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Indian Libertarian

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Vol. VI No. 2

Xm2, N5
April 1, 1958

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY



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Price 25 Naye Paise

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Economic
and Public Affairs

Edited by

MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of
Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual	..	Rs. 6
Half Yearly	..	Rs. 3
Quarterly	..	Re. 1.50
(Post paid)		
Foreign		12sh. | 3 dollars.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page	.....	Rs. 100
Half Page	.....	Rs. 50
Quarter Page	....	Rs. 25
One-eighth Page	..	Rs. 15
One full column of a page		Rs. 50

COVER PAGE

BACK COVER	.....	Rs. 150
SECOND COVER	....	Rs. 125
THIRD COVER	.....	Rs. 125

* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.

* Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement, since the Journal is also a Free Forum.

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Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Letters To The Editor

THE CABINET RESHUFFLE

Dear Madam: It has been apparent to intelligent observers that what is functioning at New Delhi is not a Cabinet of a democratic government but a group of courtiers of Mr. Nehru. This has been clearly demonstrated in the recent reshuffle of the so-called Cabinet.

This reshuffle was necessitated by the demise of the Maulana, and the resignation of the former Finance Minister. In the normal course of democratic way of filling the Cabinet vacancies, merit and merit alone, should have been the criterion. But this has not been so. It has been clear that the personal factor has played a dominant part. Again the Congress form of secularism and provincialism is in evidence. Since the former Education Minister was a Muslim, so a Muslim had to be selected. And so Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim has been pitchforked into the Cabinet, but he is not given the Maulana's portfolio. That has been downgraded, and given to Shrimali with the designation of a Minister of State.

Since the former Finance Minister came from the South, a Southerner, G. Gopal Reddy, has been taken to the Cabinet but he has also not the designation of a fullfledged Minister.

But the most surprising changes are yet to be mentioned. Nobody knows why S. K. Patil, who held the portfolio of Power and Irrigation has been transferred to the Transport portfolio, unless he was found to be a tough guy to deal with Pakistan on the Canal Water question. His forthright statements on the Indo-Pak dispute seem not to be approved by the Prime Minister. Again the Finance portfolio has been assigned to Morarji Desai, who also happens to be the General Secretary of the Congress. This is a dangerous combination in a democratic set-up. A man holding the purse strings, both in the Government as well as in the political Party which happens to be in power.

And lastly the new Cabinet of 12 consists as many as FIVE from the State from which Mr. Nehru hails,

Certainly the P.M. cannot claim U.P. to be the cradle and nursery of all wisdom and talent. To cap all this reshuffle, Mr. Nehru in addition to being the Premier, holds the Atomic Energy portfolio. One wonders when Nehru has turned into a scientist, except to tickle his vanity on the international plane in this Atomic and Sputnik age?
Madras —A. R. Shastri

PICTURE OF U.P. IN FIGURES

Dear Madam: We are told from the platform and the press that the first Five Year Plan has been a success and, that with the completion of the second Five Year Plan we will be entering a period in Indian life flowing with milk and honey. However the latest publication of the U. P. Government — "U. P. through Figures — 1954-56"—does not give a rosy picture.

The per capita income on the basis of the 1948-49 prices dropped down from Rs. 269.2 to Rs. 264.3 in 1956-57. Although the output of sugar increased there was a fall in the production of cereals and oil-seeds.

Again though small savings showed a spurt from Rs 10 crores in 1954-55 to Rs 13 crores in 1956-57 they dropped down to Rs. 9 crores in 1956-57.

Another disturbing factor that comes out in the light is the deteriorating crime situation in the State. There has been a steady increase in the number of crimes, with corresponding inability on the part of the Police to trace them, not more than one-third of the recorded crimes have been brought to book.

These facts, published officially by the U.P. Government, does not bear out the rosy picture painted by Congress leaders and spokesmen in praise of what are called welfare measures. Once again it proves that planned economic measures result always in planned chaos if not worse. And India, during the last 10 years, provides ample examples of criminal squandering and waste on the part of the Congress Government and the bureaucrats.

Planned economy, as the Yugoslavian communist leader, Milovan Djilas, has shown breeds a new class of elite—the Bureaucrats and the Politicians—who fatten on the masses. This has already started in the country.

Shahjehanpur (U.P.)

—J. P. Tandon

ARAB UNION

THE arena of Arab Unity (which started with a bang with the creation by Col. Nasser of Egypt and president Kuwatly of Syria of the United Arab Republic by way of *anschluss* (or merger) of their two countries) is witnessing further moves in the chess board of Pan-Islam. Pan-Arab Union is, no doubt, a desirable consummation, holding the promise of a new era of prosperous civilization to the lands under the Crescent but everything depends on the forces released, and the kind of leadership which is seeking to mould the new aspirations of the different peoples on the move.

The first act of President Nasser is disturbing from the point of view of a peaceful consolidation of all the Arab peoples. For his first act after the announcement which attracted the attention of the world was the quiet annexation of a small part of territory between Egypt and Sudan. The territory was under the administration of Sudan from 1899, but it did extend beyond the parallel that formed the boundary of the two countries. This was a matter for friendly negotiations but Col. Nasser appeared in his true colours when he sent election officials for the plebiscite, under armed guards, to the area that had always been under the administration of Sudan. Before Sudan became independent it was administered by the British. But before that notable event of the Independence of Sudan it was under the condominium of Britain and Egypt. The Egyptian ruling class stakes its claim for a merger of Sudan and Egypt on this condominium and what it implies by way of the historic claims of the Egyptian ruling class to Sudan as a whole. So this claim for a small territory to which both parties have some sort of claim is not an insignificant move. *It is a gesture that reveals, as in a flash, the magnitude of President Nasser's ambition.* It is clear that Col. Nasser is not endowed with the temperament of quiet, constructive administrator. On the other hand, his mind resembles more the recent megalomaniac genius of Hitler and Mussolini. It is this fact that is a heavy handicap in the way of the Arab Unity movement becoming a sober constructive solution of the current problems of the Arab peoples.

CONSPIRACY IN SAUDI ARABIA

Another hectic move was the announcement from Damascus and Cairo of the sensational charge that the King of Saudi Arabia was caught in a conspiracy to subvert the newly formed United Arab Republic. The King's uncle is supposed to have offered vast sums of money to a key Syrian official for subverting the State. The charge from Cairo was that King Saud had organised a conspiracy to murder President Nasser, and had engaged persons to poison him. These allegations may be true or false. But they show the quality of the motives and passions that are moving the founders of the new Arabic Union. The means modify the end, and assassination and conspiracy can never lead to wholesome results.

ARAB UNITY, THE ACKNOWLEDGED GOAL

Mr. Hashim, an elder statesman from the opposite camp, viz. the United State of Jordan and Iraq, has issued a statement in which he gives his considered opinion that the present rival unions are not the final of the Arab movement. In Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq, monarchs and pashas are yet trying to hold sway over the people. They have had treaties with Western powers to share in the oil wealth of their territories. But the strident cries for immediate unification direct to the peoples of all Arab lands, over the heads of their rulers, are stirring the people to the point of rebellion. Col. Nasser's voice is becoming more and more influential. Moreover behind him is a mass appeal and the technical influence of Soviet Russia. The Soviets have infiltrated into Syria and influenced Col. Nasser. Nasser thinks that he can use the Russian aid and diplomacy for his own purposes without surrendering his leadership over all the Arabs. This is an uneasy tension, but the conclusion is clear, that some day all Arabs will be united, whether under Nasser or some new leader thrown up from the masses of the people.

MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA

Influential figures, if not heads of Government, in these North African Arab States have already declared their willingness to form a North African confederation. Col. Nasser has every chance of producing an *anschluss* with these peoples of North Africa. This may take time. Today we are having in this area a drama within a drama. The major overall drama is that of the world struggle between Soviet imperialism and the Western world. Both of them are clashing in this area for influence over the people so that the vast oil resources and man power of the area might, at least, be denied to the opponent if not secured to one's own side. *The inner drama within this larger one consists of the moves of Arab powers to turn the situation to their own profit.* There is also the class struggle between the governing classes and the poverty-stricken masses. As we have always held, one indubitable outcome of this complex situation is the *consummation* of the Arab Union from Gibraltar to the Persian Gulf.

PAN-ISLAM

Pan-Arabism emphasises the kinship of peoples based on blood. It mobilises the nationalistic impulse, which is a refinement and expansion of the tribal feelings when amalgamated with attachment to a certain homeland. In the Islamic tradition, the attachment to the land connoting feelings of brotherhood for all dwellers in the same home-land irrespective of inner faith, has not developed to modern levels. Hence Pan-Arabism is certain to develop into Pan-Islamism. Islamic leaders, from the end of the last century, have conceived the dream and political ideal of a vast empire or tradition of Islamic peoples from Gibraltar to

Indonesia. Therefore, leaders from non-Arabic lands like Turkey, Iran, Afganistan and Pakistan have no opportunity of a glorious future on a world scale unless they make the cry of Islam stronger than the cry of Pan-Arabism. In this movement Pakistani leaders are taking a fervent part.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

It is a great and inescapable obligation of the makers of Indian foreign policy to study the current historical movements in Islamic lands with coolness and thoroughness. Indian policy should not be dictated by the personal foibles of a great leader or leaders pitchforked into temporary eminence, for reasons other than insight into world history and world politics. India has had an association of nearly a thousand years with Islam in politics and culture. The balance sheet of the clash and contact, involved in this long association, has yet to be struck, but one feature of it remains unmistakable and points to the problem of the present and future, viz. *the ineradicable opposition and conflict between the Islamic and Hindu cultures*. This conflict makes Islamic people everywhere assume a position of aggression and opposition to India. This is a long-term situation. The consummation of Islamic Unity will encircle India in a powerful way some day. What should be the attitude of the Indian foreign policy in this situation? Can we say honestly that the present policy-makers of India show any tolerable realisation of the magnitude of their responsibility?

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The uninterrupted hostility of the leaders and people of Pakistan has shown up the utter futility of all the fine sentiments and acts of generosity that India has been offering to them continually. When will the Indian authorities awake to the situation that Pakistan needs a radically different handling? We are afraid that the present leadership of India is totally unfitted to deal with the new Islamic neighbour of ours, and Islamic menace within our frontiers.

I. It is crystal clear that Sheikh Abdullah has actually started on a course of action calculated to destroy law and order and to create a state of convulsion in the country. His men have attacked and killed peaceful citizens and yet the Government of India is not allowing Bakshi Gulam Mohamad to take swift action.

II. It appears that for months now Pakistani fishing fleets from Chittagong have been violating our territorial waters on the coast of Orissa. They have superior fishing boats and are catching a special variety of a good fish within our waters. Neither the Government of Orissa nor that of the Centre has taken action. Normally such an invasion of foreign fleets (if warnings were disregarded) would be fired on at once by the coast-guard. By the by, has India any coast-guard at all?

III. Kasim Razvi's Ittehad-ul-Mussulmeen has begun to yield its position fruits in Hyderabad. It is holding public and secret meetings and rallying the Mussulmans to the restoration of Islamic power! It is known that men and money have come to it from Pakistan. *Mir Amjad Ali, foreign minister of Pakistan, has high-lighted this grim situation by declaring that Pakistan has not recognised the union of Hyderabad with India. It is learnt that, at least, three leaders of*

this organisation have been arrested and kept in detention. It appears that Minister Gopala Reddy attended one of the public meetings of the Ittehad! This is the way that we tolerate treachery in our midst! The real question is whether this inimical organisation should be allowed to exist at all in our midst? It is high time that it is declared illegal and disbanded.

A "Nationalist" Muslim In His True Colour

RECENTLY Sri Humayun Kabir, Minister of State, circulated a Note to members of the Executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party. It concerned the plight of minorities—"Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, Parsis and others." Sri Kabir noted that while the minorities voted solidly for the Congress in 1952, an appreciable section voted for other parties, including the Communists, in 1957.

When the Congress Parliamentary Executive met on March 13, it considered the Note. Among the suggestions made for removing the minorities' alleged sense of grievance, primary importance was given to ensuring them a fair share in medical and engineering education for a period of ten years in the first instance. Apart from this, the press report goes, "the minorities should be assured a fair share in the services and opportunities in trade and industry through the issue of licences and permits." The Executive decided to set up a small committee to collect data and appraise the political and economic condition of the minorities. (vide *Times of India*, Delhi, March 14).

PLAYING THE MUSLIM LEAGUE GAME

Maybe nothing will be heard of this "small committee" again; but the damage will have been done. Pakistan could quote this as official confession of oppression of Muslims. It was idiotic statements like these which compromised our stand on Kashmir in U.N. in 1948. But it seems the Congress would rather compromise its principle than jeopardise its recent monopoly of Muslims vote.

They talk of seats and jobs and licences for 'minorities', which of course, here means only Muslims. Small people can only think small. The best feline dreams would not transcend a mouse. Today the Muslim does not need a job or a permit so much as on easing of conscience. In this nothing will avail better than his psychological rehabilitation through re-adjustment to the national community of the Hindus. But the Congress is all the time treating them as a thing apart. The Bharati Muslim has no greater enemy than, the Congress. —Organiser

ABDULLAH IN TRUE COLOUR—ATTEMPT TO GET INDIA OUT OF KASHMIR

Srinagar: Is Sheikh Abdullah planning to launch a movement to force India out of Kashmir? People here would seem to think so.

In the first place, his followers have been going round among the masses to raise money on many grounds, but mainly on the ground that Sheikh Abdullah needs to go on a Haj pilgrimage.

Secondly, a volunteer Razakar force has been raised from among the Plebiscite Frontier and the pro-Pakistan Political Conference workers.

“Mixed” Economy—A Broken Reed

By M. A. Venkata Rao

SOME democrats are putting their trust in the continuation of the present *mixed economy* as the foundation for a new political party, opposed to the reigning socialist pattern of society and the growing communist system under its shelter. *The socialist pattern is only India's way of going communist.* If and when we pass from the one to the other, as pass we must inevitably, owing to the logic of things socialist, we jump from the frying pan into the fire. The *go* of socialism is communism, which is its end and consummation, whether slow or rapid, non-violent or violent, or a mixture of the two. *Mixed economy is bound some day to end in communism.* This being so, it is a surprise that knowledgeable persons, (some of them even experts in communist theory and practice) should pin their hopes for democracy on the continuation of mixed economy.

