSSEDNESS

"If we meet China we defend the very principles for which we stand," said Mr. Nehru, and asked, "If we give up those principles in meeting China what do we defend?" And he himself answered the question: "Just a physical patch of territory which is important enough." His countrymen should be grateful to him for recognising the importance of a "patch of territory", "on which grows not a blade of grass," but the question obviously arises, "Which is more important? The defence of his precious principles or the defence of his country which

he calls "just a physical patch of territory"? (It is impossible to ignore the underlying contempt for our territory inherent in the words he uses with reference to the territory claimed by the Chinese, which is entirely absent in his words with reference to the territory claimed by Pakistan). Let not our Prime Minister allow cussedness to dominate the debate on the security of the country. It is our plain duty to see that he does not do so.

Mr. Nehru took strong exception to some members ridiculing the slogans raised in the country, "Hindi-Chini Bhai-bhai", when India and China were friendly. Does he now believe that China was really friendly to us then? He has himself stated that he had been deceived by the Chinese. Do friends practise deception on their friends? Or is it that he is taking strong exception to the ridicule because the slogans were patronised by him and should therefore be regarded as sacrosanct like his non-alignment? But if there is nothing wrong with the Chinese, and he has been saying there is nothing wrong with Communism—that China is not pursuing the path it is pursuing because it is Communist—that would leave India fairly and squarely in the wrong. The truth would appear to be suggested by the Hindi saying, "Sone par suhaga", i.e., Chinese gold burnished by Communism.

Mr. Nehru is always overplaying his hand. He often reminds this correspondent of an editor (of his own paper) who thought it was his duty to take up every point made by the adversary and demolish it. He would therefore always insist on taking up his strongest point for criticism, with, naturally, deplorable results, ending up, almost always as he did, with the damaging admission. "Even if he is right, he is not wholly right." Likewise Mr. Nehru is not content until he has done his utmost to prove that "Acharya Ranga" and his friends are wholly wrong; and this at a time when the march of events has made it plain as pikestaff to everybody that he has been wholly in the wrong.

Mr. Nehru's desire to prove to the Indian people that Rajaji is wholly wrong often leads him to make extraordinary and fantastic statements—to borrow two favourite adjectives from his vocabulary, "Some members," Mr. Nehru observed, "accuse our Government of complacency," and added, "I am no good judge of it, but one thing is quite clear that we certainly are not complacent. That is my view." Perhaps Mr. Nehru would have done better to leave the charge of complacency alone after the successful Chinese massive invasion of October-November last, following, as it did, five years' continuous aggression. But then how could he be reticent in his "Moment of Success" as he calls it?

OUR MOMENT OF SUCCESS

Similarly it is not surprising that Mr. Nehru should fall foul of "the critics of the

Colombo proposals" who "have obviously not been able to distinguish between honour and dishonour". One should be inclined to feel that persons who cannot distinguish between honour and dishonour should be made to retire from the public forum, but Mr. Nehru was inclined to be indulgent and contented himself with the observation, "I do feel that this way of thinking and talking shows an extremely limited outlook" "Five years of continuous aggression" followed by a "massive invasion" which we could not resist and both resulting in our "moment of success"—quoted words are Mr. Nehru's—and yet there are people who talk of dishonour. How can there be dishonour in "success"? How can there be humiliation in "success"? How can anything but such success be our lot so long as Mr. Nehru calls failure success to prove his greatness?

On the Chinese menace Mr. Nehru said, "It is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long term thing. This conflict between China and India is a very big thing for India, for Asia and the world. We must not think of finding a sudden solution of it by a magic wand." The solemn resolve by Parliament on November 14 last to expel the aggressor from our sacred soil is apparently to remain in abeyance for "a long term". Can it be that the Prime Minister now thinks that he was rather rash in moving that "solemn resolve" resolution in Parliament, knowing as he did our limitations—non-alignment and all that?

So here it is—Mr. Nehru's great gift to India, to Asia and the world, a "very big thing", as he put it, the result of the basic policies which his government has pursued—friendship of all and non-alignment—and no wonder he feels "we were right, are right, and will continue to be right in a changing world." Friendship with all is all very well for saintly precept—and Mr. Nehru will himself ridicule any charge of saintliness against him—but in politics friendship with enemies leads to disaster. That has been his policy—friendship with enemies and enmity with friends. He has condemned NATO and SEATO and CENTO a hundred times. Has he ever condemned the Sino-Russian Alliance which has brought India all this trouble? Or the Warsaw Pact which no member is even in a position or has the right to repudiate?

