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	Page		Page
EDITORIAL		In This Our Day.	10
Elect Subba Rao And Clean Up the Mess	2	<i>By Len Martin.</i>	
The Tamil Contribution To Indian Culture.	5	The Economics of Scarcity.	12
<i>By A. Ranganathan.</i>		<i>By Herbert C. Roseman.</i>	
The Presidential Election: Can Muslims Be Secular?	7	Revalue The Rupee!	16
<i>By M. N. Tholal.</i>		<i>By Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha. M. P.</i>	
DELHI LETTER		A Review Of Devaluation Of The Rupee.	18
Parity With A Vengeance.	9	<i>By Prof. M. R. Hazaray.</i>	

EDITORIAL

Elect Subba Rao And Clean Up The Mess

PRESIDENT Radhakrishnan rendered a great service to the country by his famous speech of January 2nd in which he focussed serious attention of his countrymen on 'the great mess', the Congress rulers have made of our country. The speech went home to the rulers, only to make them more determined to pursue their disastrous policies domestic and foreign, in face of the tormenting experience the country has to pass through, and to persist in their self-centered and self-aggrandising attitudes and postures. The electors on their part, already disillusioned with the Congress Rule, must have been confirmed and strengthened in their determination to show their unequivocal disapproval of and strong displeasure at the cavalier fashion in which the Central and State Governments were going about their work, even when the country was passing through a severe economic crisis, the like of which has not been witnessed before in the post-freedom era. The General elections as was expected, gave the Congress a severe jolt at the centre by returning it to power with only a slender majority, while in the States particularly in the Gangetic belt right up from Punjab to Bengal, they all but blasted legislative foundations of the Congress and sent it almost into wilderness. The nemesis has thus truly befallen the Congress in the North and in the extreme south, as a result of the great mess created throughout the country by power-hunting and selfish Congress leaders.

HOW THE BALL WAS SET ROLLING

As a result of the Congress debacle in the General Elections, the Presidential Election could no longer be expected to be a tame affair this time. To avoid a contest, some far sighted veteran Congress

leaders suggested the re-election of Dr. Radhakrishnan as the President and Dr. Zakir Husain as Vice-President. But Dr. Radhakrishnan appears to have weaned Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, away from himself, by his outspoken criticism of the Congress rule. Mrs. Gandhi took this criticism as a personal slight to her and as an uncomplimentary reflection on her administration, not realising the full implications of Dr. Radhakrishnan's well-meant comments, which might also be interpreted to mean that the mess was not merely created by her but was a pretty long time coming from her father's time. It is reported that her false sense of pride in her infallibility was very much piqued by the reference in the Presidential speech to the 'mess' and since then, she has been vehemently opposing the Presidentship of Dr. Radhakrishnan, though there was a possibility of his being elected unanimously both by the Congress and Opposition.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and what has come to be known as her 'Kitchen Cabinet' are undoubtedly given to day-dreaming, right after the style of the late Mr. Nehru. The late Mr. Nehru had at least woven around him the aura of a self-sacrificing and unrelenting fighter for freedom, which many a time mystified and dumb-founded even his honest critics. But Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her advisers, devoid of any such halo and besides, having an ill-repute of grossly mishandling the affairs of the country, were not justified in assuming the late Mr. Nehru's airs and postures and thinking that they could impose a President of their choice on the country, who could do no better than play the role of a goody goody amiable and cultured gentleman and who belonging as he does, to a minority com-

munity could be boosted up as an emblem of India's much-vaunted secularity. Dr. Zakir Hussain as the Vice-President of India does not seem to have impressed Congress Legislators and outsiders very much as a person who is eminently capable of guiding the nation through the present difficult times which are facing it.

NO MORE FAVOUR PLEASE!

The country has been brought to this miserable pass by people who have captured positions of power and authority not by right or merit and ability, but by built-in prestige of certain families in the Congress circles, and by the grace of the top-most leaders like Gandhi and Nehru. There was no reason why Mrs. Indira Gandhi should have succeeded her father to the throne of Prime Ministership. Even the short gap of the late Lal Bahadur Shastri's tenure of Prime Ministership was the result of graceful withdrawal of Mrs. Indira Gandhi for a time from such posts, just to avoid the creation of a suspicion in the public mind about such hereditary posts being created. This evil practice has been followed in the States too. The children or relations of the deceased ministers have very often found a place in the State Ministries. The President and Vice-President never think of retiring in time, till they are thrown out. They are prone to be obsessed with the idea of their indispensability to the nation. Not to speak of Presidentship or Prime-Ministership, even the Congress Presidentship has now become a gadi or throne to be occupied by a person only through the grace or favour of a Nehru or a Gandhi, irrespective of his merit and qualifications. Kamaraj is an instance of this kind. With incompetent persons like Kamaraj at the head of the Congress and Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her 'kitchen cabinet colleagues' at the head of the administration and the President and the Vice-President as we have today, at the head of the State, it is no wonder that the country is on the verge of economic collapse and political chaos.

NEEDED A STRONG AND ABLE PRESIDENT

The pattern of Governments in the State is now changed. No longer could the unanimity of opinion between the Centre and the State be taken for granted. The tussle between the non-Congress Governments and Congress Government at the Centre has already commenced. The Constitution has amply provided for such a contingency, and it will be for the President to see to it that the provisions in this respect provided in the Constitution are respected and followed both by the Centre and the States in the spirit in which they were conceived. The Congress party's policies could not be expected to be followed by the non-Congress State governments, though an agreed minimum programme could be evolved for all. The food programme is a case in point, and the centre and the states could not afford to continue to wrangle over this affair, without bringing about a national disaster affecting millions of starving people of this country. This situa-

tion calls for the exercise of utmost statesmanship and great vision on the part of the leaders of both the Right and the Left, in the matter of exploring areas of mutual cooperation and help between one State and another and also between the Centre and the States.

In this situation, the role of the President as that of the Governors of States assumes great significance. The healthy practice of Governors being appointed in consultation with the Government of the States needs to be continued. The same consideration should weigh in the matter of election of the President and Vice-President. An avowed Congressman has no place at this juncture in Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections. Though in the legislatures at the Centre, the Congress has a majority, the same could not be said of the votes the Congress could command in the States. Moreover, the communal tinge has been introduced by the Prime Minister herself by her sponsoring Dr. Zakir Hussain against Ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Mr. Subba Rao. Shri Humayun Kabir, though belonging to the Opposition, is openly playing the role of a canvassing agent of this Muslim Candidate, Dr. Zakir Husain. There is no knowing therefore, to what extent there will be defection from the Congress ranks in this election and the scales might be turned any time against the Congress.

This communal turn given to this election is more likely to harm the Indira Group of Congressmen, than the Opposition leaders, among whom are included Masani, Dange and others, who could by no stretch of imagination be accused of communalism.

The Opposition leaders have unanimously opted for Subba Rao, because of his undoubted ability and acumen as a Constitutional Lawyer and Ex-Chief Judge of the Supreme Court conversant with Constitutional Law. He is above party-politics and is therefore, just the type of the President required to take the country through the present turmoils, tensions and deadlocks Constitutional and political, with which it is faced today.

The voters in this election, it can be hoped, therefore will clearly visualise the political situation that obtains in the country and cast their votes in favour of Shri Subba Rao in the interests of the smooth working of Federalism and Democracy which are now endangered by Congress Party's intransigence obstinacy and foolhardiness.

THE COMMON SCRIPT

India is a land of many tongues, languages and scripts. Attempts have been therefore made by all nationalists to give the country a common language and a common script. English language and Roman Alphabet, though they were imposed on Indian people by the British rulers, had undeniably one good effect. They welded together in at least one fraternity, the Indian intelligentsia, thus laying the foundation for national unity and integration which

is, yet, far from being complete. The English language and the Roman alphabet have been and are still the main vehicles of communication among the educated people in our country. But this common tie is being gradually cut asunder by the emergence of regional patriotism in recent years, Gandhiji insisted on Indians having a common Indian language of Indian origin and therefore recommended Hindi language and Devnagari alphabet as substitutes for English language and Roman alphabet and carried on a vigorous propaganda in their favour. The idea caught the imagination of the people and it appealed powerfully to their nationalist sentiment which was more anti-British than pro-Indian in its original concept and practice.

But after the British left India, regional passions ruled the minds of the people more than Indian nationalist sentiment. Hindi which was given the place of pride as the National language came to be looked upon as the regional language of the North. The Southern States revolted against the Centre's attempt to make Hindi the only official language of India. The South wanted English to be assigned that place also.

This revolt had a side-effect. The South gradually clamoured for making regional languages and alphabets the media of instruction and communication. In the North also, each linguistic group wanted not only to have its own language recognised by the Government but also wanted to retain the distinctive alphabet of its regional language, though the Devanagari alphabet could be easily employed for writing in these closely allied languages.

The common language riddle thus remained unsolved. The Government then thought that a common script should be evolved as a pre-condition to a successful solution of this language tangle. So they set up a committee of fifteen experts to evolve an improved Devnagari script which would be optionally employed for writing in regional languages. The committee is reported to have devised such Devnagari Script. It is now up to the State Governments to introduce it as an additional script to be used for the regional language in their offices and educational institutions. The advantages accruing to the people from this reform, will be many, the main being that of their being able to share in the national heritage of common culture. This common script will go a great way in removing regional and cultural barriers between one State and another and between the North and the South.