A LITTLE PROBE

It is necessary to bestow some thought on this matter. Further thinking on the implications of mixed economy will show that it is an uneasy equilibrium, like a boulder on the side of a steep mountain, subject to be rolled down at the slightest push. It is necessary to realise that mixed economy is of various kinds with opposed trends. Mixed economy that is framed in a system of private enterprise (dominated by groups imbued with the values of free enterprise and limited government as part of their way of life) in which Government enterprise forms *oases* here and there, without dominating the economy, is quite different from the socialist pattern we have evolved in India. Mixed economy in our country is a *desert* of public enterprise with *oases* of private enterprise continuously being eroded by the pressure of an enveloping State structure extending *sans* intermission and destroying the atmosphere favourable to free private enterprise. The American type of dominating free economy, with a few islands of Government enterprise, scattered here and there, is quite different from the Indian system of State economy with rapidly diminishing scope for private enterprise.

If political reformers are to succeed in drawing the fangs of socialism, and preserve at least the present sphere left to private enterprise undiminished, they have to obtain public support for the abandonment of the socialist pattern of society altogether. They have to get the country to adopt the American system of Government enterprise being confined to islands in an ocean of free enterprise, which is recognised as the national social philosophy favouring democracy. *Without such a clearly perceived programme, reliance on the present shape of mixed economy in India for preserving the democratic way of life and halting communism is futile.*

This will become impressively clear, if we consider carefully the latest pronouncement of the Prime Minister in his final speech on the Budget in the Rajya Sabha on March 11. Speaking on the policy of nationalisation, he reiterated his view that it stands

as the economic policy of the country as part of socialism, only permitting private enterprise as a matter of tactics in the transition period. He deprecated suggestions, that as a result of the unsavoury revelations of the misuse of Life Insurance Corporation funds by the highest personalities in the Government, the Corporation should be restored to private enterprise. He said that this will NOT be done. *The policy of change in the direction of complete nationalisation stands irrevocably.*

WHY FATTEN THE CALF OF “PRIVATE ENTERPRISE”?

But he threw a sop to the private sector that while it lasts, it will be tolerated and *even helped* in its work. He even put this into a soothing quibble, namely that even the private sector is in a way *public*, since it contributes to the public service of increased production! Thus if Nehru is to see things in the right perspective as regards the function of different vocations in society, *it is in this demagogic way of pacifying an influential group of people, who after all contribute to party funds and help to sustain his pre-eminent position as the supreme ruler.* The simple fact that the business class has a natural and irreplaceable function to perform in society escapes Pandit Nehru altogether. Socialism is a remedy worse than the disease. Seeking to prevent the evil of the concentration of wealth in the business class, it ends up in adding the concentration of economic power to that of political power which means force in the last resort. Such impingement of force becomes a threat and intimidation on all the levels of the contact of citizen and government.

WHAT IS IN NEHRU'S MIND?

Mr. Nehru referred to the Indian form of mixed economy as one of State domination by the possession of key enterprises and control of strategic services, like transport and communications, insurance and banking, steel and other heavy industry, shipping, railways and airways. It is under this formula that life insurance companies were swept *en masse* into the sphere of Government ownership. This domination puts the public sector in a position of unfair advantage, by way of annexing the bulk of the savings of the people to it, through all manner of taxation of incomes and high pressure campaigns for Government Loans, and capital levies, like the new wealth and expenditure taxes. This leaves but little to the private sector to evoke from the investors by means of share offerings of promising lines of production, under directors with established reputation. *It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister pays more attention to socialist critics who urge greater speed and more unscrupulousness in the policy of nationalisation than to individualist and democratic critics who urge that it has already gone too far. Democratic critics make no impression on him. His mind is made up, indeed it*

was cast in the mould of socialism long ago. He is only realising his early dream gradually as he develops his personal ascendancy over the party machine. His budget speeches made this abundantly clear.

In the Rajya Sabha speech, he took occasion to outline his social and economic philosophy, charged with the Marxist interpretation of history. The relation between democracy, socialism and runaway industrialisation, as it dominates Pandit Nehru's mind, came out in clear and bold outline in this speech on March 11. He repeated a British observer's remark with approval, that if England had been a democratic country with full adult franchise in her epoch of industrialisation, at the end of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, she could not have industrialised at all. Oligarchy was necessary for giving the production of heavy goods high priority above consumer goods. The democratic masses would have insisted on high standards of life in terms of consumer goods and profits would not have been sufficient to accumulate savings and productive capital at accelerating rates.

THE DICTATOR EXPOSED

What is the implication of this statement of the Prime Minister? He blames in this context the lack of study of historical and other aspects of industrialisation, on the part of his critics, who clamour for relief from taxation, and for greater investment in consumer goods by the private sector and minimum intervention by the State in economic life. He points to the example of the USSR, as a country which has speeded up the rate of industrialisation in a phenomenal manner. *He lets fall a phrase as "an aside" that it was, of course, at the cost of liberty.* But the full reach and depth of the meaning of the phrase does not dwell in his mind with any realisation of its horror. When taken with similar utterances of the Prime Minister in recent weeks, we come to realise that the Prime Minister has moved into the next stage of his thinking and leadership wherein democratic values take second rank, yielding place to socialist ambitions, which are cold to freedom and the values of individuality.

He exclaimed at the celebration of the centenary of the Indian Merchant's Chamber in Bombay—"What is freedom before poverty and misery?" We read this with a catch in the breath. *This is precisely the deceptive slogan of all dictators—Napoleon, Bismarck, Hitler, Mussolini, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung! Once freedom is surrendered to even good-hearted, patriotic leaders, the logic of the situation will inevitably lead to deeper and deeper hells of tyranny and popular misery with all opportunities of voluntary recovery and regeneration going beyond their reach for generations.*

LEGALISED ROBBERY

Today our form of mixed economy entails a more and more rapid aggrandisement in area and fullness by the public sector and a diminishing scope open to the private sector. In the first place, the private sector will be allowed to function within the limits of the Planning Commission. The theory, enunciated in a thoughtless moment by the former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, that everyone should have

a right to sell to or buy from anyone in the wide world, is inconsistent with the Nehru line and the socialist pattern and the Five Year Plans, which give the Government complete authorisation to shape and mould and limit the private sector (and crib, cabin and confine it) from day to day and year by year, without any constitutional protection against such wholesale arbitrariness.

Take for instance the outrageous invasion of personal and economic liberty involved, in directing company managers to deposit 50 per cent of reserves and current profits with Government, to be returned when wanted for current operations, under rules made by the State borrower! *This is a compulsory loan extracted by Government like the kings of old, who had a habit of repudiating loans taken, and punishing lenders for demanding their money back! This, and the power taken by Government by an amendment to the Constitution to offer compensation for properties, acquired by the State at its own valuation, puts the entire property rights of people at the mercy of the holders of power. This is a lawless law, anarchical in tendency.*

The second example is the arbitrary liquidation of the property rights of landowners in various forms of tenancy "reform" by down-grading rents, extending rights of purchase at State-fixed prices to tenants and depriving landowners of their right to resume their lands for personal cultivation and the further decisive phase now on the anvil in which the landowners as a class will be financially liquidated.

MOCKERY OF THE CONSTITUTION

After these exploits of the socialist pattern of society, so weakly submitted to by industrialists and landlords, as well as "democrats" and the "champions" of the people, *the fundamental rights, recorded in the Constitution have lost their potency.*

Meanwhile this socialist Prime Minister of ours has accumulated unchallenged and unchallengeable power and influence by virtue of which any arbitrary decision of his, acquires the force of law, without let or hindrance from the lovers of liberty. In this situation to rely on mixed economy for the defence of liberty, and use it as a rallying platform for forming a new party is to catch at a straw by a drowning man.

The root of the error lies in accepting the role of the State at all in the ownership and management of economic concerns. The Prime Minister answered his critics, who suggested the de-officialisation of the Life Insurance Corporation (on the ground of the corruption or irregularity revealed in the recent Chagla inquiry), that similar irregularities were also evident in the private companies before nationalisation! This is evading the issue and sidetracking the evil. Losses of the private companies would be borne by the shareholders, and any illegality would be punished by the courts of law. Shareholders would be galvanised into action, with the help of a few, who take an initiative in the matter. This educates the people for democracy at their own cost, and will not tempt officials into shady ways. *Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.*

The fruitful attitude or lasting foundation for a new party would therefore, lie in the direction of limited Government. The theory that the State is entitled to invade economic and other spheres, in the

name of welfare, is perilous in the extreme and is the surest way to dictatorship. Socialism provides false justification to such an omniscient State. It is necessary to expose this theory and substitute for it the idea of the State as the maintainer of law and order, the defender of individual rights of life, property, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and defender against invasion and aggression from outsiders and nothing more. For the rest, it may interfere for limited periods in cases of extreme urgency. But it should not enter economic life directly, and engage in trade and industry and communications and transport as a normal and permanent feature of its operations. It is there only to hinder hindrances, as Bosanquet put it. It is there to repel force by force, so that the external conditions of the free, good life of individual citizens may be maintained. If this view of the functions of the State is taught to citizens, who will solve their other problems through voluntary associations, it will be possible to prevent the Government from intruding into the sphere of the individual except for enforcing justice. *Written Constitutions and Fundamental Rights are but scraps of paper without this steadfast conviction and determination on the part of citizens*

to limit the functions of the State by the threat of throwing the Government out and punishing those of its members who exceed their powers.

FREE ECONOMY — THE REMEDY

Free economy is the only reliable basis for a new party. But regulations (such as anti-Monopoly laws, stock exchange and company laws in favour of free and equal competition, and the provision of public services like roads and bridges, educational facilities, and public health organisations that keep the ring and help the flow of economic life and development), should be thought out, and included in administration. Such regulations must be limited by the objective of maintaining every-one's freedom and helping voluntary associations. For securing this system of liberty, we need anti-socialist parties that reject mixed economy altogether within the matrix of a dominant all-devouring, omniscient, welfare-promising, socialist pattern of society. Free economy and free society are opposed to socialism of any kind, that involves the centralisation of economic power and its identification with political power.

Nehru—A Bundle Of Frayed Nerves

By J. K. Dhairyawan

IT was the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had the distinction of having studied our Prime Minister Nehru at close quarters, and though a personal friend and a Congress colleague of his, had the rare courage to write what he thought of the Prime Minister. During his incarceration in Ahmednagar Fort during the "Quit India" movement, the Maulana had ample opportunities to watch and see the behaviour of Mr. Nehru. In his Diary of Ahmednagar Days, the Maulana has written that Mr. Nehru is an unreliable leader in times of crisis. He is a danger to democracy, he has more of a feudal mind than a democratic one. This character sketch of Mr. Nehru, by a life-long friend and colleague in the Freedom Struggle, is borne out by the erratic, hasty and undemocratic actions of the Prime Minister, especially during his term as the Prime Minister, and was more than emphasized, quite recently in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. It is, therefore, no wonder that the most sober, sedate and "friendly" paper like the *Times of India* should carry a message from its parliamentary correspondent, bemoaning the sorry plight of the Prime Minister and recommending a week's holiday, to quieten and soothe down his frayed nerves.

Whether the prescription recommended by the correspondent would have the desired effect or not is doubtful, when one remembers that Mr. Nehru is too advanced in age to get over his natural failing and weakness, to get back a balanced state of mind, even after a longer rest. Impetuosity and quick temper, intolerance with the right or wrong criticism of the Government policies, his belief in the infallibility of his own opinion and judgement, and what

is more, his cavalier attitude towards ALL, both his colleagues as well his opponents, as something below contempt, definitely stamp him out as an autocrat and a dictator. In the words of his own sister, Mrs. Krishna Hatheesingh, fulsome praise and unintelligent adulation by an ignorant and non-critical people, have all gone to do the trick, and today Mr. Nehru imagines that he is the Caesar. Such a man is definitely unsuited to lead the country to democratic path and instil in his colleagues healthy democratic instincts.

GONE OFF THE TANGENT

This erratic, undemocratic and haughty behaviour on the part of the Prime Minister was seen at its worst during the last session of the Parliament, when in quick succession, he went from bad to worse. The fact of the matter is that since the appointment of the Chagla commission, its proceedings in Bombay and the disclosures that were made before the Commission, have all added to the discomfiture of the Prime Minister. In the first place, the disclosures made by Mr. Feroze Gandhi in the Parliament left no choice but to appoint a judicial commission to appease the popular discontent at the state of affairs in so-called autonomous bodies, working under the auspices of the Central Government. The public proceedings of the Chagla commission added fuel to the fire of the Prime Minister's temper. And while he was in Bombay, during the proceedings of the commission, he gave vent to his displeasure both at the action of the judge called upon to preside over the commission,

as well as the public of Bombay whose interest in the proceedings he characterised as "morbid," "frenzied" etc. And when the findings of the commission squarely and fully laid the blame for the Mundhra deal on the shoulders of the Finance Minister, the Prime Minister seemed to have gone off the tangent.

The complete imbalance of his mind is seen in the fact, that on one hand, he accepts the resignation of the Finance Minister, and yet pats his back by saying that his (T.T.K.'s) part in the Mundhra scandal "was of the smallest." Apart from the fact that this opinion of his is quite at variance with that of Justice Mr. Chagla and the Attorney-General, the Prime Minister goes a step further, and passes strictures on the proceedings of the commission that are uncomplimentary of Mr. Chagla, in that he characterises the proceedings as "one-sided," and further says that the commission was "not a judicial" one. This is not only blowing hot and cold at the same time, it is worse. It is an exhibition of the fact that he considers himself omniscient and all wise.

CROSSING SWORDS WITH KUNZRU

Naturally when an elder statesman and a parliamentarian of the standing of Pandit Kunzru asked a straight question in the Rajya Sabha, whether the Government accepted the verdict of the Chagla commission on the Finance Minister's action in the Mundhra scandal, and why was it necessary for the Government to afford the facilities of an IAF plane to the outgoing Minister, Mr. Nehru went into a rage instead of answering the questions straight. He called Mr. Kunzru "little-minded," "biased" "prejudiced" etc. and ended by charging Mr. Kunzru of being keen on "tripping up" somebody somehow. Quite a scene was created and the sober, level-headed Kunzru could not but help getting annoyed, and had to hit back in return.