Mr. Nehru admitted in the Rajya Sabha that it would be absurd on India's part not to ask for help in this struggle for life and freedom, but if for various reasons, such as commitments in other parts of the world, adequate help was not forthcoming, such a situation "will be none of our creation". Surely Mr. Nehru does not imagine that our helpers will allow their commitments in other parts of the world to stand in the way of their main objective—the containment of China and Russia? It is to be hoped that the How? Have any of the member countries of

Nehru Government will make sure that it does not provoke them into finding excuses in commitments in other parts of the world, for that is a possibility which cannot be overlooked in the present concatenation of circumstances.

AIR COVER : AIR UMBRELLA

In the course of a statement in the Lok Sabha on February 21, Mr. Nehru said: "Discussions between the US-Commonwealth air team and IAF experts have led to speculation in the Press about the establishment of foreign bases and foreign planes as an "air umbrella" in India. These reports are incorrect and greatly exaggerated. . . . There is no question of stationing of foreign air forces or the establishment of any foreign air bases in India."

At his news conference the same day (Feb. 21) President Kennedy clearly indicated that his Administration would give favourable consideration to Indian request for air cover in the event of an air attack by the Chinese. He added that the request for air cover by India had been made in November.

Is one to conclude that, while we shall welcome the air cover or air umbrella—the two mean the same thing—we shall not allow the foreign (American) air forces to be stationed in India? No other conclusion seems possible, and yet it is so patently absurd as to be ruled out as nonsense even by the Nehru Government.

(Continued from Page 9)

How? Have any of the member countries of these alliances been invaded by any Communist power? Obviously not, and that was what the alliance aimed at. How then have SEATO and CENTO failed completely and miserably? If India had been a member of those organisations she would not have been invaded by China and she would not today be in fear of another invasion by China. That seems to be immaterial in Mr. Nehru's way of thinking.

It would not be wise for India, says Mr. Nehru, to sell its right of defence. Who is asking India to sell its right of defence? Has any member of NATO or SEATO or CENTO done that? It is hardly fair to exaggerate beyond all proportion a patriotic proposition advanced by the Swatantra Party and then to ridicule it. The moment you sell the right of self-defence, said the Prime Minister, you lose that sense of stoutness and standing on your feet, which is an essential thing. We must suppose that we had that sense of stoutness and standing on our feet in October and November last, and we have it now in what Mr. Nehru imagines is "our moment of success". A man who can imagine that can imagine anything. But what is most distressing and annoying at the moment is that our Prime Minister, even at the time when he is seeking massive aid from the Western powers, is unfairly ridiculing their alliances and thus trying, as in the past, to undermine their influence. This cannot do India any good. Indeed, it may do our country a lot of harm. Is it any wonder

that they do not want to shoulder too heavy a burden for our sake? For decency's sake, as well as for the good of the country, let us all remember the English saying, "biting the hand that feeds", and do our utmost to avoid being accused of doing so.

MARXISM REVERSED

The ideal end of the marxist economy was social justice and liberation; its sociological end, the economy of needs; and the psychological end, the freely accepted devotion to public service; summarised in the famous saying of Marx: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs". The sequence is now reversed. The psychological end has now become the will to power; the sociological end, the economy of power; and the ideal end, the imposed domination of universal socialism.

For the economist this analysis of ends should be a safe guide to action.

— Prof. Piettre.

As Chinese Mass Troops SIKKIM TAKES UP ARMS

V. I. K. Sarin reports in *The Current* :—

Why is China massing its troops on the borders of Sikkim? Why is she trying to confuse public opinion by levelling baseless and grossly inaccurate charges of incursions into Tibetan territory by Indian soldiers and aircraft from Sikkim? Is it the usual prelude to a well-planned attack on Sikkim? These and other similar questions, which are currently disturbing the Sikkimese minds, have forced the simple hill folks to take to arms and defend their motherland against the unscrupulous Chinese expansionism.

The Maharajkumar of Sikkim, Palden Thondup Namgyal, alerting his people against the imperialist aims of Red China, recently said here that China was known the world over to nurture expansionist ambitions.

"China has a tradition of territorial aggrandisement; history says that throughout the centuries China's name has been synonymous with imperialism and greed. Whenever they were capable of expanding their territories, they did not hesitate, even though it happened to be in utter disregard of their avowed policies of peaceful co-existence."