Of course, the political hurdles in the way of putting this scheme into practice will be there. Mutual jealousies, parochialism fears and doubts will dog its steps as in the case of common National language. But all these could be overcome by making it clear that this common Devnagari script is not intended to replace any other but is designed to bring all languages together and closer to one another. The Union Government will have to prepare the ground for willing acceptance on the part of the states of this plan of a common script which has such potential value to the work of National Integration.

THE CONSERVATIVE BENEFACTOR OF GERMANY

Iron had entered into the soul of Germany after her defeat in the First World War in 1918. People worked hard to restore Country's economy but failed miserably under the dead weight of Germany's shattered economy and of war-debts. That gave rise to Hitler who, in the name of Germany's revival played upon the passions of the masses, and imposed his Nazi Dictatorship over Germany and ultimately involved Europe into a savage blood bath. After initial success, he was also worsted and destroyed in 1945 by the sword which he wielded so mercilessly.

After this defeat in the Second World War, Germany once again reeled under a ruined economy and national humiliation. In this situation Germany found in the iron Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer, a confirmed conservative, an almost Saviour. It was all due to the spirit of steadfast loyalty of this leader to the best that is in Conservative Germany, that brought the country up from the slough of the despond, into which the country had fallen after the six years of devastating world war started by Hitler. This great son of Germany died at the age of 91 on 19th of April, 1967, after living a dedicated life in the cause of his country, for fourteen years in the capacity of the Chancellor of Germany.

The economic revival of Germany after the War was mainly due to the ceaseless efforts of two persons each great in his own way, one, this iron Chancellor and the other, being Dr. Erhard, the Economic Wizard, the former giving the psychological and spiritual strength to the nation, and the latter, giving economic and financial cure to the nation's malady. It is remarkable to note in this connection, that when in these days, progress of a country is sought to be linked up with ultra-radicalism and Leftism, it was left to this iron Chancellor, and his colleagues to prove to the world that a nation could progress materially and spiritually by what might be called evolutionary Conservatism, with the least blood-shed and horrors that usually attend a Leftist revolution.

That Germany is today put on the world map as one of the leading nations of the world, is all due to this iron man who never flinched or wavered from his Conservative path of free enterprise and democratic politics. His Conservatism led him to seek unhesitatingly the helping hand of America in rebuilding Germany and Europe and to establish peace between Germany and her traditional enemy France. The same rigidity prevented him from taking a flexible attitude towards East Germany and Communist Countries in commercial and political spheres.

And it must be admitted that what he did was quite necessary at least during the period in which he functioned as the head of the Government. His love of Germany was unbounded; his passion for democracy, overwhelming, and devotion to the cause of Western Europe and European Democracy, unparalleled. With his exit from this mortal world, ends a whole eventful era from which future generation will not fail to get inspiration, guidance and light.

The Tamil Contribution To Indian Culture

by

A. RANGANATHAN

For the past few years, there has been a steadily increasing stream of books, receiving its affluents from several foreign sources (some of them being old Sanskrit manuscripts, a good number of them being historical works written by foreign scholars and a few of them being reprints of old Tamil classics) charting the new-found but ancient province of Tamil literature set in the state of South Indian society. A few years ago, an eighteenth century Sanskrit work entitled 'Sarva-Deva-Vilasa' was discovered, which reveals new insights into the social life of Madras during the eighteenth century. Another valuable Sanskrit work is a sociological survey of the era of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the celebrated Dubash of Duplex, giving us a bird's eye-view of the Carnatic of those days, with Ananda Ranga Pillai as the bird!

It would perhaps be a surprise to most readers that we have been able to trace the evolution of South Indian languages mainly due to the efforts of foreign savants. Just as modern Sanskrit research was initiated by a galaxy of Western scholars like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Paul Deussen, Goldstucker, Max Mueller, Monier Williams and others, it was left to Perceval, Ellis, Dr. Pope, Dr. Caldwell, Father Beschi and Nobili to blaze a new trail in Tamil. Incidentally it is well to remember that similar work was done by E. P. Rice and Kittel for Kannada, Campbell and Brown for Telugu and Gundert for Malayalam. Soon there was a spate of books on Tamil civilization beginning with V. Kanakasabhai's "The Tamil eighteen hundred years ago" surveying the ancient geography of the land of the Tamils, their foreign commerce, political history, social life, mode of warfare, literature, philosophy and religion. Many other works have included such interesting titles as S. Gnanaprakasam's "Sumerian and Tamil", Raja Rao's "Tamil in Ancient Egypt" and Gilbert Slater's "Dravidian Element in Indian Culture".

The problem of linking different culture has attracted the attention of several scholars. A kind of link exists between the language spoken by a tribe in Baluchistan and Tamil. Again, most of us are familiar with the works of the late Rev. Father Heras of St. Xavier's College, Bombay who attempted to read in the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa a type of Proto Dravidian idiom. Interesting as they are, it would be difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion although such works are valuable sources of material for scholars interested in comparative philosophy, semantics, decipherment of seals and inscriptions in an attempt to study Indian culture which is derived from a mingling of different civilizations.

The 'Holkapiyam' is usually regarded as the most ancient work now available to us. It is clear that it must have been preceded by earlier works. This treatise of Tolkapiyyar which is assigned to the third century. B.C. is divided into three sections, the first

dealing with topics like phonology and phonetics, the second with syntax and semantics, and the third with poetry and prosody. The Golden age of Tamil is said to begin with the third age of the third Academy or Sangam lasting for more than a thousand years. It was an age of anthologies. The 'Kalitokkai' and 'Paripatal' anthologies are sonnet-like compositions in the style of a dramatic opera. The 'Patitrupattu' are ten poems in praise of the ten Chera kings. The 'Ain Kuru Nuru' or the 'Five Centuries of Verse' constituting the work of five different authors in a style corresponding to the blank verse, 'Puram' poetry dealing with heroic age of ancient Tamilnad and 'Akam' poetry concentrating on love are some of the other analogies of this age. As we approach the next age, we must be prepared for a good deal of muralizing as illustrated in the 'Acharakkovai'. The authors of these books were surely the ancestors of Samuel Smiles. And then we pass on to the period of Thiruvalluvar, of Mylapore, the author of the deeply cherished manual of ethics, the Kural which reflected the dawn of the coming age rather than the closing chapter of the previous one.

Undoubtedly two finest works of ancient Tamil Poetry are the twin epics known as the Silapadikaran and the Manimekhalai. The Silapadikaram, written by Ilanko, a Chera prince who preferred to don a monk's robes rather than wear a crown, is a deeply moving story, with its overtones of tragedy. The story is easily told. Kovalan who wishes to begin a new career, after passing through a reckless phase of debauchery leaves for Madura, accompanied by his faithful wife Kannaki, the heroine of the epic. Kovalan wanted to dispose of one of his wife's anklets. As ill-luck would have it, the Madura Queen's anklet (similar in appearance to that of Kannaki) was stolen and a search was being made for it. Kovalan was suspected in this connection and executed immediately. It is at this juncture that Kannaki attains epic stature. A perfect stranger in a new kingdom, deprived of her husband, she entered the Royal Court and flung the other anklet. When the anklet broke to pieces, rubies flowed in profusion. The Queen's anklet was set in pearls. The mistake was discovered. Kovalan's innocence was proved. However, it was too late. The tragedy was too deep for tears. The king collapsed instantaneously and the Queen also died. And Kannaki cured the city of Madura, which was soon enveloped in flames.

The other epic, 'Manimekhalai' deals with the story of the daughter of Madhavi, Kovalan's mistress. Trained as a dancer, she became a Buddhist nun. There is more of the travail of the mind than the drama of action in this immortal classic. Later Tamil poetry witnessed different stages of development: the periods of Saiva Nayanmars and Vaishnava Alwars; the period of the ninth and tenth centuries

when great works like 'Jeevaka Chintamani', 'Choodamani' and the 'Kamba Ramayana' were composed, apart from systematizing the 'Nalayira Prabhantham' and the 'Thevaram'; the period of philosophical speculation when the Saiva Siddhantha philosophy was formulated; the glorious era of Krishna Deva Raya who had composed an epic on Andal and the age of Tayumanavar, the seventeenth-century Tamil bard of humanism.

The Western impact on Tamil literature resulted in new literary forms. The writing of prose began with Robert de Nobili and Father Beschi. Father Beschi's 'Paramartha Guru Katha' is a collection of stories written with a delightful sense of humour. While his epic poem 'Tempavani' is a work of considerable merit, he is best remembered for initiating the tradition of modern Tamil prose. The nineteenth century was an era of painstaking research and its spirit was exemplified by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, the editor of the Sangam Classics, although one cannot forget to mention the fine opera on the Harijan Saint Nandanar by Gopalkrishna Bharathi. And with the emergence of Subramania Bharathi, we enter a new age. Gone were the days of the pandits with their ornate and obscure modes of style. Bharathi imported a new style, whose distinguishing features were clarity of thought and simplicity of distinction. He composed some fine pieces — "Panchali's Vow" and the exquisite song on the 'Kuyil' apart from his 'Patriotic songs'. Bharathi was also a master of vigorous prose style, which reflected the new wind of change blowing across the Tamil landscape.

