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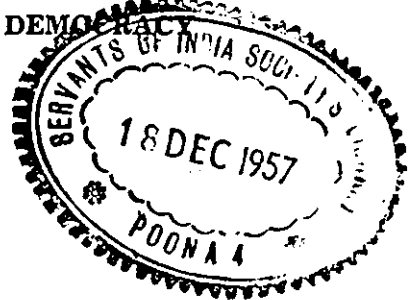
*Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'*

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY

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IN THIS ISSUE



# EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

## Old Tale Of Traitors

## *Shape Of Things To Come— —Nehru Drops The Hint*

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# Editorial

## KASHMIR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

AFTER the speech of the Russian delegate, Mr. Sabolev, clearly supporting the Indian case and hinting at a veto against the six-Power Resolution authorising the sending of Dr. Graham again to India and Pakistan to renew negotiations to secure an agreed demilitarisation, there was a tactful postponement. On Monday the 2nd December, a revised version suggested by Dr. Jarring was passed by 10 votes to nil against, with Russia abstaining. The revised version omits reference to demilitarisation and the time limit for report and simply asks Dr. Graham to report as soon as possible.

Just as the Czechoslovakian member's minute of dissent to UNCIP report was set aside and nullified by sending another negotiator, Mr. Dixon, and Dr. Graham's report was set aside by India on account of the non-fulfilment of the conditions for demilitarisation by Pakistan, now Dr. Jarring's findings of the necessity to obtain legal opinion about the validity of accession and of the issue, whether Pakistan can be said to have fulfilled her part of the bargain in the matter of the withdrawal of her troops, is set aside by the Anglo-American Resolution as finally passed. Sending Dr. Graham again may only be a ruse to gain time, and get India and Pakistan to stand pat without any move to worsen the position. In effect, it is a measure to keep Pakistan from attacking India under the plea that as the UNO is seized of the question, she must not do anything to worsen the position.

Dr. Jarring's suggestion, that legal opinion of the World Court be taken regarding the formal validity of accession to India, has been ignored by Britain and America. Perhaps they feel that formally India has an indisputable case for accession which has taken place in accordance with the Independence of India Act and the Instrument of Transfer with its annexe regarding the accession of Princely States for which full and final authority was conferred on the Maharajas and Nawabs.

Sweden's neutrality comes out in this refusal to align herself completely with Britain and America in this matter.

### INDIA'S FLIGHT

That India should have gradually led herself into a situation, in which she is obliged to rely on the Soviets to help her out in her dispute with Pakistan, both in the Security Council and militarily in case of war is the measure of her failure in her foreign policy. That Britain and America are also to blame is no consolation to us. We could have avoided this uncomfortable position by insight and resilience. Insight into the reality of the Russian regime by way of ruthless terror and fixed ambition to conquer the world for communism, and resilience by way of variation of diplomacy about new treaty terms.

It is our conviction that India could have suggested to America, that she was prepared to keep the Soviets out of the Indian borders on the North, North-west

and North-east. She could have obtained sufficient military assistance from America freely on this condition, just as America is prepared to offer substantial and adequate military assistance to the Arab countries through the Eisenhower doctrine to keep the communists out. It is to our interest surely to keep the communist forces out of our borders. There is no harm in stipulating to do this, for to do so is part of our normal duty. We could have taken the precaution of getting our pilots and navy and ground officers trained abroad. We could have taken the precaution of letting only limited number of foreign military officers into the country for training our troops and officers. Any number of officers in the country can be kept in check. Only we should not allow regular forces, ground, naval or air, *in any strength* into the country.

Zhukov's statement that Indian skies would be covered by Russian planes in the event of Pakistan attacking us sounds reassuring. But the tricky question arises—*how do we get them out of Indian skies and Indian soil again?*

It is like a man who was digging the grave of communism deep down who answered the query as to how he could come above again—"I don't". There is a right way and a wrong way of saving Kashmir for India. The wrong way is to lose freedom to a ruthless new imperial power and the right way is to safeguard basic national independence in saving Kashmir for India.

Mere non-involvement is not enough for this. Active forging of treaties for mutual alliance in accordance with our needs is called for. Even for the defence of neutrality, as we have more than once pointed out, we need adequate military forces. Preparation of the country for military defence is, therefore, more basic than the grandiose plans of rapid industrialisation to which we are committed and which is unsettling the economy now.