It is this realisation that has compelled the hands traditionally trained to wield the prayer wheel to take up arms. Today men and women, young and old, throughout the length and breadth of Sikkim are coming forward in large numbers to learn the use of firearms.

Several thousand Sikkimese ex-servicemen have volunteered to fight the Chinese. Many of them, according to Mr. D. B. Chetri, Secretary of Sikkim Sailors, Soldiers, Airmen Board, have already come forward to impart rifle training to the Sikkimese youth, without so much as demanding a single penny of allowance.

India's Strategy In Sino-Indian Conflict

By INDIRA AWASTY

INTERNATIONAL politics have turned over a somersault with the Chinese aggression on India. It has for the first time brought the true picture of the relations between China and Russia into focus. There can be no doubt that the Chinese have not made this unilateral cease-fire proposal out of sheer generosity and kindness of their hearts. The Russians have most certainly twisted the vulnerable tail of China.

It might seem strange indeed that the Communist brotherhood is splitting up due to the friendship existing between India and Russia. One can guess ulterior motives behind Russia's magnanimous gesture of helping India to contain the Chinese invasion. China's ambition knows no bounds. She wants to be the master of the whole Communist world, the whole of Asia and who knows she may even be having wilder dreams! The aggression against India is perhaps only the means to an end. China in all probability wants to grab the ready-made riches of the fertile plains of the Ganges, the tea gardens, the jute growing areas and the oil fields of Northern India, in order to put her own (China's) economy on a more firm footing. She wants to build (and she has already built) a highway across the AKSAI CHIN Plateau linking SINKIANG and TIBET. This is very significant in relation to Russia. China wants this highway to form a suitable and proper channel of communications between Tibet and Sinkiang, so as to effectively control Sinkiang and develop it into a formidable military base from where to direct operations against Russia, when the time is ripe.

One would imagine that the buffer provinces of Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia are of grave concern to the Russian people. Truly the Russians seem to have raised a treacherous dragon, who is sharpening its claws to devour the very hand that feeds it!

In the context of the Chinese threat to Russia, the latter must be vitally concerned about the fate of India. This is the time for astute diplomacy for India to get the best out of its policy of non-alignment.

One agrees with our Prime Minister that we must not close our eyes and go back to sleep because aid is being extended to us by friendly countries. This aid is only meant to tide over our present deficiencies. We **MUST** make our own arms. Perhaps, Pandit Nehru, was being very sagacious and diplomatic when he affirmed that it was not communism that we were fighting, but the imperialist attitude of China. He was careful not to offend the ideological sensitiveness of Russia. He hopes to retain our self

respect and prestige in this precarious position in which we have been placed, only by having both Russia (even if its support is silent) and the NATO countries on our side. There is no doubt that our Prime Minister is in a unique position in which he alone can maintain the tight rope walking between the two blocs. The MIG deal is important for India not because we will gain a tremendous advantage by obtaining twelve MIG Aircraft, but because it will signify Russia's support. Russia is wavering because China must be upbraiding her for pulling away from the brotherhood. But surely Russia must have the right to choose to support her own friends; and India could expect all her friendly pressure to persuade Russia to honour her promises by supplying us the MIGs.

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the motives behind the Chinese cease-fire. Many people have sat back complacently, thinking that the Chinese never had any real intention to invade and conquer India. Otherwise, why this cease-fire when they had the advantage!

It would seem that the cease-fire had 3 causes and motives. Firstly, Russia probably gave China an ultimatum that she was going too far. Secondly China had gained her immediate intention of exhibiting to the Asian countries that "might was right" and that the Indians were only "Paper Wrestlers" (Kagzi Pahalwan). the third, (most important and dangerous reason for us) was—that the politicians and strategists sitting in Peking—playing "war games on the Chess table", realized that even if they occupied a substantial Indian territory, they would not be able to hold it for long. They have realised that in order to have a real victory over India, they must soften the ground first. They must convert the people to their way of thinking and win their sympathy and support. China does not do things by half measures, it will be noticed. They did not attack India with just 10,000 soldiers. They waited till they could strike with 10 times the superiority in numbers and equipment.

The Chinese strategy is apparent in NEFA. It is now known, the Chinese had been infiltrating Tibetan women into NEFA, after getting them forcibly married to Mompas youths. If the Chinese did not have local guides and supporters who gave them exact and immediate information about Indian Army dispositions and numbers, they would never have had the success that they did. Therefore, in the same way, the Chinese want to keep in their possession the Himalayan passes to India, so that they can infiltrate their agents into India for propaganda

purposes, before they launch the final massive offensive.