This was not a solitary incident when the Prime Minister was seen in a ruffled mood. There were quite a number of scenes during the last session of the Parliament, when the Prime Minister presented himself as a picture of all nerves and no mind.

Angry words have flown from the mouth of the Prime Minister on a number of occasions, so much so that he even forgot the ordinary decency, that if he

was displeased with the answers of some of his colleagues on the Treasury benches, the place to correct them, was not the Parliament but in his own chamber. It was a sight for the gods to see when on a number of occasions he intervened in the middle of the answers of other Ministers, thus putting them off their colour. And the worst exhibition of bad manners was shown when in the public he chastised a Deputy Minister. In the midst of his answer he walked over to the Deputy Minister, was seen angrily engaged in argument with him, and finding that his behaviour was not exactly correct, burst into laughter, just to cover up his bad manners.

A BRUSH WITH RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

The same exhibition of temper and imbalance of mind was shown by him when Rajkumari Amrit Kaur made a studied and well-balanced criticism on the budget. She stated that the Government taxation proposals left no incentive to the people for saving, that the Prohibition experiment has proved a complete failure, and recommended the reimposition of the Salt tax to reimburse the Exchequer. She ended her criticism by saying that no administration can be carried on sentiments and slogan-mongering. No sane man would have anything to find fault with Rajkumari's criticism of the Government policies. But not so the Prime Minister. He flew into red rage at this mild, level-headed criticism of his Government and without answering Rajkumari, point by point, how and where she was wrong, he characterised the approach of Rajkumari as that of "a petty capitalist." And being a pseudo-socialist or a communist, the use of the word "capitalist" was in the nature of an abuse, hurled at a lady and a former colleague of the Prime Minister. But the Rajkumari, if the newspaper reports are correct, was quick to rise to the occasion. Typically womanish, she is reported to have passed on a note to Mr. Nehru, scribbled with the words: "Splendid, Sir." That was what a woman could do; she gave a sarcastic *coup de grace* to the ill-tempered Prime Minister.

WEIGHED DOWN WITH THE PLAN

This exhibition of frayed nerves and ill-tempered behaviour, during the parliamentary session, only show that the too ambitious and impossible second Five Year Plan, seems to have completely broken down the Prime Minister. Add to it, another characteristic of the Prime Minister, his personal loyalty to colleagues and friends, which always over-ride national interests, have put him in an embarrassing position. This same characteristic was also responsible for the compliments and praise that he showered on the retiring Finance Minister, when national discontent and popular clamour forced him to accept his resignation. It seems to have completely escaped the Prime Minister that his behaviour was not only illogical, but completely dangerous from the point of view of democracy and good government. The Prime Minister, as an individual, may have amiable qualities, but as the leader of a government that poses to be democratic, he is a great liability.

READ

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By F. A. RIDLEY

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Noon Wants India To Commit Political 'Harikari'

By "Vigilant"

PAKISTAN'S economy seems to have gone off the rails. This is pinpointed by many facts from newspapers from Pakistan.

First, there has been a progressive decline in food production in the country, and an increasing dependence on imports of rice and wheat.

West Punjab which was a granary has been reduced to a desert, thanks to Islamic fanaticism and the squeezing out of sturdy Jat Hindu and Sikh peasants.

In the next year alone, it will have to spend as much as Rs. 100 crores in order to stave off starvation.

Secondly, there has been a sharp fall in exports, which has adversely tipped the scales against Pakistan and made the balance of payments position even more critical than over before.

Thirdly, inflationary pressures have conspired to send up the cost of living index, which shows no signs of dropping or even becoming stable at the present levels.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE MOUNTS UP

To cap these, military aid from the United States, massive though it has been, has not relieved the pressure on defence spending, which, in the next fiscal year, will swallow up as much as 60 per cent of national revenues, thus making it difficult, if not impossible, for Pakistan to spend any, save the most meagre amounts on nation-building and social welfare activities.

Pakistan justifies this crushing defence expenditure on the usual fanatic ground against India that New Delhi is spending as much as 50 per cent of her revenues on defence.

Pakistani spokesmen forget that railway finances in India are kept separate from the general revenue. In Pakistan, this is not so. If the general revenue figures of India are taken together with her railway receipts, it will be apparent that, out of the total estimated receipts of Rs. 1,170 crores, India has only earmarked Rs. 278.1 crores for defence that is about 25 per cent as compared to over 60 per cent of defence spending in by Pakistan.

That some of the Pakistani leaders are aware of their country's precarious position is evident from the fact that a number of these referred to it in the course of the debate on the budget in the National Assembly last week. But while some of the Pakistani leaders are aware of the precarious economic position of the country ALL are agreed on one point, namely *Bharat is the villain of the piece. It is India that is responsible for all the ills of Pakistan, whether they are economic, social or political.* And this hymn of hate against India finds a ready response amongst the fanatical Islamic crowd that goes to make up the population of the country.

NOON LAYS DOWN TERMS FOR INDIA

Once again Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon has reiterated the statement that India is Pakistan's inveterate enemy. Of course against these steady and continuous stream of statements from Pakistan spokesmen, Mr. Nehru still hugs the illusion that he can win over Pakistan to our side by stooping to conquer the Islamic people of Pakistan by his Buddhistic attitude.

The manner in which Mr. Noon has spoken and the bitterness and frustration he imported into his tirade against India, did not seem to indicate that he was really serious about making friends with India.

His terms are as follows:

I. *India must hand over Kashmir to Pakistan "Without Kashmir, Pakistan cannot live".*

II. *India must make available all the waters that Pakistan needs and must also pay for such link canals as Pakistan may have to build. If, as a result of it, she herself has to go without waters, that is none of Pakistan's business.*

In other words, Mr. Noon wants India to commit political and economic suicide, so that his country would make friends with her.

In this he was supported by Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali and Daulatana, and a number of other political leaders.

..The latter, however, were so vehemently critical of Pakistan's participation in the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact that they manoeuvred Mr. Noon into a very embarrassing corner.

BLACKMAILING U.S.A.

Not satisfied with asking India to commit *harikari* to appease Islamic fanaticism, Mr. Noon threatened to walk out of these "defensive alliances like SEATO and Baghdad Pacts" unless the United States stepped up its military and other aid to Pakistan, *at the same time scaling down her assistance to India.*

So keen was his sense of bitterness against U.S. aid to India, that the Prime Minister let the political cat out of the bag by asserting that Pakistan had joined the SEATO and the Baghdad Pacts in order to be able to deal, with India "from a position of equality if not of strength" for India was the only enemy Pakistan had.

Yet times without number, Pakistan, the United States and the United Kingdom have gone on record to the effect that these alliances were formed to serve as a sort of bulwark against Communist infiltration in South East Asia.

That the *raison detre* of Pakistan's military build-up in Kashmir is evident from the Prime Minister's own statement in the National Assembly.

Mr. Noon in his bitter hatred of India lost all sense

of proportion when he said that the ten supporters of Pakistan in U.N. including U.S. and U.K. thought that Karachi dare not go to war with India over the Kashmir dispute. This statement of Mr. Noon instead of blackmailing U.S. and U.K. may result in scaling down U.S. aid to Karachi, since how unreliable an ally Pakistan is has come out of the horse's mouth. Mr. Noon seems to have overhit his mark.

CONDITIONS IN E. PAKISTAN

While the climate in West Pakistan is certainly not fair for any political party the climate of East Pakistan can be termed squally.

Maulana Bhasani is on the war path against the Awami League, and is particularly keen on bringing about the political eclipse of the former Prime Minister, Suhrawardy.

For this purpose, he wants his party, the National Awami party, to join hands with the opposition to

bring about the defeat of the present coalition Government in East Pakistan.

In order to defeat the Opposition move, Suhrawardy is reportedly keen on raising once again the question of full autonomy for East Pakistan—a question which he had by-passed, while he was Prime Minister on the ground that East Pakistan already enjoyed a 98-per cent autonomy.

But while political parties skirmish for power, large numbers of people continue to live in conditions of near-starvation.

So precarious is the food position in East Pakistan that armed food raids into Indian territory have become a normal feature.

As lately as March 7, a steam launch flying the Pakistani flag and carrying Pakistani military personnel, reportedly raided Indian territory near Singarkathi and carted off 20 maunds of paddy, a cycle and three men.

Nehru's Illusions

By Vivek

DOES Nehru as he signs statement upon statement each similar to the other, with the Prime Ministers of the Communist satellite States, ever pause to ask himself what the likelihood of a ripe old age for him would have been, had he lived in any of the territories in which his co-signatories kneel to the Soviet Chiefs on the necks of their own countrymen? If he ever does, he may recollect the saying, "Had Karl Marx lived under Stalin, he would not have lived long." Nor indeed would that bitter condemner of inhumanity and injustice have fared better under the more plausible and outwardly amiable Khrushchev. The New Class, the Communist elite, could not but have given very short shift to so powerful a champion of the classless society.

RUSSIAN AMBITION

It must be clear to Nehru that, with his love of freedom and unwillingness to be oppressed, his own condition would not have been different. Nor, perhaps, if he let his mind wander along this path, would he have totally forgotten Marx's view of Russian ambition: "The policy of Russia is changeless. Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the pole star of its policy—world domination—is a fixed star."

The value of a signature depends upon the character of the signer. What general view can be taken of the Satellite States? By and large, they are the tools of the Soviet Union. Through them it does its worst work. Were a really free election possible hardly any of them would be in power.

What sense then does it make to sign with such men joint declarations on international affairs? How does it benefit the Indian people? How does it benefit even Nehru? For the Prime Ministers, of course, it is highly advantageous. It strengthens their hold upon their despairing people. They can say to them, "Here you are. The heir to Gandhi, the great believer in right means, that widely acknowledged moral leader, Nehru, has not the least doubt or reservation about our

right to rule you. You may feel what you like about our cruelty and injustice—of course, you daren't say anything—but he enters into declarations with us on equal terms, and such declarations, couched in the most ethical language, telling everybody else what to do. So you see, the world is with us. Fall to heel and no more repining."

It also helps them to please their masters of the Soviet Union, for each one of these declarations is a further, tangible acceptance of the Soviet pretence that these satellite countries are indeed independent; and not, as in fact, Soviet colonies. Under Soviet orders, or at the least, with Soviet concurrence, the Prime Ministers leave their countries, and yet,—hey, presto, the transformation—through these declarations Nehru takes them to be himself, and presents them to his countrymen, as legitimate rulers of properly free and self-governing countries.

THE SUPPRESSION

That Nehru knows the actual position just as well as any one else, can be taken for granted. If he ever had any doubt at all, the brutal suppression in Hungary last year must have removed it completely. Why then this mystification of others, perhaps even this creation of an illusion for oneself?

It is the manifestation in a way of the strength of Nehru's imagination, of his strong capacity for make-believe. He has but to make up his mind and in the midst of the driest desert, he sees so vividly green fields and bubbling fountains that he finds no difficulty in convincing many of his followers that they see them too. Thrice at least in the last ten years, this capacity has led him to hold that the food problem was solved.

Recently, it has caused him to declare that the late Finance Minister was not factually responsible for the LIC investments. Evidence is as nothing to him, when it comes in the way of the onward sweep of this make-believe.

What motivates this make-believe? What causes it to begin to operate? Principally, predilection. To a lesser extent, prejudice. Nehru is animated by an extreme sensitivity of feeling about his likes.

There can be little doubt of his affection for the Soviet Union. It obviously was more than a figure of speech when he said while bidding farewell on his last visit that he was leaving a piece of his heart behind.

DEEP-ROOTED

The Soviet Union was to him, as to many intellectuals in the thirties, the hope of the future, the heaven of refuge for the exploited, the New Land, and the illusion has continued despite ample opportunity to see facts as they are, and despite occasionally seeing

them quite clearly and even letting them register on the mind. Hence, the tremendous willingness to give the benefit of the doubt on every occasion to the Soviet Union; even, sometimes then there is no room for doubt at all, to suspend judgment rather than to have to condemn. Hence the wish to make things easy for the Soviet Union, the readiness to accept almost any excuses, and the anger at those who stress its misdeeds so cogently that excuses become very difficult. Hence, the desire to look at problems, like the true status of the satellites, from the Soviet point of view, the reluctance to believe anything truly damaging to the Soviets, and the great partiality for men like Krishna Menon, whose enthusiasm for the Soviet Union and its creed are very well-known to be deep-rooted.

This Is Pakistan

And the Ostrich with Its Head In the Sand

By Kishore Valicha

SPEAKING in Parliament the other day, Mr. Nehru said: "Pakistan, which was a part of our own country some time ago, should harbour so much ill-will against us and all the time be speaking of us as its enemies, and arming and generally threatening us with holy war. . . . We may be stronger than they, but that is a different matter. *What has hurt me is our incapacity, inability to win the goodwill of Pakistan. I do not want to win or to influence Pakistan by strength of arms.* I do not wish to gain anything from Pakistan except their goodwill, and it hurts me *I have failed to win the goodwill of Pakistan*, because that is the only way I wish to deal with Pakistan. We propose to go on working to that end, even though in Pakistan people may call us enemies, and talk in a language which is not at all agreeable to us."

This is a complete admission by Mr. Nehru of the failure of our policy towards Pakistan. And it serves also to illustrate the already strong impression that Mr. Nehru is one of the most dogmatic persons who refuses to learn from history. On the one hand, Mr. Nehru admits that all his attempts at winning over Pakistan's goodwill (a thing that cannot be done, as all the past historical friction between the Hindus and the Muslims bears out) have ended in utter failure. With this truism, the most natural thing to expect is a complete reversal in our attitude towards Pakistan. It is perfectly obvious that if our attempts to win over the goodwill of the Pakistani people and the Pakistani politicians, (who are held together in the iron clasp of Muslim fanaticism, reinforced by Hindu-hatred), have ended in failure, and granted that these attempts have been the best possible under the circumstances, it remains now for us to radically alter the present weak-kneed policy towards Pakistan. We have tried our appeasement policy towards Pakistan

to its very logical, or rather illogical end, and have indeed worn out our pathetic souls to the last in doing so. **WE HAVE FAILED. Consequently, WE MUST CHANGE.**

AN ILLOGICAL ATTITUDE

This logic cannot be side-tracked. No circumlocution or verbal gymnastics or any amount of sentimental execrations that our P.M. is so much addicted to, can ever cloud the issue. Pakistan stands out as our open and declared enemy. The dictates of realistic statesmanship rule out a certain course for us to follow. Failure to follow the right course or deliberately ignoring to do so, can only lead to the most fatal results.