### DR. TARAKA NATH DAS ON PLOT AGAINST INDIA

Dr. Das has been in America for more than a generation now, and is a naturalised American. He has written time and again warning Indians about the dangers of pan-Islam, now that Pakistan has been created on the basis of Islamic claims. He has reiterated his warning after the conclusion of the Pakistan-America Arms Aid programme. He says deliberately that there is a plot among some American and some Islamic groups in power, *to undermine Indian independence and to facilitate the Muslim conquest of India*. They cannot tolerate the independence of India, and the high claims of her statesmen. Many Christian missionaries, too, feel it is said, that it would be a good thing to have India unfree again, which would facilitate the conversion of the Indian masses to Christianity.

An officer, who had spent his entire service among Muslim and British officers, civil and military, said

that India has not harmed any one on earth. *But she has one mortal enemy, and she is Britain.* There must be something in this impression of this Hindu officer.

#### OUR WOOLLY-HEADED LEADERS

Whatever this may be, history teaches us that colonialism is made of stern stuff, the ruthlessness of which is little realised by our present leaders, who have been mostly nurtured in the soft professions of law. They have achieved fame and acquired power through civil or uncivil agitation, a matter of words, slogans, street cries and crowd excitements. They DO NOT and CANNOT realise the climate in which the imperialist lives, the atmosphere in which military leaders live and breathe. *World politicians are un-sentimental and are quite content to appeal to the arbitrament of force.*

The British often said that Congress leaders are un-historical. An officer wrote that Indians seem to think that they could achieve power by words! He was astonished that Indians expected Britain to keep her wartime promises! It is as if politicians should be asked to keep election pledges after they become Ministers!

In this atmosphere of cynicism on the one side and disarming naivete on the other side, it is no wonder that the impression of Dr. Das is not believed. But as realists and patriots, *it is our duty to warn the public that such forebodings should not be brushed away in belief that such things do not take place in the twentieth century.* As a matter of fact, this decade is as cynical, ruthless and treacherous as any other epoch in the past—the age of Nero, of Caligula, of Timur and Chengiz Khan. It is only necessary to recall the scenes of incredible brutality during the Direct Action of the Muslim League, prior to and immediately after August 1947 in North India to learn the true lesson that peace is an appearance and emanation of power and strength and instant readiness to punish attack. It will NOT come by preaching and ignoring human nature in politics. Daily we see the baser instincts of human nature coming out in malicious slander, in wicked attacks on whole classes, in the assiduous preaching of class hatred and sporadic outbursts of violence, even by educated crowds like students and soft collar employees. The ceaseless appeal to non-violence by Gandhian rulers, without any realistic attempt to punish violent illegality and incitements to class hatred, has naturally no effect on public behaviour.

History ought to teach us to take Dr. Das's warning seriously instead of dismissing it as the product of an over-heated brain. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. Such forearming is the duty of the Government which is elected to power, NOT for the salvation of our souls and the betterment of our pockets, BUT for security and defence. Preaching, education, ethical example are all necessary but they are primarily the province of other agencies in the State. *The State's first duty is to safeguard the security of the country from attack.*

#### NORTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY

The French Minister has declared in putting his Bill for Algerian Home Rule before the National Assembly that France is committed to the creation

of a North African Community in which the French in Algeria have an essential and eternal part to play. If the Moroccans and Tunisians join in this community, so much the better. Even if they do not, France and Algeria will form the Community with Northern Sahara to explore for minerals and to develop jointly. The two million French will remain where they are as long as we can foresee. This is the final answer of France to Algerian claims.

#### WHAT SHOULD BE INDIA'S ANSWER?

Now what should be the Indian attitude to this declaration of the truculent French Premier? One answer is that we have no call to take any attitude whatever towards it. It is none of our concern. We have themes enough nearer home on which to exercise our statesmanship and humanity. If our leaders could take the dissidents and separatists like the Dravida Kazagamites and the Nagas seriously, and win their confidence while conceding their human rights and consolidate our nationhood and social unity on the basis of real and felt fraternity, they would serve two causes at once—that of India and that of the world. They would serve the cause of world peace and understanding across gulfs of race and economic status and political power by giving *an example* of such understanding in domestic administration and day-to-day dealings. Example is worth tons of preaching.