Popular scientific writing in Tamil has attracted many writers. The late Kumari E. T. Rajeswari's 'Paramanu Puranam' illustrating the history of the atom, told in a chatty style and 'Love in the Plant World' by Rajagopalachari deserve special mention. It would be reasonable to conclude, that Kalki's achievements in periodical journalism and historical novels like 'Sivakamiyin Sabhadam' and 'Parthupan Kanavu', Thiru Vi Ka's 'Vazhkai Kurippu', V. V. S. Iyer's short stories, the literary criticism of T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar and R. P. Sethu Pillai, the works of literary historians like S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, the Tamil Encyclopaedia edited by Pariaswami Theoran, some fine composition of minor poets like Ramalingam Pillai and Desika Vinayakam Pillai, reflect the vitality of Tamil literature. What of the future? One may not be unduly hopeful of Tamil poetry for some time to come; but Tamil prose mirrored in the fields of the short story, the novel, scientific writing, political polemics and economic is full of possibilities.

It is appropriate that the name of the old state of Madras has been changed to 'Tamizhagham'. Nearly seventy years ago Rudyard Kipling described Madras in the following strain:

"Grand above Queens — a withered beldame
now Brooding on ancient fame."

The days of the "withered beldam" of the East India Company are over! Indeed the Congress Raj was too old and tired to realize the new state of mind. And the era of Kanyakumari has just begun. For Kanyakumari is not only the symbol of Tamizhagham, but also reflects the youthful spirit of Tamil literature.

LOK PAL

The offices of Lok Pals and Lok Ayukts are proposed to be created with a view to dealing with allegation of corruption against Ministers and higher civil servants. It appears that, even as it is, Ministers and civil servants have to submit their annual financial statements to the Chief Ministers in the States and the Prime Minister in the Centre. Apparently these statements have not enabled the Chief Ministers and the Prime Minister to deal with corruption, if any, among those who submitted their financial statements. Or, there would be no need for Lok Pals and Lok Ayukts. But will the new officials do any better? If Ministers and higher civil servants can be corrupt, can it be presumed that the Lok Pals and Lok Ayukts cannot be equally corrupt? Like the present Vigilance Commissioners, the new officers must each have a sizeable staff. Even if the officers be above board, can it be presumed that their subordinates will be equally so? Who is to appoint the Lok Pals and Lok Ayukts, except Ministers, allegations against whom the new officials are to investigate.

Every new office is yet another actual or potential centre of corruption at the expense of the unfortunate and helpless people.

A simpler and more effective method of dealing with corruption is the *publication of the annual financial statements of Ministers and legislators, Central and State*, if only as the first and manageable step. It serves no purpose if the statements are submitted to chiefs of political parties, for they gain by the corruption of their members, and it is the public that suffer, and it is the public that must be satisfied that Ministers and legislators are free from corruption.

Publication of financial statements will act as a pretty effective *deterrent* to corruption. Deterrence is far better than allegation, prolonged enquiry, difficult proof and uncertain conviction. No acquittal will wipe out the stigma inflicted by the allegation, for it will be said that the allegation could not be proved, and not that it was unfounded. Automatic publication will, like the publication of audited balance sheets of registered bodies, will not involve any insinuation of corruption.

Corruption cannot be controlled by multiplying officials and their establishments to control it; they will only multiply the centres of corruption.

— P. Kodanda Rao.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: CAN MUSLIMS BE SECULAR?

By M. N. Tholal

THE presidential election is the topic of discussion in all intelligent circles in the country, and it is an indication of our fearsome mentality that what people say in private is not reflected in opinions which find publication in the Press. The Congress President was not being just anti-Indira Gandhi, as has been suggested in some newspapers, when he remarked that there was a certain amount of risk in choosing Dr. Zakir Hussain as the Congress nominee. Nobody has anything against Dr. Zakir Hussain except that, apart from being a Congressman which is by no means a recommendation these days, he is a Muslim. And the question being frankly put in all non-Muslim circles is: can a Muslim be really and truly loyal to India? Strictly speaking, the question should be: can a true Muslim be really and truly loyal to India?

It is really unfortunate that the Hindus, Congressmen in particular, are inclined to be very unrealistic in their appreciation of the mentality of their Muslim countrymen. Let us hark back to the days of the freedom struggle which is associated with the Gandhian era that started in 1920. The Mahatma's espousal of the khilafat cause earned for him the gratitude of the Muslims and they flocked under his banner, which, to begin with, was the Khilafat banner. So zealous was the Mahatma's advocacy of the Khilafat cause that Moulana Mohammad Ali found it difficult to believe that he was not a Muslim in his heart of hearts and he went to the extent of saying that, but for fear of being disowned by Hindus, he would have publicly embraced Islam.

What Maulana Mohammad Ali did not know was that Gandhi was a consummate actor and that it was his support of the Khilafat movement which had made him the unquestioned leader of the country, head and shoulders above the rest. But within a brief period of time the Maulana, Gandhi's closest lieutenant, was found saying that the meanest Muslim is better than the noblest Hindu. (Many people interpreted the latter to refer to the Mahatma.) I asked some of my Muslim friends what they thought of that pronouncement of the Maulana and they said, as true Muslims, they can believe nothing else. In any case that statement of the learned Maulana was not seriously questioned by any of his Muslim compatriots.

Between the Hindus and Muslims there is a vital difference. The Hindus can believe anything and yet remain Hindus. Not so the Muslims. They have their Holy Book to believe in. There can, for the true Muslim, be no deviation from the path laid down in the Holy Book. The Quadianis, a Muslim sect, do not believe that Mohammad was the last of the prophets, as laid down in the Holy Koran,

and are therefore bitterly hated by the other Muslims. Thousands of Quadianis lost their lives and property and women in the anti-Quadiani riots that swept Pakistan in 1955. The Government, from the Governor downwards, could not but connive at the misdeeds of the rioters as they were only meeting out a just punishment to the unbelievers. In fact it was this fanaticism on the part of the people that led the thinking section among the Pakistan leaders to conclude that democracy was unsuited to Pakistan, for, in any general elections, the supporters of the boldthirsty rioters alone stood any chance of being elected.

Muslims have a living faith in Islam, as Gandhi used to say. He had lived among Muslims and knew them, even as I have lived among Muslims and know them. We Hindus tend to believe that the Muslims also, like us, are faint believers of a casual creed. The first and foremost characteristic of the Muslim is that he is a fanatic. This is no term of abuse. 'Fanatic' only means 'extravagantly or unreasonably zealous, especially in religion', or 'excessively enthusiastic in matters of religion'. Every Muslim is a missionary; he considers it part of his sacred duty to convert non-Muslims to Islam. That is in fact his foremost duty. In other words, the duty is to eradicate *kufir* (heresy).

It was no doubt in the context of this knowledge of Islam or Muslims that a saying which was put in the mouth of Sardar Patel became popular: "Pandit Nehru is the only Nationalist Muslim I know." Rafi Ahmad Kidwai was far from being a fanatic and yet look at what he did. He reduced the postal rates for Pakistan to the level of those obtaining for Indian places, why? was it because Pakistan was very friendly towards India? To whom did the concession benefit? Muslims alone. And what type of Muslims? Those who had one leg in Pakistan and one leg in India. Thousands of Muslims families in India have their closest relatives in Pakistan and vice versa.

What disturbs those who know something about Islam and the preachings of the Holy Koran is that Islam does not believe in martyrdom, in sacrificing one's life for one's faith, unnecessarily. Mohammad Ali Jinnah put it in fine when he once said, "I believe in saving my skin if I can". (This was by way of retort to Gandhi's exhortation to his countrymen to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the country.) That is to say, Islam permits Muslims to pretend to believe what they really do not, if circumstances so demand. Khilafat, the Muslim leader who unfurled the banner of Pakistan long before Jinnah took up the cause, had no hesitation in saluting the Indian National flag after the

formation of Pakistan, since he had been advised and had agreed to remain in India to continue to work for the cause. (He found the country too hot for him and had to leave.)

Iqbal, the Muslim poet who boastfully asked the Almighty, "*Kat kar rakh diye kuffer ke lashkar kisne?*" — (who decimated the armies of the kafirs?) — also wrote, "Muslim hain hum vatan hai saara jahan hamara". ("We are Muslims and the whole world is our homeland".) This was by way of amending and apologising for his lines written in the heyday of his nationalism, "Hindi hain hum, vatan hai Hindostan hamara" and "Saare jahan se achchha Hindcstan hamara." ("We are people of Hindi and Hindustan is our homeland" and "our Hindustan is better than the whole world".) The worst of it, from the secular point of view, is that their religion enters into every thing. It is not a thing that can be kept apart, in a separate compartment.