But does Mr. Nehru contemplate altering his attitude towards Pakistan? "I do not wish to gain anything from Pakistan except their goodwill, and it hurts me that I have failed to win the goodwill of Pakistan, *because that is the only way I wish to deal with Pakistan.*"

That is how Mr. Nehru wants to stick his neck out. But it is not a personal affair of Mr. Nehru. It is a national responsibility which as Prime Minister it is his duty to discharge. There is nothing else, under the circumstances, for us but to warn him. And warn him is what we have been doing over the last ten years. And all these warnings, he dubs as "reactionary" and "communal". They are NOT; they are NATIONAL.

PAKISTAN IS NOT WEAKER THAN INDIA

Mr. Nehru says, "We may be stronger than they (Pakistan), but that is a different matter. . . ." Very charitable and generous words, no doubt, but far from actual realities. Pakistan has stepped up her

defence forces. 56 per cent of Pakistan revenues which amount to Rs. 81 crores for the year 1958-59 have now been sanctioned. This does not, however, take account of the enormous American defence and civil aid that Pakistan receives from the U.S.A. Though the economic conditions continue to remain unsound, and inflationary tendencies are now accentuated, the Pakistan Air Force has made considerable progress and now is able to handle new, more complex and faster aircraft received under the U.S. military aid programme. The Navy, too, has made enormous progress. One cruiser and two modern destroyers have recently been added to it. Construction and installation work in an ordnance factory are nearing completion.

NOT PLAYING THE GAME WITH THE PEOPLE

In the light of all this, Mr. Nehru's saying that he does not want to win over Pakistan through strength of arms is very misleading and highly dangerous from a national point of view. No Indian wants annexation of Pakistan BUT our defence against Pakistan must be ensured. To suggest otherwise, however subtly, is to give the electorate a false impression of India's military strength. The electorate has a right to know what is what in this country, and if the head of the national Government is going to talk in this irresponsible manner, we can only conclude that the electorate is being kept in the dark, which is certainly not playing the democratic game.

Further, Mr. Nehru says, "We propose to go on working to that end even though in Pakistan people may call us enemies and talk in a language which is not at all agreeable to us."

The fact is that Pakistan does not merely call us enemies, and does not merely talk in a language that is disagreeable. Pakistan not only talks BUT Pakistan ACTS. It matches its words by like gestures.

These gestures are manifest in innumerable cases. Kashmir; the unceasing influx of refugees from East Pakistan; the canal waters dispute; the border incidents which have become almost perpetual; the various attempts at sabotage within India by Pakistani spies; and an endless number of like nuisances as Noon's notorious speeches, both at home and in international circles.

In India, it has become a custom to use Gandhiji's name whenever any irrationalities have to be made respectable by the hollow halo of saintliness that is associated with the Father of the Nation. Mr. Nehru, while deploring this tendency, himself is not averse to exploiting it. He is not declaring right when he says that he took the initiative for the armed aid to Kashmir, which was also blessed by Gandhi. The facts are otherwise; he did everything possible to delay it, and prevent it, if possible, from reaching in time. And what Mr. Nehru forgot to mention was that when our Army was victorious and the raiders on the run, he called for a "cease-fire" action.

Finally, we may point to the most glaring example of the failure of our policy towards Pakistan, namely, the pathetic sight at Sealdah Station. There are at present eight or nine thousand refugees lodged in the most despicable circumstances. They move hectically from place to place to find a better place for abode, but they end inevitably in what is now quickly becoming the worst slum in India. Four to five hundred refugees keep flowing in every week from East Pakistan. This successfully increases the miseries of all refugees, with the result that a time may soon come when it will be almost a national task to face the problem of refugees. We cannot be blind to this. We have to listen to reason. We advocate, then, **LET US CHANGE OUR WHOLE POLICY TOWARDS PAKISTAN.**

DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



Members of the Russian Orthodox Church who fled from the Soviet Union in the late 1920's to avoid religious persecution are now leaving Communist China for the same reason. Over 1,200 of them have arrived in Hong Kong.



Due to the weaker pull of gravity on the moon, a strong man who could lift 500 pounds on the earth could lift 3,000 pounds on the moon. A seven-year-old child could break the high-jump records of Olympic champions.



Monkeys have joined Malaya's labor force. They scamper up coconut trees, twist off the valuable fruit and drop it to the ground. As wages, they get soda pop and other goodies.

Holding the Mirror to the Congress Face

By Jay Kay

A MAN CONVICTED FOR RAPE IS STILL A CONGRESS M. P.

DURING the linguistic disturbances in Bombay a number of false allegations were made against the protagonists of the Samyukta Maharashtra. Many of these false allegations were flashed across full-page or three-column or double-column headings in the "kept" press of the city. Despite protests and contradictions in the independent Marathi press, these allegations have been allowed to pass off as truths. One of such allegations was that a number of non-Maharashtrian women were criminally assaulted by the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra, though curiously enough thousands of men and women and teenagers were arrested by the Morarji Bhai regime, **NO ONE** was actually arrested for such a heinous crime, or put up for trial.

But the Marathi spokesman and champion of the Samyukta Maharashtra, Acharya Atré's "Maratha" came out with what it called a "sputnik," when it published, chapter and verse that a Congress M.P. from the scheduled class constituency of Bulsar—Nanu Nichha—has been convicted and sentenced for attempted rape and criminal assault on a Saurashtra Brahmin woman.

The report published extracts from certified copies of the judgement in the case, the name of the Sessions Judge and the name and place of the woman. This publication of the report in the "Maratha" has so far **NOT BEEN CHALLENGED** as there are no grounds for doing so.

But this Nanu Nichha—now pompously called Nanubhai Patel—in spite of these disclosures, which were brought to the notice of the Parliament, **STILL** continues as the Congress M.P.

Nanu Nichha is not only convicted and sentenced for an heinous crime, involving moral turpitude, **BUT** he has also perjured in his nomination papers that he has never been convicted, since a convicted man cannot stand for election.

Why such a man still continues as a Congress M.P. and why no further action for perjury against him is taken, only the Gandhian Congress High Command can answer.

CONGRESS LEADER AND A MEDICAL MAN HELD FOR DACOITY, FORGERY AND THEFT.

Poona: Dr. Anant Chintaman Lagu, a well-known physician and a Congress leader, has been arrested by the Poona C.I.D. on charges of dacoity, theft, preparing forged documents and criminal breach of trust involving Rs. 70,000. This arrest of a Congress leader and a physician has caused a lot of stir in the City, specially amongst the Congressmen, as they fear that many skeletons in the cupboard of the Congress would be brought to light. Dr. Lagu has been for years associated with the local Congress leadership on terms of intimacy.

According to C.I.D. information submitted before

THERE is a widespread but unwarranted belief in the country, that the Congress is the **ONLY** well-knit and organised political party in the land, and as such, the people have no other option but to support it. . . How low the Congress leaders and the rank and file have gone, will be published from day to day under this caption.

This low depth to which the Congress has degenerated is never mentioned in the "kept" press of the Congress—the so-called National English press.

All the items under this caption are taken from independent Indian languages weeklies and papers. They hold the mirror to the ugly face of the present-day Congress.

the Magistrate, it is stated that Dr. Lagu was on terms of intimacy with a rich and well-to-do widow, who was worth over Rs. 70,000. It is alleged that Dr. Lagu has committed breach of trust of that vast amount. The rich widow, Mrs. Indumati Karve, was alleged to have been taken to Bombay for medical treatment, sometime in November last. Since that time she has disappeared.

According to Dr. Lagu she was taken to Bombay for medical treatment and then she left for a pilgrimage. Letters purported to have been written by her, are produced by Dr. Lagu, are believed to be forged documents.

The widow's adopted son lodged a complaint with the Police and Dr. Lagu was arrested. He is awaiting a trial.

Subsequent inquiries by the C.I.D. prove that the widow was admitted in a Bombay hospital for treatment under an assumed name, where she died. She is reported to have been cremated as an unclaimed person.

ELECTION MURDER IN UDAIPUR BY A CONGRESS LEADER

Shri Jethalal Acharya, Additional Sessions Judge, Udaipur, awarded on the capital sentence to Chimantal for the murder of Dhula, a devotee of God, living in village Bodamali, under Section 302, I.P.C. In the course of his judgment the Judge observed that the murder was the result of a conspiracy; that Shivlal, the District Congress President, was one of the chief conspirators, that the first information report was forged, and that "the police officers—the head constable, the sub-inspector of police and the Deputy Superintendent of Police—were all intent to shield the culprits."

The Judge also observed that the committing magistrate, Shri Mohan Singh Bhandari, failed to apply his mind properly to the facts of the case which call for

(Continued on page 18)

Tiny Guardians Of Good Health

The water-soluble vitamins have to be replaced in the body every day. Some are synthesised in the intestines by a natural, vitamin-producing process. But the right kinds of foods are necessary for all these.

TO maintain health, only traces are required of the chemical entities known as vitamins. Yet, so essential are they that their deficiency in the diet becomes the cause of disease. Deficiency diseases are slow to develop because considerable time is required to deplete bodily stores of vitamins. So it may take months, and sometimes even years, to detect signs of deficiency.

Vitamin C is said to contain two factors: the scurvy preventive and the anti-infective. It is highly important in the strength and composition of blood fortifying the walls of blood vessels and preventing anaemia. It aids in building teeth and bones; speeds healing of wounds, broken bones, skin ailments, injuries.

SERVE THESE FOODS

Fruits that are not ordinarily suspected of nutritive value, the cashew and the red guava, are rich in vitamin C. But the best and cheapest source is the *amla* so plentifully available in our woods and backyards. A single berry contains more vitamin C than an orange. Its acute acidity is a protective to the elusive vitamin. Besides, its content is so rich, that even after the usual loss in cutting and exposing to air and heat, it is still the best source. And best of all, it protects its vitamin from the negative effects of heating and drying.

Normally, salting, preserving, storing, fermentation, all destroy the vitamin C. But the *amla* is impervious to all these. The ancient custom of storing *amlas* and drying them with salt and buttermilk in a cloth-bound jar in the sun is one of the best ways of ensuring a year-round supply of vitamin C for the family. A level teaspoon each day per individual suffices. It is also a base for delicious chutneys.

Fresh cashew juice, in season, is a good source of this vitamin. Another most dependable food rich in C is sprouted pulses. Green gram is the best. Four level tablespoons soaked in water to cover overnight and put away in a basket and sprouted for 3-4 days give a day's requirement of Vitamin C. Fresh citrus fruits, fresh greens, unpeeled tomatoes are also good. Cutting, heat, exposure to air, addition of soda bicarb, or sugar, destroy the vitamin.

Actually, the preservation of vitamin C is an ever-present problem for the housewife and she must take steps to meet it intelligently. If foods containing C can be cooked (steamed) for no longer than 3 minutes, the vitamin can be conserved. For this reason, pressure-cooking, for vegetables, is recommended. In fact so easily is it destroyed that even with fresh fruit and vegetables, a teaspoon of *amla* becomes a necessity in the diet.

Due to a lack of this vitamin, spongy, painful gums, weak eyes, anaemia, haemorrhagic tendencies, gastrointestinal disturbances, painful joints, are caused. Being anti-infective and anti-toxic it is of great help in the treatment of infectious diseases. Eye and skin troubles are also treated with additional vitamin C.

About twelve factors belonging to the water-soluble group of vitamins are collectively known as B-Complex.

What you know as B-1 is thiamin, the anti-beri-beri factor. It is essential for healthy nerve tissue and sound digestive tract, and for the assimilation of carbohydrates. The Indian diet, which is rather heavy in carbohydrates must needs be reinforced by it, although it is not the only factor for this purpose.

EASY TO OBTAIN

Old people, those who do strenuous physical work or exercise require more of it. During pregnancy and lactation, larger quantities are required because thiamin builds up energy and nervous stability.

Actually, foods rich in vitamin B¹ are easily accessible although we pay scant attention to the source of it. Rice bran, the outer coating of rice, is one of the best. Three teaspoons of it more than meets the daily requirement. That is why unpolished rice is recommended by nutrition experts. The germ and outer layer of pulses and peanuts are also rich in B¹. It is formed in buttermilk and curds and exists in lesser quantities in the green Indian vegetables, dates, and raisins and tomatoes. In the small intestine certain bacteria produce vitamin B¹.

Most of us have not realised the importance of this vitamin. Muscular weakness and break-down of the nervous system, fatigue, are caused by its deficiency, with severe ailments to follow. Excessive heat, soda bicarb destroy this vitamin. Cook unpolished rice in minimum water so that it need not be strained. Vegetables, too, must be cooked without water.

Riboflavin is known as vitamin B₂. The digestive tract and the central nervous system are dependent on it for proper functioning. It probably helps to assimilate protein and to utilise iron for the formation of haemoglobin in the blood. The outer coating (bran) of grains, dried yeast, groundnuts, yellow and green vegetables, egg yolks, are sources to remember. Lack of B₂ causes sore mouth and lips, eye trouble such as opacity, bloodshot. Eyes and sore skin, are vague undefined symptoms of ill health. Boiling for long periods destroys rib flavin.

RESTORATIVE QUALITIES

Niacin is essential for growth and guards against wasting disease and shrivelled skin (polagra). It prevents anaemia and given with riboflavin, has excellent restorative effect. Fatigue, common dermatitis, are due to deficiency of niacin. Loss of memory and mental confusion are also disorders caused by its lack. It is found in yeast, nuts, green vegetables, milk, liver, whole grains and pulses.

Then there is Biotin, found in curds and egg yolk, which builds up energy and helps to keep the skin healthy. Avidin is another factor.

Some Thoughts On The Income Tax And Other Taxes

We have a law known as Prohibition.

It has made us a nation of unrepentant cheats and law-breakers.