We have to be extremely alert to this eventuality. It will be much more difficult to counteract and check this ideological warfare than an armed invasion. It is like this: If a clear stream flowing gently is confronted by a large uprush of water, its own waters become turbulent; but if a stream of dirty water is quietly let loose into its waters, it easily and unsuspectingly mingles with the clear water! We must counter the Chinese propaganda machines in a very effective manner, if we are to score a victory over China.

We have to play for time in order to build up our own resources to hit back at the arrogant invader. In the meanwhile we must seek aid from all our friends to keep the enemy at a respectable distance from our country.

(The thoughts expressed above do not necessarily reflect the opinion of this journal—Ed.)

Book Review

OUT OF MAO'S CHINA by Liu Shaw-Tong (Inside Story of Present-day China): Published by Popular Library Inc. New York Duell, Sloan and Pearce 1960. Price 10 cents. (Original Title: **OUT OF RED CHINA**: Published 1953 in Taiwan). Pages 128 including glossary.

This is a typical achievement of American publishing enterprise to reach the masses of the modern reading public on the largest possible scale. Priced at 10 cents and rewritten in simple English, it is a model of books suitable for the new literates—in America the immigrants and in India the products of the adult literacy movement in their vernacular equivalent.

This book conveys authentic information about communist China in the first year of the Revolution when it captured power over the entire mainland driving Chiang Kai-shek out to Formosa (1949-50).

The author Liu Shaw-Tong worked for a year as a People's correspondent with the "Southward Bound Army" when it moved south from Peking in its mission of "liberation", occupation and capture of power.

He describes his experiences in simple words with the edge of disillusionment still keen in his mind. Many aspects of communist China come alive in his simple narrative and confirm the worst fears we had formed from what we had read of Russia and her revolution and the immense sufferings of her people.

As a news correspondent, he tells us the new instructions he received with his colleagues. He was not to report objectively, for objectivity was but a bourgeois prejudice! His job was to report in favour of the propertyless class, of the proletariat revolution! He was further to remember that he was to report from the standpoint of materialism as an overall philosophy as regards

truth and values. Thirdly, he should adopt the argumentative method in reporting.

His chief told him that the old world reporters only revealed what happened. His job as People's correspondent was to create a new world in accordance with revolutionary principles. Everything that helped this was truth and fair and right!

There is an interesting section on marriage and love, which in the eyes of the revolutionaries dissociates sex from the other human values of a permanent character developing a family sentiment.

There is a vivid chapter on land reform. A guerilla officer from a farmer's family hears of land reform in his village. He visits it secretly and finds his father bound hand and foot and surrounded by the village poor, shouting at him. He was forced to say that the Revolution was supreme and the People's Court was sovereign! Thereupon his father is beaten to death before his eyes and the eyes of his mother and sister, brother and sister-in-law, who look on piteously. The farmer had only a couple of acres which he had acquired by years of hard work. But the cupidity and greed of the poor were aroused by the cadres. This was how millions perished to transfer land to the tiller and power to the Party. The book deserves to be translated into every Indian language, especially in today's crisis brought about by China's fake claims to be a heaven on earth. The enormous and criminal falsity of the news control called the bamboo curtain is also vividly described here.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

Gleanings from the Press

UMBRELLA FOR FOUL WEATHER

The controversy over "Air Umbrella" should come to a halt with President Kennedy making it quite clear that U.S.A. would be "responsive" to Indian requests for aircraft support in the event of sudden Chinese attacks on Indian cities. The Indian Communists who have been loudly proclaiming their opposition to Red China's unprovoked aggression against this country should, in the light of these proclamations, welcome any measures that would strengthen India's defences and ability to meet all aerial threat from Peking. But the Communists evidently want that we should defend ourselves against the Chinese attack only with Russian military hardware! As this assistance and support is hard to get from Moscow, as was witnessed during the last fall when the Han multitude attacked us, the Communists would rather prefer to leave the cities undefended than seek help from quarters where it is available. They evidently want an umbrella with the Moscow label on it. But the people of this country whose main concern is to strengthen the defences at any cost have reasons to be happy at the prompt manner in which the Western Powers have rushed to our aid when Moscow was swearing by the unbreakable bonds with which she was wedded to her ally. The people at large have by now come to know the fair-weather and foul-weather friends.