Dr. Katju once said, "Only a Hindu state can be a secular state." It is not permissible to deduce from this statement that only Hindus can be really secular. I think that Christians also can be truly secular. For, did Jesus say: "Love thy neighbour as thyself". But I find it very difficult to believe that true Muslims can be really secular. For them it is a contradiction in terms: their religion does not permit secularism and I therefore do not think that a *true* Muslim can honestly aspire to be the head of a secular state. For, to be an honest head of a secular state he must himself be truly secular. And that a true Muslim cannot be. The line of distinction between the faithful and the unfaithful or faithless is deep and clear. I think if the passages from the Holy Koran relating to the Kafirs — like us Hindus — were selected and printed, they would make frightful reading for the Kafirs.

Article 44 of the Constitution of India says: "The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India." Dr. A. J. Fariri recently wrote to Dr. Lohia: "It has been reported in the Press that in your public statements you have said that if you come to power you would change by force the Muslim Personal Law. This has caused great resentment in the Muslim community. I would therefore request you to kindly clarify this point." Dr. Lohia in reply said, "It is true that I have talked of one civil code and have talked of changing the Muslim personal law as of Hindus and others. It is untrue that I have talked of using force... I may remind you that the Prime Minister of India while filing her nomination papers swore by the Constitution which stands for one civil code."

(During the election campaign the Prime Minister had to assure Muslims that there was no move to change the Muslim personal law. Speaking at a mammoth rally to inaugurate the Congress election campaign in the Capital, Mrs. Gandhi said that some interested persons were making false propoganda that the Government proposed to amend the Muslim law without ascertaining the

wishes of the people. She said that no decision concerning the minorities' rights would be taken without first consulting them. In fact any such move would have to come from the minority communities themselves.)

As I write the mammoth funeral procession of the murderer of Swami Shradhanand rises before my eyes. Muslims of Delhi and the surrounding areas flocked in their hundreds of thousands to pay homage to the dead body of the murderer of Swami Shradhanand. And what had Swami Shradhanand done to deserve the assassin's knife? A Muslim girl had read a book written by the Swami and had written to him giving expression to her desire to embrace Hinduism. The Swami wrote back saying she was welcome to the Hindu fold. He did what Muslims all over India are doing every day, and they are doing it by hook or crook, like the Christian missionaries. The sight of that unending funeral procession had to be seen to be believed. That is Islam. The secular United Arab Republic sends thousands of Muslim missionaries abroad to convert people to Islam! That is Muslim secularism!

BORDER DISPUTES BETWEEN STATES

The reorganization of the provinces in India on the linguistic basis was, in my opinion, a major mistake. I had all along opposed such reorganization for the reason, among others, that no-redrawing will produce homogeneous uni-lingual states, but will leave linguistic minorities, who were bound to complain of linguistic imperialism by the linguistic majorities. The very fact that the Mahajan Commission was appointed is, in my opinion, proof of it.

Any compulsory re-drawing of the present boundaries will still leave linguistic minorities in each State, and they are likely to complain even more, as they may become linguistic minorities *smaller than at present* and, therefore, more sensitive and helpless.

There is no justification to compel any citizen in a State in India to become a member of another State since he is a citizen of India and not of any single area within it and is free to migrate and settle in any part of India of his choice.

My submission is that all those, who are now in one State but wish to change it, should be encouraged and given facilities to *migrate to the State of their choice and not drag along with them those who do not wish to change.*

It is my surmise that, if the choice be given, the number of citizens who wish to change from one linguistic state to another, will be so small that it will not pose a problem of any magnitude.

If the principle of voluntary migration be accepted, as I hope it will, the procedure for it can be discussed.

The advantage of my schemes is *that nobody will be compelled to stay where he is and not to go where he wishes to be.*

— P. Kodanda Rao.

PARITY WITH A VENGEANCE

(From Our Correspondent)

As was to be expected, the presidential election has given rise to a controversy regarding the suitability of the opposing candidates, Dr. Zakir Hussain and K. Subba Rao, the Congress and Opposition nominees for the contest respectively. Among the critics of the Opposition's choice, it is generally felt here, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and Mr. M. C. Setalvad might have made a better performance.

Deploring the Opposition role in "setting up a serving Chief Justice of India against a pre-eminently suited person" like Dr. Hussain, the Sarvodaya leader has said that the Opposition had not "exactly covered itself with glory by the manner it tried to reach a consensus". He "cannot imagine how any one in this country who had anything to do with India's freedom movement can prefer any one else at this moment to Dr. Zakir Hussain," although he must be aware of what those connected with India's freedom movement have done to the country in the past twenty years.

He does not consider the Opposition's choice to be a healthy precedent. "Nor, is it a healthy political act," according to him, "for a chief justice, who is a symbol of impartiality in the eyes of the people to become associated with a political faction." Mr. Narayan must be aware of the meaning of the word 'faction'. Surely all the Opposition parties put together can hardly be described as a political faction. Indeed, he is contradicting himself in the same breath by using the phrase "political faction" for the Opposition after admitting that "it tried to reach a consensus". The very reason for the Opposition choice of the Chief Justice would appear to be that he has been "a symbol of impartiality in the eyes of the people" — after the present President's declaration that "there is corruption at all levels of the administration". The administration having been Congress administration, is that corruption any reason for selecting a partisan Congressman for the highest office in the country?

It should have been obvious to Mr. Setalvad that, of all the leaders in the various walks of life, the most suited for the highest office in the country at the present juncture would be one who could be relied upon to be just and fair to all parties. Who could that person most obviously be than the Chief Justice of the country? If Mr. Subba Rao has confidence in his impartiality, as he must be supposed to have, it was natural for him to realise what his patriotic duty at the moment was, and, realising it, he resigned his office the moment he agreed to be a candidate for election as the highest executive. How is the independence of the judiciary threatened thereby?

The independence of the judiciary is certainly threatened when a high court or Supreme Court judge accepts "an office under the Government" as has admittedly happened, in India in some recent instances. A judge of the Supreme Court was appointed Governor of Assam after he had differed from the majority in a judgment involving a Jana Sangh weekly and accepted the Government view. In the present case the Chief justice merely agreed to a "suggestion to be nominated as a candidate for election to such a high office as the President" after presumably making sure that the Opposition parties expected nothing from him except justice and fair-play. This can hardly be truly described as a "parley with a political party", as Mr. Setalvad says, meaning by "a political party" what Mr. Narain meant by "a political faction" — the phrases used in both cases being a figment of the imagination.

As one of the candidate for the presidentship, Mr. U.P. Chugani, has observed, Mr. Subba Rao did not go out to seek nomination and when it was pressed on him he immediately resigned. Moreover, as he says, to allow oneself to be nominated for election as President does not mean that one has dabbled in politics. As a matter of fact, as he adds, the President should be above politics and that would appear to be the main reason why Mr. Subba Rao agreed.

At the opening session of a seminar in New Delhi on April 15, the major strand of thought that emerged was that in the altered political situation following the elections, with its growing threat of Centre-state conflicts in a variety of fields, the country's President should be a "thinking and functioning" President who would play a dynamic role in sorting out conflicts. But the Congress apparently wants a rubber stamp, i.e., a Congressman, and therefore did not even consider the propriety of having as President some one who would be above party politics. The supreme need of the hour, if the country is to be saved from military rule, is that the President should be a non-party man, one who has never belonged to any political party and has no political affiliations. Mr. Subba Rao is obviously that man.

BOLT FROM THE AMERICAN BLUE.

According to the latest U.S. policy announcement on the supply of spares for military hardware, America would sell to Pakistan spares against cash or credit. The same facility would be extended to India as well. But this is parity with a vengeance if we remember that the USA has through the years given to Pakistan military hardware worth over a billion

dollars whereas grants to India have been relatively insignificant. As our External Affairs Minister, Mr. Chagla, has observed, the supply of spares to Pakistan would almost amount to giving them new tanks and new military aircraft, as during the Indo-Pakistan conflict in 1965 the Indian armed forces damaged or crippled many tanks, aircraft and arms supplied by USA to Pakistan and the supply of spares would now enable Pakistan to rehabilitate tanks and aircraft which had been rendered unserviceable.

As Mr. Chagla says, the latest American policy statement is most unfortunate and inopportune and heavily slanted in favour of Pakistan, particularly in view of Pakistani newspapers' disclosure that the USA has permitted "third countries" to sell "US-made or patented military equipment to either of the two countries on a case-by-case basis". In other words, as the Political Correspondent of the *Statesman* points out, US arms can continue to pour into Pakistan — as they had been doing lately—through Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, West Germany, Portugal and various other countries which have these arms and seem willing to provide them to Pakistan.

It is also known that, apart from handing over US arms to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia has recently been giving substantial loans to Pakistan to buy arms from elsewhere. Another curious aspect of the situation, following the sudden change in US policy, according to the Special Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, is the fact that the Washington decision will enable Pakistan to buy US arms or spare parts of US made weapons with the credit provided by China. According to fairly authentic estimates available in New Delhi, Pakistan would require \$250 million worth of spare parts to put back to service the Patton and other types of US-supplied tanks and combat aircraft (F- 86 and F-104s) damaged during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict.