It is unrealistic, highly expensive to administrate and unenforceable.

It corrupted the administrators and the administrated alike.

It created the greatest criminal underworld of all times.

It lessens public respect for all law.

We now have a law called the Personal Income Tax and number of other Taxes.

Like Prohibition, it is unrealistic, highly expensive to administrate and unenforceable.

Like Prohibition, it has corrupted the administrators and the administrated alike.

Like Prohibition, it has made us a nation of unrepentant cheats and law-breakers.

Like Prohibition, it lessens respect for all law.

Like Prohibition, it should be gotten rid of.

MARX—THE FATHER OF THESE TAXES

Although as old as history, the Income Tax got its modern popularity through socialist writings, particularly those of Karl Marx.

Marx knew the notorious history of this tax and he knew its power to break down Socialism's greatest barriers—self-reliant, responsible constructive citizenship.

That is why, in the Communist Manifesto he stated: To have Socialism, all you need is a heavy progressive income tax and confiscatory estate taxes.

Have you ever stopped to think of the absurd principle on which this tax is based?

It is generally agreed that the man who owns a Rs. 40,000|- home should pay 10 times as much real estate tax as the man who owns a Rs. 4,000|- home, but why should a man with Rs. 40,000|- income pay, not 10 times the income tax of Rs. 4,000|- man, but 47 times as much?

The Rs. 4,000|- man might shrug this off as the "will of the people," but deep down inside he knows it is wrong.

THE ARTFUL DODGERS

How much cheating is going on?

The Income-Tax authorities estimate that from 10 to 30% of taxable income is unreported.

The Government Finance Ministry would rather not say how many billions uncollected because of the people who simply will not pay and whose taxes are too small to make forced collection profitable.

It would take a multitude of tax agents to really enforce this law, and most small tax-payers know it.

What do people really think about breaking this law?

As an example, consider the doctor A, (in U.S.A.) who had served out his prison sentence for income tax evasion, and who was welcomed home by his fellow towns-people with cheers!

How about the Congressmen who have left huge legacies and how their estates remain untaxed?

And, how about a matter close to the heart of liberty — the right of private property.

NO MAN'S HOUSE IS SACRED

These tax collections are the tax-collector's key to every man's front door.

Conscientious reporting and observance is no protection against this invasion of privacy: the law is so vague, its interpretations so inconsistent, its demands so exacting, that almost any return can be challenged, and the tax-payer has no legal defence against expensive and exasperating harrassment.

And it is so complicated that not even the tax-collectors can be sure of what they are doing.

As in the case of Prohibition, we are told that these taxes can never be repealed.

But it can be repealed by the greatest force on earth—public opinion. Except for white caps specially those in seats of power almost nobody likes this crop of heavy taxation.

It is our prediction that these taxation laws will be repealed and replaced with a better law through the force of public opinion. But will public opinion muster strong to force the hands of the Government?

Plight Of Denmark—

In The Crisis Of "A Welfare" State

THE *Woche* prints an article under the title *Denmark—the crisis of a Welfare State*. Before the war two-thirds of Danish exports consisted of agricultural products, with the rest mainly fish. By 1950 the proportion altered, and today agricultural products account for only about half her exports, whereas industrial exports have risen to 41%, and all the raw material for this industry has to be imported. But industry requires more capital than does farming, and the extreme development of the Welfare State in Denmark necessitates such high taxation that saving is difficult. The result has been a serious adverse trade balance, high prices and growing unemployment; about 6% of workers were unemployed, even during the summer season this year. Wages are automatically geared to prices, and the spiral mounts steadily.

The government has introduced crisis measures in the shape of a forced loan and a sharp increase in taxation: the already high taxes on tobacco and alcohol are raised, and a turn-over tax has been imposed on the motor-car industry. Obviously, the article proceeds, these measures actually aggravate the fundamental difficulty—lack of savings and capital. Since 1953 Denmark's increase in production has been, after Ireland, the lowest in Europe. And still the trade unions are demanding higher wages and shorter working hours. I would comment that Denmark is a clear illustration of the lesson that a Welfare State can succeed only so long as the saving section of the community holds enough reserves to support the heavy taxes; when these savings are exhausted, the house of cards collapses; the savings are rarely replenished by the class that receives the welfare benefits.

—The Individualist

Biotin and Avidin are related factors of B Complex in the sense that the latter helps to keep the former balanced. Biotin builds energy and helps to maintain a good skin. Egg yolk and curds are good sources of it. Avidin is found in egg yolk, and also in yeast and liver.

Pantothenic acid helps longevity, virility, relaxation. It is found in wheat germ and liver.

The nervous system depends a great deal upon B factors for stability. B6, for instance, known as Pyridoxin, has a sedative effect on it. Tiredness, irritability, sleeplessness have greatly benefited by it. The tensions, often put down to the stress of modern living, are probably due to B6 deficiency. Fatty acids, so essential for life, must have B6 for the chemical changes they undergo in the body. This precious agent of well-being is found in grains, pulses, jaggery vegetable oil, milk, butter and egg yolk.

Among the anti-grey hair vitamins are Para-aminobenzoic acid (it is synthesised in the intestines) and folic acid found in liver, curds, leafy green vegetables. Folic acid guards against certain types of anaemia and atrophy of sexual glands. It is very easily destroyed.

Inositol is believed to stimulate the growth of hair and prevent baldness. It is one of the many B factors synthesised in the intestines and is helped by pantothenic acid.

Choline, found in liver, egg yolk and dried yeast helps keep the liver and weight normal.

Vitamin B12 aids in perfecting blood vessels in the bone-marrow and also, like many of its fellow-factors, helps to prevent a certain kind of anaemia. Liver

and egg yolk, brain leafy greens, yeast, milk, whole grains are sources of B12. Ordinary cooking does not affect it, but excessive heat does.

SNOBBS AND SNOBBS

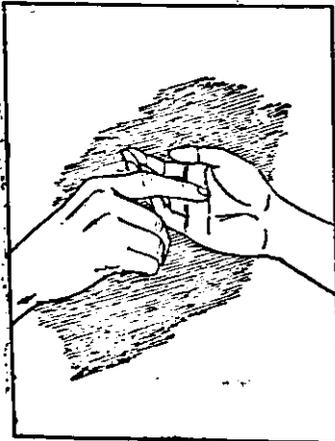
Are you a snob? Of course, We all are! Only, we come in different shapes and sizes. There are those who will eat anything as long as it's "European": there are lowbrow snobs reading nothing but thrillers and on their lack of knowledge of the arts; highbrow snobs who, cannot bear any conversation except that of art and poetry; snobs who are "all Indian;" snobs who can't bear anything Indian, snobs who are pure vegetarians, snobs who will not look at "grass." And snobs who pride themselves on not being snobs.

Most of our pet snobberies are harmless and often give some little pleasure and amusement without inconvenience or embarrassment to anybody. The trouble begins when we start pretending and spend too much money and several other values in pursuing our snobberies.

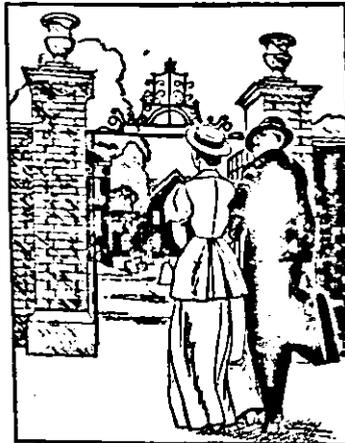
The unfortunate thing about such snobbery is that it gets us little prestige and less satisfaction. Keeping up with somebody else is one of the most frustrating pastimes you can take up. The sincere and the unpretentious are, ultimately, the most satisfied for they have accepted the differences of life with equanimity and do not feel the need to take up snobberies in order to create an effect.

'TRUE TALES—Helen Keller (2nd of a series)

by VERUS



ALPHABET.—Anne Sullivan patiently worked out a sort of alphabet by which she spelled outwards on Helen's hand. Gradually the child was able to connect words with objects. Her case was the most extraordinary ever known in the education of deaf mutes. Miss Keller later learned several languages.



COLLEGE.—Her courage and fortitude began to attract wide attention. Helen Keller, in 1890, learned to speak under the instruction of Sarah Fuller, Horace Mann school, New York City. In 1900, she entered Radcliffe College, Boston, Massachusetts, an inspiration to all people afflicted.



BRILLE.—At Radcliffe her textbooks were printed in Braille, a system of printing for the blind in which characters are represented by raised dots. It was invented by Louis Braille, a Frenchman, in 1829, who also went blind just after his birth. The system included musical notations. —(To be continued)

Over A Glass Of "Nira"

By "Toddy-tapper"

OUR Prime Minister Mr. Nehru is a man of many parts and diverse abilities. To us Indians, he is known as a great and loquacious orator, as the author of joint principles of "panchasheela" and "co-existence", and lastly as the political and spiritual son of the Mahatma, who, according to Congressmen, has given to India the unique and wonderful weapon of "non-violence" that was responsible for getting us "Swarajya."

Whether this tall claim of the Congressmen is right or wrong—at least, to intelligent Indians, it is baseless—the fact remains that today Nehru is much in the news, both in India and abroad. But if the *Hindustan Samachar* news are correct, Nehru has blossomed for in an entirely different light, and in a sphere which he never must have dreamt.

The *sherwani* that Nehru wore during his tour of the Scandinavian countries, it seems, has caught the fancy of the fashion-makers there. "Nehru coat," as it is styled there, is much in demand in Scandinavia. So today Nehru is the fashion-maker of that part of Europe. Like the Gladstone bag, the Wellingtons, the Nehru coat will go down to posterity. And what is more the grey Khaki colour is called "Nehru colour." So, long after Nehru's memory becomes dim, "Nehru" and Nehru colour will live for ever.

While Nehru coat is becoming the fashion of a part of Europe, Nehru is making familiar the buttoned-up coat worn by the Chinese communist leaders a popular form of attire of his younger Congress colleagues on the Cabinet. The former Finance Minister TTK, the present Transport Minister S. K. Patil and other junior Ministers have followed the example of Nehru, in donning on the buttoned-up coat that he first put on after his return from communist China.

Apparel oft proclaims the man. These buttoned-up coats of the Congress Ministers proclaim to the world that they are for the "socialist pattern of society", if not for communism. For instilling the "virtues" of non-violence and making his followers take to jail life, Gandhi hit upon making the present Gandhi uniform—the khadi kurta, the white cap and the loin cloth—the official dress of the Congressmen. How few know today, that the Gandhi cap was nothing but the jail cap, worn by the ordinary convict in the country, the *kurta* or the shirt with half sleeves was the jail garment of the convict. But such was the hysteria in the country, during the Freedom Movement, that even the best educated persons succumbed to the Gandhi charm, and donned on the most un-aesthetic dress ever known to the country.

Gandhi cap and the *kurta* became the hallmark of patriotism, respectability, and what not. Of course, the more opportunists amongst them, saw the signs of the time, gave up their more decent and becoming dress in preference to the Gandhi habiliments, made hay while the sun shone, and are still making their piles. Their only passport to prosperity and the only shield to many of their shady deals, is the simple khadi *kurta* and the convict cap, known as the Gandhi cap.

Not being a psychologist, I do not know whether, the source of the crop of crooks that has been raised in the country, can be traced to the habitual wearing of the convict's dress. It is a problem for psychologists and sociologists to probe into whether the criminal instincts so widely discernible in the khaddi-clad gentry, can be ascribed to their permanent association with a convict's garb or whether their latent criminal instincts made them readily take to the Gandhi dress as the ducks take to water.

It is a subject which I recommend some of our Universities to tackle and and if I can recommend to the Central Government authorities they should award a prize to the best thesis on the subject.

In any case the country has long suffered the indignities of the Gandhi dress. It is high time that an official decree should be there against this form of dress, that is aesthetically wrong associated too long with shady transactions, and has become the passport to hypocrisy, with asceticism on the lips, and luxury and pomp on the sly.

It seem that one has to wear the Gandhi dress in Free India that is Bharat, amass wealth by the spade in both hands, religiously contribute to the Congress election funds, and thousand crimes are pardoned to them. This is the class of Free India's "nouveau riche," the class of *parvenus* and *arrivalistes*, who outwardly were the crude and the simple Gandhi dress, live in airconditioned palaces, travel by chartered planes, use all the godgets which science has invented, including nylon and rayon curtains and Dunlop pillows. Austerity and simplicity for the common man BUT luxury and pomp for this new class of Free India's elite. And this divorce of practice from preaching is practised from the highest in the land to the Tom and Dick at the State or District level. So here's a glass of Nira to this tribe of "nouveau riche;" may their tribe ever increase to the eternal damnation of all that is healthy, sane, and beautiful in the national life. *Bollo Gandhi-ki Jai*. And wash it down with a glass of "Nira".

(Continued from page 13)

the application of his powers to have called all the accused and committed them to sessions.

He concludes: "It is for the Government now to make a thorough investigation of the case to bring the remaining guilty men like Shival and others to book and to take steps against such of its officers as are found implicated in shielding such heinous criminals."

CONGRESS MEN COME TO BLOWS DURING ELECTIONS

Ludhiana: The Police had to be called in to restore order when rival groups of Congressmen clashed on the busy Grand Trunk Road, near the Clock Tower, bringing all traffic to a standstill for over 15 minutes.

Three persons were injured, one seriously in the clash in front of the Congress House.

Trouble started when Mr. Sunder Singh, a former Akali leader but now a Congressman, was reportedly manhandled as he came out of the Congress House.

Arguments again flared up between the groups. They exchanged abuses, brickbats, soda water bottles and hockey sticks, and the clash continued for over 15 minutes, when the Police came and restored order.

AND HERE'S "STRAIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH"

Bombay: Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, warned Congressmen that they would be living in a fool's paradise if they did not realise that they will not be able to win elections for ever by merely using the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Addressing Congressmen at a meeting this evening in one of the most forthright and critical appraisal of the Congress Party's strength, the Union Minister slashed at those who were acting as "traitors" within the organisation and also those, whose "disloyalty in times of crisis" had led to the fall of the Congress in many parts of the country.