—Flame Delhi

News & Views

BRITISH LEFTIST WEEKLY'S COMMENT: PEKING GOING BACK ON COLOMBO PROPOSALS TO MOUNT ANOTHER OFFENSIVE IN SPRING

The left-wing journal from London, Tribune Weekly, in an article captioned "Border: Going Back "on Colombo" has observed that the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals has turned out to be "more apparent than real."

The journal stated "Originally, when the high level mission from Colombo visited Peking, the Chinese made great propaganda with their so-called positive response to the proposals. Subsequently Mr. Nehru, in spite of heavy pressure from his right-wing parties, announced his acceptance of the proposals in toto.

"The Chinese acceptance of the proposals has turned out to be more apparent, than real. They are now trying to attach various conditions and qualifications to their acceptance, contrary to the recommendations of the Colombo Conference.

"Meanwhile, reports have come in of massive concentrations of Chinese troops in the Chumbi Valley between Sikkim and Bhutan.

"This may indicate that the Chinese are preparing for another offensive very soon, when spring comes to the Himalayas."

EXPANDING CHINA MENACE

WASHINGTON

SOUTH-EAST Asian nations will have to reckon with an enlargement of China's role including "the direct use of military power."

This has been made clear by the Sino-Indian clash according to the report of the senatorial group led by Mr. Milk Mansfield.

It said the small independent States of the region had been unable to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the Western European colonial powers.

"The Sino-Indian clash makes clear that it is now necessary for the South-East Asian nations to reckon with the enlargement of the Chinese role at any time to include the direct use of military power in a full modern revival of the classic pattern of Chinese imperial techniques in South-East Asia," the report said.

Stressing the key position which the U.S. held in the area, the report said any sudden U.S. withdrawal from South-East Asia "would open the region to upheaval and chaos" and would cause "the Chinese shadow...to lengthen."

SOMALI PUPIL RELATES COMMUNIST RACIALISM

SIENA (Italy), Mar. 3 (AFP).

A SOMALI student who has arrived here with five friends has given his version of the racial troubles which they and many other African students encountered in Bulgaria recently.

The student, Hashi Abdi Barre, told newsmen here: "When we arrived in Sofia on Bulgarian Government grants we did not know the language. We saw people laughing and pointing at us and we thought this was a sign of pleasantness.

"We realised later that they were insulting us and laughing at us. One day a police chief to whom we had gone to protest against the continual racial discriminations, told us, with ironical smile: "You cannot protest since you are descended from monkeys."

He went on: "Our fellow students at the Bulgarian University treated us in the same way. They shunned our company telling us clearly: "Keep away from us, because you Africans are all crazy."

An organisation of young Bulgarians took up the affair. Barre added and "apparently put out instructions warning girl students that if they were seen in our company they would be expelled from colleges."

The Somali student said that very often when an African went out with a girl a group of youths would follow them and at the first opportunity "jump on the African and beat him up." If a police officer happened to be passing he would "pretend not to have noticed."

After a great number of African students had left for England and America, representatives from the Ghana Embassy were called to the Ministry of Education "where pressure was put on them to try to persuade us to stay in Bulgaria," Barre added.

"Finally the authorities agreed to release those who had been arrested and gave us the money for our tickets. We had to arrange that ourselves," he said.

"When we Somali students left, nearly all the other Africans had already departed," Barre concluded.

NEHRU TELLS STATES TO RETAIN ENGLISH AS ASSOCIATE LANGUAGE

NEW DELHI, March 2—Prime Minister Nehru has, in a circular letter to the State Chief Ministers, stressed the need to continue English as an associate language of the Indian Union for an indefinite period.

Apart from giving an assurance on this score, Mr. Nehru has argued that English as an international language should be retained to comprehend and assimilate the progress the world was making in the fields of technology and science.

Another point made by the Prime Minister is that India had lagged in the past and had even lost her freedom by her habit of "inward looking."

'WIDESPREAD DRINKING BY POLICE'

AHMEDABAD.—Prohibition cannot succeed in Gujarat unless the drink evil is first rooted out from the police force.

The prohibition and crime subcommittee of the Ahmedabad District Development Board has come to this conclusion.

The Committee passed a resolution which is interpreted as an indirect admission of the failure of the Prohibition policy.

The police force was not respected by the public for this reason and hence it did not have the required moral strength to enforce the dry law.

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by

Ralph Borsodi

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