The Peking regime was the first to come forward with a substantial line of credit to Pakistan in 1964 for buying arms from any available source. The credit facilities provided by China are in addition to the medium tanks and MIG-19 combat aircraft delivered by China to Pakistan during 1965. The Chinese arms deliveries are quantitatively considerable, enough indeed to cause a competitive spirit in New Delhi and the new Washington policy would accelerate the arms race between India and Pakistan further.

In this connection Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is being blamed for her needless repetition of her gratuitous advice to the USA to stop bombing North Vietnam, knowing that the American Administration, and the American President in particular, is naturally very touchy on the issue, and knowing also, as she must be doing, that North Vietnam is entirely in the wrong and has been the aggressor all these years in South Vietnam. She would do well to remember her grandfather's favourite taunt: "I do not suffer from diarrhoea of the mouth." Unfortunately all our Prime Ministers so far have declared themselves victims of the disease to which Pandit Motilal Nehru used to refer with gusto.

THE POLICE STRIKE

Delhi is in the grip of a Police strike and it is obvious that the Government has been caught napping, having been entirely unaware of what was cooking. Or perhaps knowing it in part, was afraid to strike until it was forced to. A stitch in time, it has been said, saves nine. The grievances of the policemen are there for all to see. Even the Corporation scavenger gets more than the dreaded policeman, which is indeed a ridiculous situation. Why was a Commission needed to decline that this was anomalous or why was it necessary for the Government to include the question of the policeman's salary among the very many matters requiring the attention of a commission, unless there is a lot of confusion in the minds of those who matter in the Capital?

IN THIS OUR DAY.

by

Len Martin

A very painful fact that keeps jolting one almost daily, even twenty years after Independence, is the blind prejudice of a great many Indians against just about everything Indian: Indian politicians, without exception, are corrupt beyond all redemption; every Indian leader is suspect; Indian workers are the laziest and clumsiest in the world; the Indian policeman is a scab — that's what they say. These are, of course, serious matters but the perverse streak that runs through the allegations is usually discernable. More tragic is the unreasonable prejudice against anything on the market marked "Made in India." Be it a car or a radio set or even a humble pencil, if manufactured in this Country, it is almost untouchable!

Take a fountain pen, for example: Your friend at first admires it in your pocket. It so attracts him that he asks to examine it; he scrawls his signature with it on the back of an envelop and is pleasantly surprised at the smoothness of its writing. But then he spots the name of the country of manufacture on the barrel and a sneer spreads over his face. *Indian*. Out comes his pen. The finish need not be as good; it might scratch; it might even leak a bit. *But ah! it's foreign*. And that's all that matters. He and his pen are far superior to you and yours.

The fools — I make no apology for what I call them — do not yet realise that their lunatic prejudice is a source of amusement and good profit to their wiser "brethren".

As you step out of Bench Railway Station at Madras, there is a long pavement on your left which is now known as the Refugee Bazaar. Along the one hundred or so yards of this pavement you find refugees, mostly from Burma I believe, sitting

behind their wares. You can buy anything from a top class transistor set to a contraceptive sheath from these hawkers. There's Ovaltine, perfumes, cigarettes, wrist watches — the works, if you can afford the price. *All foreign* is the magic attraction. These refugees, I understand, have been granted certain special concessions in the pursuit of their "business." All sympathy to them for what many of them must have lost because of the hard decision of Ne Win's government. But have they been specially authorised to fleece their customers, the people who welcomed them with open arms in their hour of misery? Of course, one has to first cheerfully submit to being fleeced here and that's where the fool comes in.

A packet of razor blades — 7 o'clock — can be had for five rupees a packet of five blades; a tin of talcum powder for seven rupees (the same brand is available for less than two rupees at any other place in Madras but the refugee's is marked "Made in England."). I wouldn't be surprised if the sheaths were offered for ten rupees each. Even if perished, it is possible that they perished *overseas*! I casually asked about a packet of Woodbine cigarettes. I was told (the guy made it sound as though he were doing me a very great favour) that I could have the packet of twenty for *only* three rupees. Just for the devil of it, I took from my pocket a packet of ten for which I had paid thirty-eight paise at another place and told the fellow the truth. With a look of infinite pity he said to me, "Mine is FOREIGN, master."

I cannot help but end with an incident in which I was involved just before I left Madras: An old pal of mine was chatting with me when a mutual friend, a Scot, joined us. It was the first time my pal had seen him without a tie. In a voice full of surprise he asked why Scottie was not "dressed up tip-top." Scottie promptly suggested that he try wearing a tie in the current beastly weather.

"Oh," replied pal, "I'm only a bloody Indian." It was the contempt in his voice that really riled me. I suppose I snarled at him.

"But what did I say wrong?" asked pal.

"If you insist on calling yourself a *bloody Indian*," I replied, "then why the hell don't you try to be a bloody self-respecting Indian. This is my Country too, remember."

Pal wasn't there to say good-bye when my train left. I cannot say I was sorry. He certainly isn't a pal any more. In fact I'd be ashamed to own him as a countryman.

IS INDIA FEDERAL?

Is the Constitution of India "federal", as asserted by some eminent Indian statesmen who demand the restoration of "States' Rights" which they accuse

the Centre had invaded? A federation is formed when a number of sovereign States voluntarily create a federal government and delegate to it a specified number of governmental functions and retain their sovereignty in the rest, as happened in America. In the case of India, there were no sovereign states, to start with. The Indian Constituent Assembly, which was convoked by the British, drew up a single Constitution for the whole of India, and provided for a single citizenship and for a single judiciary, and the reorganization of the boundaries of the States, which are really Provinces, without their consent, and even obliterate their identity! The Seventh Schedule provided for the distribution of functions between the Centre and the Provinces. But the Centre can administer, not only the subjects in the Union List and the Concurrent List, but even in the State List in peace time, without the consent of the Provincial Government! It could even suspend a Provincial Government without its consent, in an emergency, which the Centre alone can proclaim! If this Constitution be "federal", what is "unitary"?

The only meaning that can be read into the plea of the "federalists" is that they wish some subjects in the Union List should be transferred to the State List, but they have not categorised them and offered justification for the transfer *in the interest of the people* which must be the paramount consideration. Some Chief Ministers have a different idea. They want the Federal Centre to levy taxes, and let the autonomous States spend them! It is a very indefensible arrangement that the Centre should have the unpopular duty of levying taxes and the Provinces should have the popular privilege of spending them, for the body which levies taxes must also be responsible for spending them.

Under autonomy, the Provinces will be tempted to follow different policies, if only to assert and show off their autonomy, even when such action be not in the interests of the people which do not vary from State to State even with reference to the subjects in the State List. Multiplicity of autonomous units can benefit only a larger number of ambitious and even corrupt politicians at the expense of the people. On the other hand, a single Central Government can serve the interests of the people with greater economy and efficiency and less corruption and promote equality and fraternity, postulated by the Constitution, while autonomous states, particularly linguistic ones, are bound to promote wastefulness, inefficiency, corruption and disintegration. The Government of India, which administers the Union Subjects and can administer the Concurrent subjects on a unitary basis, can also administer the State List, even as it is doing now in the Centrally-administered areas. *If the interests of the people should be paramount and not the perquisites of politicians, most of whom are said to be corrupt, the Provincial Governments should be abolished and the unitary Central Government should administer all the subjects in the Seventh Schedule.*

—P. K. R.

The Economics of Scarcity

By Herbert C. Roseman.

"If our society survives the epochs or stages of the military state capitalism of the 'Free Nations', fascism, communism, and the Orwellian nightmare, it may ultimately settle down in some non-coercive pattern possessing many traits similar to the ideal society anticipated and portrayed in native American anarchist thought." — Harry Elmer Barnes.

"How can you exist in a capitalist society without capital?" — statement attributed to Negro leader Floyd McKissick of CORE.

"People seldom want to hear or read what does not please them; they seldom want others to read or hear what disagrees with their convictions or what presents an unfavourable picture of groups they belong to." — Quoted in Fortune magazine supplement.

Crime, disease, hunger, pain, neuroses, psychoses, war. Must this always be so? We ask for justice. They call us cretins. Interest on money and rent on land is the cause of nearly all our woes and yet few of our so-called libertarians recognize this. Some cannot recognize this and some dare not. The use of money and credit (especially circulation credit) is one of the greatest co-operative devices used by man. Whomsoever monopolistically controls the issue and circulation of these exchange instruments, charging exorbitant prices for the service over and above what the competitive cost would be, thereby inequitably affects the prices of all articles and services subject to a competitive supply. Interest, profits and rents are enhanced to the disadvantage of wages and salaries, thus making the effective demand for products always inadequate, causing a piling up of merchandise and a glut in the circulation of goods and services, a stoppage of production, unemployment, large accumulations of unearned wealth and over-capitalization — and the intrusion or demand for government to step in with make-work projects, welfare measures which the government itself was a participant in causing. And as is the case the make-work projects are usually war making activities. All this is intimately tied in with economic imperialism.

The Boer War was a commercial war as were the First and Second World Wars and the Cold War. And yet we have the spectacle of so-called libertarians condemning economic imperialism and war and condoning interest and rent. Will wonders never cease! They call us cretins and money cranks. They call us unreasoning. They do not have the actual blood of innocent victims on their hands but they are the effective causes of the circumstances which have caused blood to flow.