TRAITORS

Referring to the Congress organisation in general, Shri Patil was of the opinion that indiscipline, greed for power and group politics conspired together in weakening the organisation. Merely amending the rules and regulations would not help strengthen the party; and even the creation of Mandal Congress Committees had failed miserably in stemming the rot. For, even highly placed men inside the Congress were suffering from greed for power.

PRESIDENT DHEBHAR CALLS CONGRESSMEN "LIARS"

Bhopal: A disappointed and an angry Congress President abruptly closed a poorly attended meeting convened by the Madhya Pradesh Congress committee.

If what he saw during the hour-long meeting was indicative of the true state of affairs in Bhopal, Mr. Dhebar wished the organisation did not exist.

Earlier the Congress President called three Congress workers "liars" when they denied having made certain remarks which the President was sure they had made before.

Mr. Dhebar announced the suspension of two Congress committees—Sehore and Raisen—in the former Bhopal State.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

When Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit Shielded A Hostel Warden

THE conduct of India's official representatives abroad has often made several responsible Indians hang their heads in shame. The case of Mrs. K. and Dr. G. is one such.

On January 30, 1958, was published the sorry story of an Indian doctor in London. Dr. Satya Ranjan Ghosh has a long practice and many patients in the London hostel. And how on one very fine morning, the warden of the hostel Mrs. Grace Kumar told the doctor to keep out of the hostel henceforth.

MRS. PANDIT'S STRANGE ACTION

Dr. Ghosh, being a registered member of the British Medical Association had approached that professional body and its officials had taken up his case. A British organisation had taken up the case of one Indian against another in London!

But the hostel warden had stuck to her decision and insisted that Dr. Ghosh had been rude and canvassing patients in her hostel. Dr. Ghosh thought this was slander and went to court, at which stage the Indian High Commission interfered and granted diplomatic immunity to the hostel warden, thus putting her above the reach of law.

The *Daily Express* has seized the incident for its own purpose. Giving it a big play on the paper's front page under the heading "The Strange Case Of Mrs. K. And Her Immunity", the *Express* said:

An Indian woman in London has been granted diplomatic immunity from a writ alleging slander because she is warden of a students' hostel. Yesterday Mrs. Grace Kumar, a tall, slim, woman in a pink and red sari, talked about the writ.

"I am a highly respectable Indian woman," she said. "I go to all the functions. Of course I am entitled to diplomatic immunity."

To back this up, the *Express* wrote a short editorial called "The 'C.D.' Dodge." it said:

The privilege of immunity to the law is constantly being extended. It should be curbed.

The more people are placed above the law, the more is the law brought into dispute.

The worst of it all came on March 13 when the *Daily Express* ran an eight-column banner headline on one of its inside pages. Under the heading "Mrs. Pandit's Privileged People", its Staff Reporter said:

There are 840 employees of the Indian Government in Britain who enjoy diplomatic immunity. Wives and children bring the figure to nearly 1,200 of Indians who can cock a snook at the law.

Yesterday I tried to talk to a diplomatically immune employee at India House. Press attache Mr. S. Dhar told me: "Please wait here." He vanished down a corridor.

Four minutes later he returned and said: "No, That's not possible. Such a delicate matter, you see."

Then came an oh-so-diplomatic request to leave.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the case Dr. G. has against Mrs. K., the arbitrary fashion in which the Indian High Commission used its power of immunity and placed a hostel warden above the normal scope of law is matter for just criticism.

The Indian at home is sensitive to his prestige, good name and honour. But the Indian abroad seems to be careless of all these. Which is a pity.

A Country where the Police Oppress the Poor 'ad libitum' Dare Not Establish Socialism

IN South India at present two investigations are going on in regard to the circumstances in which persons have died in police custody, or as a result of injuries alleged to have been inflicted by police officials during detention. In each case the State Government has defended the police and tried to prevent exposure of the facts.

The Government's attitude is the conventional one, imposed by the paramount necessity of maintaining morale and discipline in a vital service. That is understood, but it is surprising that the party forming the Governments should so easily have submitted to discipline in the matter, and left the job of ventilating the grievances of the victims to the Opposition.

Few members of the opposition parties have as much experience of police custody as the older members of the Congress. Until twelve years ago no Congress member would have doubted that the police were guilty of the crimes alleged, and they would have based their conviction on ample evidence. Under the old regime the police did often maltreat rank-and-file Congress prisoners and poor criminal suspects, and everybody who spent any time in jail in those days knew it, if not from personal experience then from the indubitable testimony of many fellow-prisoners.

THE POLICE HAVE NOT CHANGED

It cannot be believed that the police have changed their mentality and their methods so thoroughly in these few years. It is not safe to assume that such stories told now are all false, when undoubtedly many similar stories told twelve years ago were true.

But if that is so, it is not a matter that should be left to the opposition. It is not a properly political question at all. Everyday in a position to exert any influence should be anxious to see that an end is put to these atrocities. The silence of the Congress benches is sad testimony to the decay of the reforming zeal of that once great party.

This decay is all the more shameful in view of the great change which the Congress policy has undergone in these twelve years. Formerly the Congress claimed, with some justification, to stand for all classes and sections of the people. Now it has changed its policy and claims to stand for the masses as against the classes. It has liquidated the princes and zamindars, and is now busy liquidating the owners of capital, urban and rural. It is, or says it is a party of the workers and peasants, leading them in a non-violent war against the rich.

Now these police atrocities never are and never were committed upon rich, or even middle-class people. A good-looking young woman is safe in police custody if her dress and bearing show that she is likely to have relatives influential enough to get an officer punished who misbehaves with her. It is only the poor who suffer in this way. Yet the self-proclaimed party of the poor do nothing to protect their clients.

INSINCERITY IN SOCIALIST PROFESSIONS

There is, of course, nothing surprising in this. It may be said, indeed, that all parties manned by middle-class people, which claim to stand for the poor, are humbugs. Fifty years ago, when the great socialist movement was still animated by a relatively pure idealism, *uncorrupted by any experience of governmental power*, there were shrewd critics, in its ranks as well as outside, who detected the latent insincerity in the Socialist professions.

The socialists claimed to stand for the abolition of the old ruling classes based on privilege and wealth, and to put in their place a new ruling class based on educated brains. What fifty years ago was a startling heresy is today a commonplace, at least in the West. But it applies equally to India, and all the more obviously to a party which changed its policy to socialism one afternoon three years ago, without giving any other indication, then or since, of a sincere conversion to the ideal of a classless, let alone casteless, society.

But these incidents are more than yet another exposure of the humbug of the "classless and casteless" slogan. They are a warning of the danger of the socialist pattern which the Congress is imposing on the country.

Socialism is not classlessness. Socialism is a class-divided society, in which the members of the ruling class do not own much wealth as individuals, but are better educated than the masses and wield far more power. India is being changed into a socialist society of that type.

Now experience shows that socialism of this kind, at least in moderate doses, is not very dangerous in a society which genuinely accepts the basic democratic rights. No society in the world accepts full equality, but many western societies do accord, even the poor man, basic democratic rights; and in such a society, even when it experiments with socialism, the poor man remains safe from the worst excesses of bureaucratic and police oppression.

On the other hand, in a society in which the basic democratic rights are not genuinely recognised, socialism is monstrously oppressive. The personal, paternalistic ties which often bound master and servant, landlord and tenant, capitalist and worker in real affection, are replaced by impersonal, mechanical relations, which give the individual no protection if in the slightest degree he falls foul of authority. Without a genuine general recognition of his rights, he is callously trampled down, used as expendable labour or just done to death.

But as these police incidents remind us, Indian society belongs to the second category rather than the first. Of course the basic rights are set forth in the Constitution. But no constitution was ever more generous in the democratic rights it bestowed on its citizens than the Russian; and in no society in recent times has the citizen been more completely at the

(Continued on page 20)

Mr. Khrushchev Admission to Mrs. Roosevelt, 'Russia is not communist'

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

WE live in a world of confusing labels that create confusing thoughts—particularly when we get into politics and economics.

When Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was in Moscow recently, Nikita Khrushchev "explained" to her that someday he hoped Russia would live under an ideal state of Communism but that human beings have not reached the point of accepting the Communist doctrine that "no human being can be greedy, and that all must be willing to see each individual receive according to his needs from communal production."

A CLEVER PROPAGANDA

In the meantime, he added, he was administering a SOCIALIST state. This is clever propaganda because the word "socialist" has become respectable in many parts of the world.

It is clever for another reason: it implies that Russia's brutal policies are only temporary.

However, the whole statement is as phony as a three dollar bill. Let us go back and see when the word "communism" crept into political usage. More than 100 years ago Karl Marx, when fighting to turn the socialist movement into a tough revolutionary force, found that the socialists were not interested in violence. So he started a "get tough" socialist party of his own with a name he could patent—THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

But, from the standpoint of economic organization; communism, to Karl Marx, meant exactly the same as socialism. His motto was: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Compare that with what Khrushchev said to Mrs. Roosevelt and you will see there is no difference.

In fact Russia (including its satellites) is the only place where Marx's communist policy of violent seizure of private property has ever been tried. The half-

(Continued from page 19)

mercy of the authorities. Constitutions are of secondary importance; what matters is the habits of the people, high and low.

India is a society in which, whatever the Constitution may say, the poor have no rights. The police can take a poor woman into custody, and there do as they please with her, to the point of causing her death, because they are sure she has no pull.

In a society of this type, socialism is a fearful danger. It immensely increases the power of the state over the public opinion, the independent press, the independent judiciary, which in capitalist societies do in some degree protect the poor against the powerful. Socialism in India, like socialism in Russia, will place the poor completely at the mercy of the new, traditionless ruling class.

Quite apart from its economic defects, socialism as a civil order will mean for the poor only a change of masters, but in that respect a change immensely for the worse.

Mysindia

way measures used by England, France, and Scandinavia, do not produce communism because what Karl Marx wanted to do could only be achieved by bloody revolution and police state government. The Iron Curtain countries are the ONLY ONES practising pure Marxism.

It seems highly unlikely, but perhaps Khrushchev really believes what Karl Marx believed: that after the trouble-makers had been killed off, and a few generations of people had been born and reared under strict State discipline in a property-less society, the population would stop resisting and the police force would then "wither away".

It seems much more likely that Khrushchev is merely double-talking to offset some of the world-wide disapproval of the terror tactics that he has to use to keep his people in line.

If the Russian police state is going to "wither away" why is it, that during the 40 years that have passed since the 1917 Revolution the government has never been able to relax its campaign of terror?

How much more time does he want?

Most of the people in Russia today do not remember anything but Communism.

THE QUESTION NO COMMUNIST CAN ANSWER

Yet the present population of Russia does not seem to like Communism much better than the middle class business people and peasants who were liquidated by the Communists after the revolution.

If these people are ever going to build harmonious prosperity, working under dictated jobs, dictated wages, dictated conditions, why is it that their productivity (aside from weapons) is so small compared to the nations in which people are free to work as they please?

Khrushchev was telling the truth if he meant that Russia does not have communism in the dictionary sense of the word, because communism is supposed to operate on mutual love and dedication to the general welfare.

But this ideal of peaceful voluntary communism in which people happily and fruitfully work for the common goodwill never come to pass because it is in opposition to human nature and against the natural laws of economic progress.

And not even bayonets and barbed wire can change human nature.

If history repeats itself, and let us pray that it does, the Russian people and those of its satellites will become increasingly discontented under what Mr. Khrushchev refuses to call Marxian communism, and finally stage a successful counter-revolution.

This IS in line with human nature.

But in the meantime let us not be fooled into thinking that the present orgy of communist brutality is a moral and necessary step to Utopia.

The future of Kremlin oppression is either more oppression or a counter-revolution.

Suggested Programme For A New Party

THE AIM—The aim of the new Party—A Sound Economy, free from fashionable slogans of "Socialism", "Planned economy," or "Welfarism."

1. Every inhabitant of this country must be guaranteed the full proceeds of his or her labour with equal opportunity for all.
2. Every income must be earned.
3. All unearned income and all privileges must be eliminated.
4. All products created by man must be regarded as the property of the maker.
5. Everything created by nature such as land with its resources must righteously be regarded as a trust to society without privileges to individuals or groups of people.
6. Production of all needs of life must be left to private enterprise.
7. Financing of all enterprises must come exclusively from private enterprise.
8. All prices and wages shall only be determined automatically on free market by supply and demand.
9. Free competition, the natural supposition of life, shall prevail by eliminating all City and State licensing in trade, commerce and health matters and the elimination of all subsidies.
10. Absolute World Free-Trade and with interchange of Monies will be established with all custom duties abolished.
11. Establishing of freedom of travel with Immigration and Emmigration laws abolished.

THE WAY:

Simplification and decentralisation of the Government with a dismantling of the State to its minimum and natural functions.

The Land and Resources shall be made the property of the nation, and leased to private enterprise for payment of a rent. This land rent, after deduction of the administration cost for the Land Office, shall be paid to the inhabitants of the area.

THE MONEY POLICY shall be the stablisation of the General Wholesale price level by equating the quantity and circulation of the money with the existence and production of wealth i.e., goods and commodities and rewards of services.

These two actions will create an abundance of real capital, and jobs that shall lead to the elimination of capital interest.

This programme will lead the nation to permanent prosperity and peace within and with other nations.

It would bring to an end the eternal struggle for economic freedom and personal independence. It eliminates the private control of the natural resources, and gives them back to ALL people, to whom they belong by natural law. It realises further that social economy is a problem of the *exchange of goods and services against money*. Money will be conformed to the needs of social economic life.

The rise of mankind to cultural heights has always been interrupted by periods of economic depression, throwing the nations into poverty, misery and cultural darkness, and finally into national annihilation.

On the other hand, periods of great production of wealth have given only centralised wealth, into the hands of a few, and destitution of the masses who produced all the wealth.

In spite of our Union Constitution that is generally considered as "unshakable," for the pursuance of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, we have arrived at a point during the last 10 years where the vast majority of the nation owns practically nothing in spite of toil and labour: a relatively small percentage is fairly prosperous: while a tiny percentage owns most of the nation's wealth. The rich are getting richer and the poor are becoming poorer.

These conditions exist, and will go on worsening unless Constitution, as originally drafted, is strictly adhered to and the fundamental rights assured to the people, including the ownership of property. The present "socialist pattern" imposed on the nation HAS TO GO.

ECONOMICS WITH A BIAS

"Increases in wages are all to the good if they correspond to increases in productivity." A frequent observation in the press; but it is quite wrong. It expresses indeed just a covert plea by the employer that he shall not be asked to pay higher wages unless the employee work harder, or machines produce more. Increase in wages are always good for the worker and equity is not intringed so long as the increases are voluntarily granted by the employer, whether production has increased or not. Increases-or reductions-of wages are bad, both for the worker and the employer, when they are State-enforced. The workers' and the employer's shares represent simply an agreed division of a given turn from industry. The rate of division varies in a thousand ways according to circumstances. The vice of all compulsion is that it ignores these varying circumstances; and this vice is not lessened when compulsion is imposed by great nation-wide combinations of workers.

The proportion of the return that goes to worker and employer respectively is mainly decided by labour supply and demand. The average rich Victorian manufacturer paid low wages without scruple, simply because men offered their labour at that rate; and the average worker today would not shed many tears over his employer if conditions were so reversed that the worker got the employer's and the employer the worker's share of the return. The appearance of this latter state of affairs is however unlikely, again because of demand and supply. The supply of men who are ready to spend anxious days and nights scheming to improve a particular process, and then risk their own money in offering this product to the public, the supply of such men is always far less than the supply of men ready to do another's bidding for a certain fixed wage at the end of a week's work. Discourage the employer type by depriving him of the chance of earning a fortune, and you will reduce this supply, and whole community will suffer.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

SABOTAGE PLANNED IN KASHMIR

Karachi: The former Major General of the Pakistan Army, Akbar Khan, Chief Organiser of the "Milat," a new political party, has reiterated his belief that the only way to "free Kashmir" is to strengthen the internal movement in occupied Kashmir to such an extent that the "Indian-sponsored administration" is threatened with collapse.

In a statement issued in Lahore, last night, Mr. Akbar Khan whose plan for internal subversion in Kashmir had received acclamation from most politicians in Pakistan said: "From military and economic points of view, we cannot allow occupation of Kashmir by India. Our whole existence as an honourable and independent country is irrevocably linked with the fate of Kashmir. Sooner, a free plebiscite is held, earlier will goodwill begin to grow (between India and Pakistan)."

—F. P. Journal

ABDULLAH'S ACTIVITIES ASSUME DANGEROUS PROPORTIONS

New Delhi: Sheikh Abdullah's activities in Jammu and Kashmir are assuming "dangerous proportions", and the Kashmir Government will not hesitate to take the necessary administrative action against him, if these activities ultimately become a grave threat to the law and order problem in the State.

This indication was reported to have been given by the Kashmir Premier, Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, while having an informal talk with Congress members of Parliament here.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad arrived here from Lucknow after attending the All-India Muslim Legislators' Convention.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad is also reported to have told members that if Sheikh Abdullah and his companions had any support today, it was not from the people of Kashmir, but from certain elements in Delhi, who were out to sabotage Kashmir's unity with India.

He is stated to have told the members that Kashmir Government would under no circumstances allow anything to happen in the state which might endanger law and order. Whether it was Sheikh Abdullah or any other person, if he indulged in activities which were prejudicial to the security of the State, the Government could not remain a silent spectator. Necessary administrative action would have to be taken in that case to maintain law and order.

The National Conference, he is reported to have said, was counteracting his propaganda verging on religious fanaticism.

—UPI.

BORDER RAID BY PAK POLICE— FIRING CONTINUES FOR 4 DAYS

Karimganj (Assam): Pakistani armed police continued firing for the fourth day today on Bhanga, an Indian frontier outpost, on the Sylhet-Cachar border.

They are stated to have taken position along the bank on the Surma river border hampering the movement of civilian population.

This has dislocated postal communications and cultivation.

Educational institutions in Bhanga remained virtually closed as students abstained from attending classes.

The sound of firing can be heard from Karimganj which is about 10 miles from Bhanga.

—UPI.

POLICE OPEN FIRE IN E. PAKISTAN FIVE KILLED AT POLLING BOOTH

Dacca: Five persons were killed and four injured, when police opened fire on a crowd, which had assembled in front of the polling booth to cast their votes in the Union Board election at Balapur in Rangpur district, according to an official report received today.

According to the official source about 400 persons tried to enter the polling booth en masse by force.

Apprehending that situation might go beyond control, a local Excise Inspector, who was acting as presiding officer, requisitioned for a posse of armed police.

Meanwhile, the crowd became unruly. Police then opened fire as a result of which four persons were killed on the spot and five others injured, one of whom died later in a hospital.

—UPI.

ITTEHAD PRESIDENT ARRESTED, DISCOVERY OF A PLOT

Hyderabad: The President of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, Mr. Abdul Waheed Ovasi, and his two active associates were arrested here today under the Preventive Detention Act.

Mr. Ovasi was nominated President of the Ittehad by its former leader, Syed Kasim Razvi, before he migrated to Pakistan last year.

The two leaders arrested with Mr. Ovasi today are Mr. Jilani Meher and Mr. Ismail Jasi, Editor of Hamara Ekdam.

It is said that the police have come into possession instructions sent by Syed Kasim Razvi to Mr. Ovasi. The police are believed to be investigating a plot to spread discontent among different communities in the Hyderabad area of Andhra Pradesh.

—Times of India

ERRATIC LEADERSHIP OF NEHRU

Mr. G. B. Verghese in the "National Scene" in the *Times of India* writes:

Mr. Nehru is overburdened with responsibilities of all kinds, that he is peculiarly isolated from the main stream of public thinking. He gives himself little time to ponder, and reacts emotionally and in response to individual loyalties. In the past few years there have been a number of major issues to which the Prime Minister has reacted in this manner and initially given the country a wrong lead. He blessed the disastrous Goa satyagraha, started a controversy over the States Reorganisation report, by expressing astonishment at some of the contents, committed himself to an impossible position over the future of Bombay, kept silent over Hungary, and all but repudiated the Chagla report. Later, he usually corrects himself. Nonetheless, it is illustration enough of how erratic and subjective individual leadership

can be even when the individual is as distinguished and gifted a personality as Mr. Nehru.

NEHRU LETS THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG, ROUTE TO NATIONALISATION WILL BE TAKEN

Mrs. Taya Zinkin, Indian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in her despatch from New Delhi states:—

Mr. Nehru winding up the debate on the Mundhra affair in Parliament again unwittingly made things unnecessarily difficult for India: He asserted that the intention of the Government was to "nationalise" the Jessops (engineering firm) progressively *without paying compensation by acquiring majority control*, no doubt because of Mundhra's reputation, and the possible resultant unemployment if he crashed.

Mr. Nehru went further on the road to socialism than he would have done had he not have had to retract some of the impressions created during the debate. His statement today in the House is bound to undo some of the business confidence that Mr. Krishnamachari assiduously courted during his west-ern tour.

The demoralisation in the Services—in spite of the handsome compliments paid by the Home Minister and the Prime Minister—has been profound. Indeed so profound that it is almost impossible to find in Delhi today two senior officers who will trust each other and one single officer who will trust his Minister unless he is related to him "the iron frame of the Civil Service is being converted into a merry-go-round of courtiers."

—*Manchester Guardian*

ANTI-PEOPLE TAXATION

IT is difficult not to sympathise with the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) demand for rationalising the tax structure. They rightly pointed out that direct taxation in Bharat is the highest in the world. As a result people do not think it particularly immoral to evade taxes. Prof. Kaldor put this evasion at Rs. 200-300 crores. It is these impossible tax rate which forbid foreign capital from energising our economy. Even Hindus with business interests outside Bharat, prefer reinvesting their profits in foreign countries to crediting them home. It might truly be said that if a businessman in Bharat paid all his taxes, he would be continuously drawing on his assets to pay taxes; he would be out of business before long. Excessive taxation leads to tax evasion, which in its turn causes this money to be locked up in gold, or used in speculation, or even sent out of the country.

It is amazing that the Government should have accepted Kaldor's tax proposals without also accepting his recommendation that tax on personal incomes should be brought down from 82% to 45%.

The worst part of this taxation system is that in the ultimate analysis it hurts the common man. The rich do not pay taxes from their pocket; they only transfer the taxes to the consumers by putting up prices. So that all taxes are, in effect, paid by consumers, most of whom are men of very modest means. Thus it will be seen that all taxation beyond what is absolutely necessary for running the State, is anti-people in its impact.

—*Organiser*

"Symposium on Middle East" at Bangalore Libertarian Institute

'India and the Middle East' was the subject of a symposium held on Saturday (15th March) at the Kan-nada Sahitya Parishat Hall under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, Member of the Servants of India Society, was in the Chair. The participants were Mr. T. L. Kantam, Mr. M. G. Bailur, Prof. Mir Iqbal Hussain and Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao.

Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar, requesting Mr. Kodanda Rao to take the chair, welcomed the gathering and introduced the speakers of the evening. Pointing out that the Middle East was right on our doorstep, he expressed the hope that the symposium would stimulate fresh thinking on a subject in which fact-

ual knowledge was woefully lack-ing.

"OILY" POLITICS

Mr. Kantam gave a brief history of the Middle East and explained its geographical configurations and how oil had both enriched and complicated this otherwise arid area of the earth.

Mr. Bailur, who followed, observed that the existence of Isreal is a settled fact and the implacable hatred between Arab and Jew should be taken into account in any just appreciation of the situation. He said the Government of India seemed to have no policy at all in the Middle East but to prefer to drift on a tide of sentiment.

Prof. Mir Iqbal Hussain dwelt at length on the economic backwardness of the Arabs, in a land potentially rich, and remarked that the situation in the Middle East had been vastly complicated by the manner in which the Jewish Home was imposed on Palestine, and allowed to function.

PURELY ECONOMIC

He thought that the source of the trouble between Arab and Jew was neither religious nor racial but purely economic.

Dr. Krishna Rao, after a discursive survey of the Middle East and Islam, entered a strong plea for the extension of the spirit of Pancha-sheela in international affairs.

The Meeting ended with a vote of thanks proposed by the Secretary, Mr. A. R. Venkataram.

Working Of The Libertarian Social Institute, Madras Branch

Following is the report of the working of the R. B. Lotvala Foundation Library and the Libertarian Social Institute, Madras Branch, for the period, July to December 1957.

The Library continues to be located at 9, Broadway, Madras. Since the last report, more books have been added and now there are 738 books available to the readers.

The card Index of books has been re-arranged and re-typed. Attempt is being made to make a separate Subjects Index of the books in the library. The working hours of the library are between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. except on Sundays and Holidays. The library is free to all readers.

Four meetings were held under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute during the period.

30th July 1957

Speaker: Dr. J. T. Cornelius.
Subject: Society & the Individual.

Dr. Cornelius dealt with the subject mainly from the psychological point of view. He said that man was born without morals. Infants were non-moral. It was the primary groups assembled in families, on playgrounds, work places and as elders that encouraged certain characteristics of individuals and repressed certain other characteristics. Individuals could not be divorced from these primary groups.

The individual was representative of the cultural unity of the primary group. Everybody wanted to belong to a group, because he wanted emotional security which was obtained by the approval of his fellows. The father in a family set the fashion in regard to the ambitions of the children. Psycho-somatic disorders were all traceable to family and parental influences.

Mr. S. Ramanathan drew the attention of those present to Bakunin's contribution to the subject in the book "the Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism" compiled by G. P. Maximoff, where Bakunin pointed out that revolt by man against society was as impossible as a revolt against Nature and there was no liberty outside of society. Man was not born free and socially independent individual. He had no existence apart from society. Freedom was generated by

later individual revolt which brought about changes in the social structure.

24th September 1957

Speaker: Dr. J. T. Cornelius.
Subject: Psycho-social Basis of Caste System.

The speaker drew a distinction between the social systems obtaining in Vedic times when Brahmins were appointed as priests and the pre-Aryan Dravidian civilisation which was totemic. It was wrong to consider that the pre-Aryan migration into India by the Dravidians was confined to the South. In fact, the bulk of the inhabitants in India today, including those in the North were of Dravidian descent, while the Aryans were only a small number who had their own social and religious systems which they imposed upon the people. The fish emblem of the Pandyans in the South was totemic. Under the system of totemism every member of a clan was mystically united with every other member through the totem which they all worshipped. The clan was an equalitarian society. Biologically unrelated persons formed one family through the totem. There was no hierarchy. There was a fiction of a common origin. Authority was with the elder. The earliest pastoral groups had, as their totem, the Ram, Buffalo, Tree etc. The Aryan system of caste, on the contrary, created differentiation of status and created society as a hierarchy, while the totemic clans were equalitarian. In this connection, Dr. Cornelius discussed Prof. Ghurye's research which pointed to two important conclusions.

1. Rejection of Gandhi's idea of return to a four-fold division.
2. The attempt to abolish caste by the slow merging of the smaller subcastes would only lead to a consolidation of the larger groups making caste system more militant and more permanent.

Dr. Cornelius advocated the abolition of hereditary priest-hood of the Brahmins.

Mr. Ziauddin pointed that all the radical remedies adopted to abolish caste had failed. People in our country were nurtured in caste and

the rebellion against caste was based on mere envy. In 1910 the Madras Government abolished competitive examinations for recruitment of Deputy Collectors because in such examinations eleven out of twelve successful candidates were Brahmins.

19th November 1957

Speaker: Dr. J. T. Cornelius.
Subject: Uniqueness of the Individual.

Dr. Cornelius reviewed in detail two books by Huxley and Madover.

17th December 1957

Speaker: Mr. S. Ramanathan.
Subject: Legislation to abolish caste.

At this meeting Mr. T. K. Sethuraman who was an active member of the Libertarian group at Madras and was proceeding to Simla as a Probationer in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, was entertained to tea. Speeches were made and a resolution was passed eulogising Mr. Sethuraman's services to the cause of Rationalism and Libertarianism and wishing him success in his career.

Mr. Ramanathan spoke on the urgent need for an All-India movement to abolish caste in view of the danger threatening to split the country by the action of several fissiparous tendencies, all of which owed their origin to the caste system.

Mr. Ramanathan pointed to the tragic failure of Gandhi. While the Constitution sought to abolish untouchability to recognise the blatant fact that there was no untouchability apart from caste, it, at the same time, perpetuated caste. This was a contradiction and should be immediately removed.