Francis Neilson said, "Only on the maintenance of individual rights can the life of society prosper. The prosperity of the few in a society which in nearly

all its actions denies natural rights to the millions will not save political democracy or personal property."

For several years I have taught in the slum areas of New York. I have seen what the 'economics of scarcity' has done to Negro and Puerto Rican children — the brutalization, the disease, the sheer horror. The economics of Ludwig von Mises, the Austrian School, the Objectivists offers no answer to them. Liberty to starve either physically, culturally or spiritually is no liberty. There is no liberty if one cannot monetize one's own credit. There is no liberty for the landless. Liberty by permission only is no liberty.

The hundreds of thousands of words that von Mises has written (and he is one of the best) is a smokescreen thrown up to disguise the injustice of interest. Joe goes to John and says that if John doesn't give him a piece of pink paper the first of every month, he will come around and beat the hell out of him. John asks, "Where am I going to get these pink slips?" "From me," replies Joe, "just bring me some potatoes and a board and I will give you some slips." "OK," says John, glad to know how he can obviate having his block knocked off the first of every month. If he gets some extra slips he can use them in trade to some other block who needs them in order not to have his face punched in.

One can plainly see that Joe's pink slips will circulate, as money, as long as he can make his threat good — but the point is that these slips have value, not because a good can be had with them but an evil avoided. And as long as Joe, or Hitler, etc. can maintain an organization with its tax-collecting agency, whatever they take in taxes will have value. Value is what you can get for anything. A thing (or service) is valuable if it is exchangeable — but for what? If Mr. Hitler taxed you according to how much property you had, and if he measured the property in terms of how much gold it would command in an open market, then his tax tickets would be on a gold standard. A unit of gold of certain weight and fineness would be the standard unit. Few if any economists explain the value of paper money in terms of robbery.

In a just arrangement in its initial aspect, an IOU or paper claim on something is a substitute for the thing (or service) permitting an exchange (via credit or time interval) in lieu of actual goods, thus eliminating the almost impossibility of barter — and the IOU becomes an intermediary in the exchange of goods among various producers, until it finally gets in the hands of the issuer when it can be torn up without any loss to anybody.

If paper money is convertible into gold, this is the simplest and most authentic instance of a gold

standard. But it has been indicated above that a paper money could be on a gold standard without gold having any direct connection with a money system.

Von Mises, Rothbard, LeFevre, the Objectivists and most economists fail to distinguish between a free exchange and robbery. I am speaking here of people of whom I have considerable respect and even friendship but I must call the shots as I see them.

On the land question things are not much better. The practical issue today does not deal with the first-come-first-served principle, but with the fact that substantially all the land in the world has been preempted, either by governments or by private persons. In other words, the question hinges on a redistribution of land, due to the fact that we have land-owners and non-owners. No libertarian society is possible as long as the earth is "owned" by a very small portion of the world's populace. The superior intelligence of mutualists or individualist anarchists beginning with Proudhon in regard to this question is indicated in their phrases "possession" ("trusterty" in Borsodi's terms) and "occupance and use". One may "own" ten thousand acres in Texas, as "property", even if he never saw the place. But would this "title" be valid? And could he rent it? You see the concepts "possession" and "occupancy and use" obviates this possibility. Contrary to some so-called opinion property is not a total concept. If there is no equitable use of land fine-sounding phrases will not do. Land must be used equitably either by individuals or groups.

The central question confronting the Von Misesians of Land and money is always answered by double-talk which to the novice sounds fine. Why can they not explain how and why in a really free society men couldn't or wouldn't erect some sort of banking system where credit could exist, at cost, instead of insisting that "time preference" would result in an interest rate.

Ignorantly or intentionally defenders of the "time preference" theory are advocates of human exploitation by the haves from the have-nots Thomas Robertson in his stimulating book, "Human Ecology: The Science of Social Adjustment" is one of the many who has explained how for the past 2000 years debt has degraded the people. Robertson shows how the debt-money system brought successively the Greeks, the Romans, and the Christianized barbarian tribes to decadence, slavery, or serfdom. "The cycle of 'usury' is always the same. It begins with human enterprise which, for the expanding needs of men, requires money for the exploitation of natural resources. The moneylender supplies it... When the usurer lent the original gold coinage, he created a debt claim and appropriated the interest. When however he began to create and lend money he appropriated both interest and capital." Today this system of continuous debt leads to continuing war and the further piling up of debt. Such men as Professor Frederick Soddy, Christopher Hollis and Robert J Scrutton alongside C. H. Douglas and Silvio Gesell

have written extensively on this. These men, unfortunately have not come to grips with the question of state control (perhaps in a very narrow sense). It was on this problem that poet Ezra Pound came to grief and led him to support Mussolini. However the Mutualists beginning with Proudhon and later with William Greene, Lysander Spooner, and Benjamin R. Tucker penetrated more deeply than the Douglasites or Social Creditors have ever done. The Mutualists saw the necessity of the dissolution of the state in the economic organism. Money reform in general has assumed an anti-life character. It is no exaggeration to say that at least 80 per cent of all money reform groups are racists and anti-Semitic. Tucker and his group were free from any anti-life biases. Economic needs may conceivably be satisfied under some form of slavery. The Mutualists are pro-money-land reform and pro-life. This author finds it quite amusing to see various Jew-baiting money reform groups quoting the Popes on the "wicked money lenders." It is significant to note though that not a word is said about the benefits the Church derives from interest and landholdings. Ersatz reform has simply obscured the real issues.

The European individualists largely influenced by Stirner and Armand remind me of the man in jail who keeps yelling that he is 'free in spirit'. It is quite simple to see why some of the Objectivist-Ayn-Rand group and Von Misesians have become attracted to them. In their de-emphasis on economics the European individualist anarchists simply do not realize the extent to which we are victims of circumstances — whether we like to admit it or not. The abstractions of Stirner can mean next to nothing to the ghetto Negro. The so-called rejection of Proudhon by Stirner is a mirage. No resultant can exist unless the elements of it are free to operate. Therefore no institution can be said to be the expression of "society" especially when the members of that society are under coercion and duress of a constituted authority. This is the Mutualist reply to Stirner's attribution to Proudhon of being under the influence of a "fixed idea." What here confronts one is two entirely different frames of reference or viewpoints, each of which are expressed in the same words and language, which inevitably gives to the same words entirely different meanings, and is one of the semantic difficulties inherent in the use of language.

There have been statements made from time to time in this (A Way Out) journal that mutualist-individualist economics is a case of putting the 'cart before the horse.' But evolutionary psychologists, Reichians and the school of rational psychotherapy have at best only a partial answer. They seem unable to understand the difference between cause and effect. The problem is the *institutionalization of our social mores* including our land-money system and institutionalized religion and education. We are the victims of coercive money, land, educational, religious, sexual systems. The Mutualists do not pretend to set up another system. The Mutualists shemata of thought is primarily a method of bringing about competition and desystematization in all the above-

mentioned areas with special emphasis on the money problem because it is the precursor of all the other problems in life.

The almost complete bankruptcy of psychotherapy as a curative agent has been revealed in a recent issue of the INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHIATRY by statements made by Dr. Hans J. Eysenck and Dr. Melitta Schmideberg. Their statements are depressing to say the least. Dr. Eysenck tells us "...results...suggest that the therapeutic effects of psychotherapy are small or non-existent." Dr. Schmideberg relates that "...the great majority of my patients were persons who had been in analysis, sometime over long periods, without results, and sometimes even harmed by it." She further tells us of the first child analyst Hermine von Hug-Helmuth who was murdered by her 20 year old nephew whom she had brought up since infancy as her own child. Hug-Helmuth's book "New Ways of Upbringing" was withdrawn from publication and her nephew sentenced to 20 years in prison. There are many other choice morsels in Dr. Schmideberg's discussion and she is to be commended for her frankness. This is not to say that we can learn nothing from Freud, Jung, Reich et al. We can learn many insights from various schools of analysis but it becomes meaningful only as it is related to economic man. Robert Anton Wilson and Don Werkheiser have attempted to synthesize these various elements in their work as our older readers know.

The Judaeo-Christian-Graeco-Roman legacy has bequeathed much that is good and also a lot of 'garbage.' If we wish to extricate ourselves from this mess it is necessary to change our methods of thinking. Coercion, violence, rigidity these are the things we must combat. This is easier said than done for our coercive institutions be they government, autocratic family various forms of repression and aggression are now running us. As Vardis Fisher says our struggle has made us all "orphans" in one way or another. True maturity is almost non-existent. We are all (or most of us) searching for father-images of one sort or another which accounts for the tremendous strides made by various forms of state socialism. And the search for the father-image is intertwined with the struggle against the Father and our ideologies get mixed up in this.

Some say we are in a time of change. Others say internal rot has set in and we are in a time of decay. The evidence of decay in past civilizations bodes ill for the future — especially with the invention of THE BOMB. But even if the bomb is not used, technological advances predict a "concentration camp" culture with freedom being slowly strangled to death. And sad to say only a handful of "old-fashioned radicals or libertarians" have any inkling of what it's all about. The psychologists are in their air-tight little compartments and the economists are in theirs. The sociologists are not doing much better. And everyone knows the medical profession is becoming more and more specialized. Our educational system is a pathetic joke as it is presently constituted

and it is a minor miracle if any real education can occur in gigantic classes composed of such children.

I have mentioned briefly the concept of value as it relates to money. There is in general much confusion among present-day libertarians on the concept of value. The concept of value arose *only* in the process of exchange. When two men come together to exchange things, they each *evaluate* the relative importance of each article to themselves. If a rate of exchange is agreed upon, each article becomes the measure of value of the other. The value of anything is what you can get for it. Social value exists only in an exchange economy, only in a competitive economy, only in a property economy. In order for a thing to have value it must be the property of some one, and it must have *utility* to some one else who also has something desirable to exchange. Value is a human *estimate*; it is *measured* psychologically by a relation between the intensity of desire and aversions. The intensity of these desires and aversions has many influencing factors, and it is the study of these factors and how they influence the human mind, and by inference distribution, which is the fundamental subject matter of economics.

Labor is not an essential of value but it should be. A thing may have value without any labor having been involved in its ownership. But when, and insofar as, *free production* is in play, labor becomes a factor of value. The measure of value is settled by free agreement involving a complex balancing of desires (utility) and aversions (labor) by each of the parties concerned.

Value is not usually a fair basis for price. In equity, the price of commodities and services should be determined by their labor cost. Labour is "measured" by repugnance (not by the time energy which are but factors of repugnance), and utility by benefits. Given free access to natural resources and to the prevailing productive knowledge, and free opportunities to exchange irrespectives of national boundary to the parties involved, in short *given a free economy value approaches cost of production.* when it may be said that the value of a product is measured by the *utility of labor* necessary to produce it.

Values are not, and cannot be determined in production. It is only in the process of exchange that the utility factor is noted, as values are ascertained by mutual agreement. It take *at least two conciding* opinions, those of the producer and consumer, for value to exist in fact.

Values are "socially determined" *only* under the influence of competition, *when there are several* producers and the several buyers of the thing in question. There is no "socially determined" value when an article is produced by a monopoly, for in such case the competition which socializes the progress in a productive efficiency has been suppressed. Money values (prices) rise and fall under the influence of supply and demand, thereby affecting the renumeration of producers in such manner as to impel them to

gravitate to the most remunerative industry, thus both proportioning effort to social need and, though competition, achieving equity in compensation for productive effort.

Values are continually changing due to changes in desire (style, custom, opinion, etc.) and changing technological development which reflects upon the ease of accomplishing results. *Given freedom the less human labor the less the value.*

An idea of the complexity of value estimates may be had by considering some of the influencing factors: Material judgment, risk, time, energy, personal inclinations, (individual responsibility are valuable qualities of human service) these affect value from the productive standpoint (i.e. the labor or aversion factor); scarcity, artistic considerations, personal and social estimates, sex, ambition, emulation, habit, custom, tradition, style, religion, time, place, climate, topography, durability, etc. affect value from the consumer's standpoint (i.e. the utility or desire factor). A fairly firm grasp on the significance of, and the effect of the influences determining value is *essential* for understanding the apportionment which obtains in a freely competitive economy. It can be said with certainty that it is the influence of law-made economic restrictions which are the basic causes of inequity and human exploitation. Governments have always both directly and indirectly mortgaged the people to financial bandits.

Individuals or combinations of individuals must have the free opportunity to issue money and credit instruments. Through the free competition of both reputable and disreputable financings will the latter be crowded out by lack of patronage, and interest-bearing money, and the interest-bearing power of everything money will but, be a thing of the past. No form of legally monopolized banking will ever accomplish this.

Some disciples of Von Mises have brought forth the claim that Mutualists favour fiat or phoney money like the Keynesians. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mutualists are always opposed to an increase of phoney money which is what government money is.

In attempting to refute the theory of Keynes the disciples of Von Mises subscribe to the very theory which advocates continuous *inflation* except in their case what would happen is continuous *deflation*. The theory of 'sound economics' as presented by the Austrian School is an invitation to bankruptcy.

Whenever anything is written criticizing the inequities of our land-money system the Objectivist-Austrian school immediately bellows for the word — socialism and the word — intervention! About the *original* intervention through franchise, enclosure, monopoly! etc. they are evasive or have very little to say, at least they do not emphasize it.

The moment that liberty is interfered with or denied, because of inequitable holdings of land as property, and restrictions placed upon trade by the erection of monopolies in the issue of money and credit, Pandora's box will have been opened and a myriad of evils will emerge.

As Don Werkheiser said, such half-hearted libertarians as the Ayn Rand-Objectivist-Austrian crowd do more harm than good in the long run.

Mutualism prescribes *no* intervention, *no* compulsion of any sort. Mutualism prescribes *agreement*. The canard put forth by the Austrian School has hooked many unwary libertarians because they do not stop to think of what a free market actually is. Mutualism or individualist anarchism is economic justice. It is *not* economic intervention. Individualist anarchists or Mutualists are not socialists. As Benjamin Tucker said — they are simply unterrified Jeffersonian democrats. Lysander Spooner was not an autarchist. He was an individualist anarchist and no amount of word games can make him anything else.

Regarding profits: In speaking of "interest profit, and rent" for purposes of economic analysis, they must be broken up into these elements. For instance, what is commonly called interest is made up of service cost (labor), risk premium, and (net) interest — the first two are legitimate expenses. As for profit, a portion of it may be reward for efficiency, part of it may be due to the condition on the market as reflect on supply and demand — but this latter is on the whole balanced by corresponding losses. It is the *persistent profit* that is due to some economic privilege..

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REVALUE THE RUPEE!

By Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha M.P.

A RECENT Silver Lining on the economic horizon is the firm statement of the Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, that no further devaluation of the rupee is going to be made. Shri Morarji Desai knows how the vicious circle of devaluation got moving and how it has gathered speed. Even when the rupee was devalued in June 1966 very few people had welcomed it. A large number of people, including Shri Desai, had felt even at that time that the results of such a drastic decision were bound to be unfortunate. The wisdom of that decision has been questioned again and again. Merely because the economy was experiencing difficulties due to an unusual combination of circumstances like Indo-Pakistan war, stoppage of foreign aid, drought in the country etc., and the national policies did not prove to be strong, there was no reason to devalue the rupee. A short-sighted assessment of the economy — and corrective measures based on such an assessment — leading to devaluation has done irreparable damage to the Indian economy.

PRICES JUMPING SINCE 1964

There is no denying the fact that prices in India today are excessively high; they are about 80% higher than what they were 14 years ago. The pressure on the prices was felt towards the end of the Second Plan and during the Third Plan. But it is worth noting that the price increase in the course of 14 years — 1950-1964 May (when Pandit Nehru died) was to the extent of only 30%, the price index being only 130 in May 1964. But during the brief the price rise was by about 72 points, price index today being about 202. A large part of this price has been due to our failure in the management of the economy of the country.

But today's price situation is abnormal in many respects and cannot be accepted as reflecting the true value of the Indian rupee. Devaluation based on such conditions, therefore, has made the rupee cheaper than it really is. With normal monsoons and resumption of aid, some normalcy would have been restored and then the question of devaluation could have been viewed in the proper perspective.

It has now become an established fact that devaluation tends to push up internal prices. Today's prices are already at a level where people are experiencing acute distress. Any further rise must mean a deliberate increase in their distress. It is obvious that Government cannot deliberately take a decision to allow the prices to rise any further. This can be prevented only by a firm approach on the part of the Administration supported by public co-operation in the matter. If both these requirements had been met to the necessary extent, today's conditions would not have been what they are.

I personally feel very doubtful whether we can easily ensure the essential conditions for the post-devaluation period viz. a stable price level.

DEVALUATION HAS BEEN DISPROVED

Theoretically speaking, devaluation was a measure which reduced imports and increased exports, thus creating a favourable balance of trade. In India the exports have been more or less stagnant around Rs. 800 crores. It was argued that devaluation of the rupee would give the necessary push to exports and encourage import-substitution, thus leading to a decline in imports over the long period. Both these claims for devaluation have been disproved.

The situation envisaged above would have been achieved only if the commodities entering into export and import trade had a high degree of elasticity and had, therefore, reacted sharply to any price variations. But it should be appreciated that over 60% of our exports consist of traditional items of agricultural produce like jute, tea, onion, garlic, spices etc., and cotton textiles. Demand for these is relatively inelastic. Our export earnings from these commodities cannot be expected to go up significantly. Concerning non-traditional items like engineering goods — where devaluation is expected to give a boost to exports — their proportion to the total exports is so small that any gains we might make in these non-traditional lines have only marginal effect on the over all foreign exchange position.

On the other hand the cost of imports has gone up by 23% to 50%. Were our imports elastic enough to react to this price increase? The answer has to be "NO"! Through rigid control of imports we have already brought them down to the level where any further cut would not be consistent with development in future. Besides, if we wanted to cut down imports, it was not necessary to increase their prices because in the present mechanism we can even stop the imports altogether. If that is so, it is difficult to understand how higher prices of imports would mean greater import substitution when the total non-availability of commodities had not helped it so far.