ORGANISER

For National News and Views

Edited by K. R. Malkani

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Book Reviews

Land Reforms — Prof. N. G. Ranga Advocates “Middle-of-the Road” Method

**PANCHAYAT LANDLORDISM
Versus PEASANT ECONOMY** by
Professor N. G. Ranga 50 nP.
Available at Federation of Rural
People's Institute 96 North Ave-
nue, New Delhi and Bharat Kisan
Sammelan, Ranga Bhavan 3-6-116
Himayat Nagar, Hyderabad (Dn)

Prof. Ranga has been a doughty champion of the peasants for decades now as part of his work for national independence before 1947, and now as part of rural reconstruction. He has earned the right to be heard about rural affairs, and the present official proposals about the beguiling “land reforms”. He recognises more clearly than most reformers the two stages of the Planning Commission's scheme of land “reforms” for the transformation of rural society for ushering the socialist pattern of society. The first stage is the removal of the rich and middle peasants, by means of ceilings and forced transfer of their lands to small peasants and agricultural labourers. This is done with the dynamic of the slogans “peasant proprietors” and “land to the tiller.” After the forcible liquidation (through non-violent legislation) which does not exclude temptation, cunning concealment of the ultimate goal, unofficial and party pressure, promise of official concessions by way of money grants, “co-operative” facilities, modern implements, fertilisers etc. of middle and rich peasant farmers on the plea of conferring land on the landless agricultural labourers, and land ownership rights on the tenant, the Plan proceeds to the second stage of herding these new owners, holding necessarily small and uneconomic bits of land, into “co-operative” farming societies.

These co-operative societies are really collective farming societies, camouflaged under the innocent name of co-operative farms. The end of the new beneficiaries for whose uplift the Plan is so generously solicitous, will be worse than the beginning, for they lose their freedom of leaving for urban occupations, or for expanding their holdings if circumstances favour them.

They will become workers on the joint farm, without ownership of their new lands. At first they will get a dividend on their land holding surrendered into the pool, but later this will be stopped. Work norms will be laid down, and hard supervisors to watch their work, and record their units of work, day by day, will be appointed. Their voice in the management will become nominal, what with compulsory deliveries, at officially determined rates and so on. The harvest will pass directly into the control of the collective farm to be disposed of according to Government policies. This is the headlong rush into the sea, like the Gadarene swine, there to perish.

CREATING “UNNECESSARY HELLS”

Kipling has some verses which describe the predilection of the politician, the new demi-god, that has come to occupy the place of king aristocrat and parliament of old, “to create unnecessary hells.” Our enthusiasts for the socialist pattern of society are engaged in this characteristic mission. They have already hamstrung the private sector. They propose to disorganise agricultural production, and let loose class-war on a colossal scale in the countryside. Good intentions may lead to hell, as is well-known. Prof. Ranga sees these outcomes with great clarity. His analysis should have some influence on our rulers, since he is also a Congressman of standing, and what is more he is capable of opening the eyes of the small and landless kisan to see what he is in for, and to organise their protest in the language that the ruling politician can understand. There is smouldering smoke in the countryside, and precipitate action in pursuit of official socialist goals, may well set it ablaze. The decadent Zamindar might have acquiesced in the destruction of his class, for he had been superseded in influence, long since, by the new British educated class of civil servants and professionals, and the compradore class of British trade.

But it cannot be assumed thoughtlessly in, the intoxication of power that the middle peasant can be sacrificed so effortlessly.

A LIMITED REVOLUTIONARY

Prof. Ranga is also a revolutionary but only on behalf of the small peasants. He wants ceilings and liquidation of big peasants, along with the official planners, and revolutionary socialists. He has no tears to shed for the property of the more well-to-do peasants. But he wants to halt revolution, with the enthroning of small peasants as independent proprietors. Their property rights should be sacrosanct. Why? Presumably on the authority of the principle that the poor have greater rights than the rich. But how does this follow? On the socialist principle, that all property is theft, and that the rich are robbers, having acquired their property by exploiting the labour of the poor. If this is accepted, Prof. Ranga is inconsistent in asking for the socialist wheel of Juggernat to stop at the point of small peasant proprietorship. He must remember the dictum of Marx that the peasant, small or big, is inherently a capitalist, and is, therefore to be forcibly cured of his poisonous attachment to land on an individualist basis. The proposal is to sweep the small peasant after the liquidation of his big brother into collective farms and state farms. (kolkhozes and sovkhoses) Prof. Ranga will be hoisted with his own petard.

Prof. Ranga realises that this “reform” is unnecessary for the owner-cultivators outnumber the landless, and absentee landowners. For out of a total population in 1951 of 3613 lakhs, the numbers engaged in agriculture was 71.8 per cent. Among these cultivators more than 80% of whom have less than 10 acres are 1673 lakhs. The tenant cultivators on whom ownership rights are to be conferred unasked by them at the outset but now clamouring for it after the “benevolent” offer of it by the vote-thirsty politicians account for only 316 lakhs! More than half the agricultural population consists of 1989 lakhs while cultivating labourers are only 448 lakhs. And the landlord retires, on whom the full ire of the reformers is concentrated, and on whom sentence of death was passed as soon as the socialist pattern was

conceived and delivered at Avadi in 1955, number only 53 lakhs! What great merit and utility by way of transfer of ownership from these 53 lakhs to the landless and tenants can be obtained is a mystery known only to the socialist gods. Beyond the ushering in of socialism for its own sake as an end in itself, contributing perhaps to the creation of the socialist earthly "paradise" in some dim distant future, there does not seem to be any purpose in this wholesale uprooting of rural life and society.

VOTE-CATCHING DECREE OF CONGRESS POLITICIANS

Moreover 15 per cent of Harijans and 85 per cent of tribal people today enjoy the status of self-employed peasant proprietors. All others are keen on gaining this status out of Government cultivable waste land which is one-third of all the cultivated area! Where then is the necessity for ceilings and confiscatory loan bond payment extending for 15 or 20 years? The secret can only be the securing of votes by robbing Peter to pay Paul for the purpose of gathering the votes of

Some Thoughts On Bilgram's "Study of Money Question"

I received the Bilgram, book; Study of the Money Question. I have most of Bilgram's works on my shelf, but I had not previously read this. Bilgram writes lucidly. I give briefly below the points on which I disagree with him.

Page 9. He states that value is a thing. This is a very rough definition. See my chapter 12 in "Free Banking" and especially pp. 246-8.

Page 23 at bottom. I should say that money need not be universally acceptable in order to effect exchanges. It is acceptable if it gives the holder reasonable opportunity to buy what he wants. Special banks could issue notes acceptable all over the country.

Page 26. His notes will be issued by the State. The first and obvious objection is that the State will then decide the nature of the security on which loans shall be granted. Bilgram tries to forestall this objection by proposing that insurance companies shall insure each loan at a premium proportionate to the risk. But this is surely a clumsy and roundabout method compared with a system in which the banker grants

the under-dog at no expense or administrative effort.

Prof Ranga has seen through the Ilwal liaison between Vinoba and the Government and the socialist and communist parties in the matter of gramdan, and expressed the opinion immediately that it seemed to have the motive of depriving the peasant of his land without his knowing it until too late. He has explained the impracticability of gramdan or Panchayat landlordism which he contrasts with the old sensible and durable Peasant Economy.

It is welcome news that the Mysore Chief Minister has stated that his Government had not made up its mind, one way or the other, about the Jatti Committee recommendations. It is also heartening that the Report has had severe handling at the hands of prominent Members of the Mysore legislature during the present session. If the Central and State Governments defy this body of informed opinion against further steps of socialisation, they will be inviting fascist reaction by generating a sense of frustration and resentment and of the mockery of democracy.

the loan and charges an interest proportionate to the risk. The banker keeps the current account of his customers; and has therefore a pretty accurate knowledge of the standing of each customer. An insurance company has no such knowledge, and has no easy method of getting it.

Page 28/9. Bilgram here runs into the fundamental objection to a gold standard (a fixed paper price for gold), namely, the danger that gold may on occasion be drained from the banks by people who present notes for redemption. His remedy is to delay gold redemption in such times of crisis, and at the same time he will compel borrowers redeeming their loans to pay 5 or 6 per cent of their loans in gold. But note that this is at a time when there is a strong demand for gold; and he does not say where the borrowers are to get this gold. Suppose that gold is being sent abroad in settlement of an adverse foreign trade balance; the compulsion on borrowers to repay gold at such a time may easily throw them into bankruptcy. Furthermore, if the

issuing bank delays gold redemption of its notes, those notes will inevitably depreciate below their gold value, especially abroad. The effect on trade would be little different to that in our present system where the central bank raises the bank rate at home when gold is being drained abroad. I think my proposal on pages 239-46 of "Free Banking" is better. I propose to allow gold to find its free market value in paper. When the demand for gold increases, the banker would redeem his paper in a smaller weight of gold. This would not affect the value of the paper because the smaller weight of gold would be worth exactly the face value of the note. The value of the paper abroad would also not be much affected because the higher paper price offered for gold in one country would cause gold to emigrate there from foreign countries, and would quickly cause a rise in the price of gold in all foreign markets.

Page 49. He states that our past experience of free banking is not re-assuring since people have no knowledge of the solvency of the issuing bank. He is apparently ignorant of the experience of free banking in Scotland before 1845 (see my chap. 8 in "Free Banking"). The experience of USA was different in each State, and some of it was very good (see page 144 of "Free Banking").

There are a few misprints in the book which you may care to correct in future reprints: P. 13 (4 lines from bottom) "Unless" instead of "useless". This is a bad one: I had to read the passage several times before I got his meaning. P. 20 par. 2) indispensable. P. 40. "nor is it a pound". P. 49 (par 2) practically. P. 52 imperative. That's all. The misprints are few, considering that the compositor was presumably composing in a foreign language.

My congratulations on the production of the book: it is nicely printed.

You will see from Tucker's discussions with Bilgram in "Instead of a Book" that Bilgram did not propose to prohibit private banking; he was ready to permit competition from private banks with his State banks, and he thought that the State banks would beat the private banks in free competition. But you will have seen from my review of the "All-India Rural Credit Survey" on pages 8-10 of the February "Individualist" that in India the State-sponsored banks are unable to

compete with the private money-lenders, even although the latter charge much higher interest. How much less could the State banks compete with the latter who charge much higher interest. How much less could the State banks compete with private banks under a free banking system wherein the interest on loans would be much lower.
London —Henry Meulen

A STUDY OF THE MONEY QUESTION by Hugo Bilgram. *Liberarian Social Institute, Bombay.* Pp. 55, Price Rs. 1|-.

Of immense utility to every student of Economics, the book briefly covers the whole field of economic factors bearing on the topic, and subjects popular conceptions to a searching probe.

Value is not an intangible quantity in the economic world. It is something very concrete like a cow or a pound of butter. The error arises from squaring fiat money or token coin with money proper. Token money, though it may act as the medium of exchange, is not money since it only represents a certain quantity of wealth. It is a right to demand a fixed value. "Money does not consist of the mere token, but of all the rights that the token conveys."

Similarly, credit is the anti-thesis of debt. Credit is the promise to pay at a future date a certain sum of money. Bilgram illustrates credit as a temporary separation of ownership and possession as in the case of a landlord who owns a building but gives the possession of it to his tenant for a fixed period of time

THE THEORY OF MONEY

Out of these primary definitions emerge a theory of money which takes cognizance of the monopoly that exists in today's economic world. "Money should be regarded as wealth endowed with the functions of mediating exchanges through a mutual agreement making it generally acceptable in exchange, and its volume should be regulated exclusively by the law of supply and demand, freed from all unnecessary limitations, whether resulting from legislative enactments or from the natural limitation of the substance selected as a

value denominatory. Since nothing but credit money is adapted to meet these conditions, the necessary safeguards must be rigidly enforced. To this end, the issuers, or original borrowers, must not only be required to furnish adequate security, with the risk fully covered by the payment of a properly apportioned insurance rate, but also to provide for the redemption in gold, or in whatever may be the accepted value denominatory, of every outstanding note. In every other respect the issue of money, or, more correctly speaking, the monetization of wealth represented by credit, should be free and not burdened with any further expenses or impediments which would have the effect of interfering with the operation of the law of supply and demand."

Common economic fallacies have been laid bare and rational economic principles suggested to reject illusory causes advanced as determining factors of business depression. Business stagnation and old problems have been examined by the author with considerable insight.

Conclusions arrived at are logical and convincing.

The book should prove of great value to observers of present-day business prostration and displacement of normal equilibrium.

—K. D. V.

The Contemporary

THE CONTEMPORARY, March 1958. Published on behalf of Society for Contemporary Studies, 166, North Avenue, New Delhi.

The *Contemporary* is a monthly (incorporating the *Contemporary Fortnightly*) published on behalf of the Society for Contemporary studies, New Delhi. As the very title of the Society suggests, the journal publishes its studies, which are presented as such, without attachment to partisan wrangles.

Unfortunately, this particular issue of *The Contemporary* had to make a not so happy beginning. The editorial is about the 'Footprints Remind Us'—a brief recapitulation of the achievements and contributions of the late Maulana Azad to India. The next feature, Comments

covers the salient features of international politics during the previous month. Here again, a non-committal attitude is retained. One feels that it is not quite necessary to follow the official policy so closely.

The more important feature, which is of great help to responsible journalists and thinkers everywhere, is Facts which happen to be about electrified railways the world over. Another noteworthy feature is Archives. In this March issue it is a 'Report of the Chagla Commission on the investments of the Life Insurance Corporation of India into Mundhra Group of Concerns, nicknamed as the "TTK—Mundhra Insurance Scandal."

"Our Belief and Purpose" on the inside cover page states among other things:

The **CONTEMPORARY** started, therefore, as an independent forum to give opportunity to divergent views.

The **CONTEMPORARY** is open to expression of any opinion subject to the general aim. It invites original articles and reports on political, social and cultural aspects of life in any country from everyone without distinction.

Such a journal is certainly welcome. We wish it every success.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

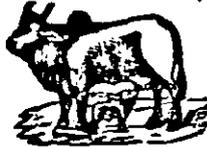
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