EXPORTS ARE DOWN: IMPORTS ARE UP

It was only because imports could not be cut down any further that we had resorted to a system of export incentives. We had a number of Export Incentive Schemes. Admission of their failure amounts again to the failure of the administration to operate the system with the necessary skill. The export incentive scheme where a proportion of foreign exchange earned by the exporter is released to him for import of commodities of his choice, has worked very satisfactorily in Pakistan. Because of the premium on imported consumer articles, exporters have been making sizable profits after covering the export losses. If the system fails to deliver the goods in our country, there is nothing wrong in the system; it is the human element that is at fault.

Devaluation was expected to save us foreign exchange in terms of repatriation of profits on foreign investment in India. The Finance Ministry had estimated that the total savings on this account may have to be around Rs. 15-20 crores a year. Unfortunately that also has not materialised so far. But the claim of the Finance Ministry that the savings would be even greater as more and more private foreign investment takes place has also not been accepted. It must be appreciated that the foreign investment in our country is usually in terms of the machinery required and the technical know-how. With devalued currency the amount of the foreign investment in terms of rupees has been inflated and the profits thereon have been proportionately larger, resulting in not only no saving in foreign exchange but a big drain in the bargain.

DEVALUATION CAUSES OVER-CAPITALISATION

With devaluation there has been a growing danger of over-capitalisation of projects. If the terms of foreign collaboration provide for a majority share-holding by the Indian counter-part, the Indian counter-part has to increase his investment in the share capital of the project simply because in terms of rupees the investment done by a foreigner has gone up. The Fertilisers Factory being set up by the Government in collaboration with the American Oil Company is an example. The agreement provided for 51% share-holding by the Government of India. Due to devaluation the roles have been reversed and it is reported that the American company would be having 54% of the share capital unless the Government of India decides to increase their investment. This increase in rupee investment may not be economically warranted, in which case, due to over-capitalisation, the return on investment will continue to be low.

The cost of the Fourth Plan is also likely to go up to about Rs. 28,000/- crores because of the appreciation of the foreign exchange content in terms of rupee. Even if foreign aid is forthcoming in the necessary measure this would mean an increase in the rupee value of not only outstanding loans but also of all the loans in future. The rupee value of our outstanding debt has already gone up from Rs. 2628 crores to Rs. 4115 crores as a result of devaluation. Every future repayment would mean greater resource mobilization within the country. A short-term view of the situation obscures the burden thrown on the country's economy by devaluation. This burden will be all the greater when the need for aid would be over and we would concern ourselves only with repayment.

SUCCUMBED TO FOREIGN PRESSURE

One argument in favour of devaluation was that foreign aid would not have been forthcoming without it. This appears to be the sole reason which pushed the Government to such a drastic measure.

But even here, as news reports indicate, we have been rather disappointed. No long term aid commitments are coming forth. U.S.A., the major contributor, may announce their commitment only for two years. Where does that take us? Not even through the Fourth Plan which we have been proclaiming as crucial to our economic development. With liberalised imports, we are becoming more and more dependent on foreign aid. It is being used as a lever to influence our national policies as well.

It has been emphatically denied that the decision to devalue the rupee has affected the national prestige. While devaluation itself does not damage a nation's image, the way Government took this decision has certainly affected our standing both within the country and outside. There is no use saying that we have not acted under pressure. A review of the world press shows that the credit for the measure was all along being given to the pressures from the World Bank and Washington.

To sum up I would say that the decision to devalue the rupee was taken at a wrong moment. With the strains imposed by hostilities with Pakistan and the cessation of foreign aid, coupled with the severe drought conditions in the country, the economic situation within the country was unrealistic. If monsoons were satisfactory the situation would have eased considerably. If, however, the economic situation could not show improvement, we could have slowed down the implementation of the plan itself. There was nothing new about it; Mr. Nehru himself had done it when the Second Five Year Plan had run into difficulties.

Nobody can dispute that the timing of devaluation was wrong from every point of view. Much worse, however, were the rumours which had been circulating that this decision to devalue the Rupee was not final — and that interplay of economic forces, both external and internal, would force us to devalue our currency once more, much before one would ordinarily expect. Therefore all praise for the Finance Minister, who has nipped this talk in the bud.

But with a new Government in the saddle, and with the sad experience of the working of the devaluation, it would be advisable to give serious thought to the question of revaluing the rupee and putting it in the position in which it was before 6th June, 1966. The Finance Minister was perhaps misled into believing that devaluation can not be undone. It is a mistaken notion. No economic policy enjoys Biblical sanctity.

Therefore he should not hesitate in taking some bold steps to remedy the growing economic malaise, by revaluing the rupee. This decision would not only be a bold and pragmatic one but also in the national interest. The Prime Minister and the new Finance Minister should take note of the writing on the wall and not stick to false prestige in such matters. Revaluation of the rupee will, apart from boosting the morale of the people, improve our position abroad also.

— Organiser.

A Review Of Devaluation Of The Rupee

by

Prof. M. R. Hazaray

The retold story of the devaluation of the Indian rupee is indeed very tragic. From 1949 to 1966 we have progressed from devaluation to devaluation. In 1949 it was thought a Hobson's choice — a defensive measure in the event of devaluation of the Pound-sterling. In 1966 it came to be regarded as a delicate surgical operation on the cancerous growth of inflation in the Indian economy.

The then Finance Minister, Mr. Sachin Choudhary, exaggerated its virtues out of all proportions. He categorically denied that it was not a political decision but affirmed it was economically a necessary evil. Devaluation was expected to perform a miracle. It was expected to hold the price line, cut down imports to a bare minimum, to boost up exports immediately to an unprecedented level and put the entire economy on an even keel.

His elegant logic, however, was based on a number of unrealistic assumptions. For instance, he thought that we could reduce our plan — inelastic imports immediately and produce an exportable surplus amidst what is called the crisis of high expectations. Secondly, he naively believed that devaluation would break open the floodgates of foreign aid and instead of it going down the rathole, it would have fast to turn the wheels of our economy to the fullest capacity.

However, the impact of devaluation on our already inflated economy was not only far from salutary but actually disastrous. It was self-evident that devaluation would add fuel to the fire of inflation, that it was next to impossible to cut down the commitment to planned imports from the present level of Rs. 1,300 crores annually and boost up the traditional exports to a higher level than Rs. 850 crores annually like jute, textile and tea, etc. which together formed two-third of the total exports of the country, if 1949 is historically any guide in this matter; that foreign aid has its demoralizing effects on us and yet it is less dependable and fiscal and monetary discipline must be followed to teach the nation to live within its means.

The evil chickens of devaluation, as it is plain to us now, have come home to roost. The prices of all commodities have gone up by 10% to 15% against 36½% devaluation of the Indian rupee.

The rise in the wholesale prices as reflected by the index numbers (1952-53 = 100) before and after the devaluation has been brought about in the following comparative table.

COMPARATIVE PRICES

	June 11, 1966	Feb. 11, 1967
Food articles	191.6	216.3
Rice	165.8	181.1
Wheat	141.5	187.9

Industrial raw materials	229.4	239.1
Cotton raw	127.1	147.8
Jute raw	282.0	260.8
Groundnut	301.2	303.7
Manufactures	160.0	167.6
A Intermediate products	195.6	281.3
B Finished products	154.2	159.2
(1) Cotton manufactures	147.7	153.6
(2) Jute manufactures	162.3	150.2
(3) Finished steel	189.6	195.9
(4) Machinery	145.4	163.5
Commodities	186.0	202.4

It is also well known by now that the ruling party in power ascribed its political debacle in the recent general elections to devaluation. However, further rise in prices is not altogether ruled out as the Government seems to have taken to devaluation in haste.

Many economists pinned their faith in the effective follow-up measures which so far have come to naught. Export-Import trade in the meanwhile came to a standstill. For instance, as far as the exports of cloth are concerned, the orders prior to devaluation have anyhow maintained their level but after devaluation they have registered a decline as the prices of raw cotton, stores and chemicals have prices of raw cotton, stores and chemicals have compensation has been forthcoming from the Government on import duties and sales tax. Export promotion measures were whisked away.

Feasibility of cuts in Government expenditure and its deficit finance is posing a hard nut to crack to the present Finance Minister who is himself the author of a 16-point socio-economic programme against the demon of devaluation. He is reported to be unable to cut down the subsidies of Rs. 200 crores on food, fertilizers and petroleum products or reduce defence potential of the country as it would easily anger the Indian citizens. He has openly confessed that devaluation has not brought about expected benefits to the country. Exports on the whole have declined about Rs. 98 crores in contrast with slight improvement in Jan-May 1966. The Chairman of the Indian Tea Association also had to tell the same tale of woe that devaluation had the opposite effect of reducing tea exports. It caused a drop of 35 million lbs. of plain tea by October and similar drops in jute, textiles, etc.

Scarcity of foodgrains today still stares us in the face. Devaluation has made our daily bread not only scarcer but costlier and tied the food with external aid which is not forthcoming in sufficient quantities and even if it is showered upon us the basic problem of our economy would be still with us. It requires practical wisdom and determined efforts on the part of Indian Government to overcome them.

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