Even if India feels that she has to take a stand in the Algerian question, instead of taking the usual position of anti-imperialism, we could ask ourselves the effect of a consolidation of Islam in this area. We have pointed out, in previous numbers that one unintended effect of Western efforts to rally the Arab and Turkish and Iranian nations to their side, in the interests of anti-communism, would be the consolidation of Islam under a single leadership—Egyptian, Turkish or Pakistani. Which of them will succeed in this enterprise is in the womb of time. But that such consolidation will emerge is more than likely.

#### THE DANGER TO INDIA

What will be the attitude of such an emergent Islamic federation or empire to India? Can it be doubted for a moment that it will be anti-Indian, seeking to revive the glories of Moghul Rule? This Pan-Islamic ambition has attained self-conscious expression in many groups throughout Islamic countries. An Indian journalist, some time back, gave vivid accounts of the anti-Indian ambitions of the Islamic leaders of the second and third rank, when he visited them in Cairo, Damascus, and other Islamic centres.

Similarly when the North African community, under the leadership of France, has had its day and the time comes for France to surrender her colonial glories, what remains will be the resuscitated Islamic lands under governments of extended sway with experience of Western imperial diplomacy and military achievements and motives.

Then the North African Community will coalesce with the Middle Eastern Islamic federation, and possibly with the Indonesian Islamic State.

*If Indian statesmanship continues to fan Islamic ambitions unwittingly, in the way it is doing at present under cover of "secularism", the result will be the unpreparedness of the Indian population, to defend themselves in the new set-up.*

# EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

## UNDER CROSS-FIRE

**I**NDIA has built her free constitution on the model of Western democracy. In addition to the parliamentary system of government we have added a framework of fundamental rights to guide legislation and to safeguard the conditions of civil and political liberty empowering the Supreme Court to interpret them.

But learning from the experience of others is very difficult both for individuals and societies. The rights and duties of democracy extend beyond the sphere of politics and law and spread out into the entire way of life of the people accepting them as the substance and spirit of social and individual life. The rights of freedom of thought and expression, of peaceful assembly and protest against governmental misdeeds or shortcomings, of association and propaganda, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness remain as ineffective ornaments of the constitution unless they find meaning in terms of the actual life of the people in their daily avocations. It is possible to have democratic language inscribed in the constitution while denying its spirit and effect in releasing the creative instincts of the citizen in every sphere of life and work, art and science. We find this phenomena in Soviet countries today.

India has no doubt attained independence but it is only the beginning or foundation giving an opportunity of building a stable and progressive system of conditions necessary for an expanding individual and social life.

### Education For Democracy

This is facilitated by a consciously designed system of democratic education. No democracy can live and prosper unless its psychology comes alive in the daily life and experience of the people whereby it justifies itself through enriching the citizen's life. Every social system needs to be supported by its own principles and methods of education. We cannot have an aristocratic society with a democratic education and vice versa. They will soon come into conflict and hold up the life and progress of society until the conflict is resolved one way or another.

Totalitarian leaders have shown a greater sense of the importance of education to mould the future generation in the image of the regime they have established than our statesmen. Only when the minds of the young are poured in the mould of the totalitarian society do the leaders of the regime feel secure of the future. Hence strenuous and unremitting efforts are made by them to control every phase of education leaving no freedom for the teacher to follow the lights of his calling undisturbed. He is "cribbed and cabbined and confined" in his teaching. The autonomy of the teaching body is set at naught and the politician seeks to determine the content and method of education to secure the prevalence of the desired attitudes and feelings in the young. This is indoctrination and not education. The two are poles apart and mutually contradictory.

Our educational system has been under fire for a long time since the adoption by the British of the present Macaulayan system. Two criticisms have been persistent. One is that it has sought to base Indian education on a *tabula rasa* making a clean sweep of the cultural inheritance of the country. Macaulay's statement that a shelf of modern literature and science is more valuable than the ocean of old Indian learning, expresses the conviction behind the order of English education that he inaugurated. This is no doubt substantially true so far as science and technology are concerned but not so convincing as regards philosophy, literature and religion. There was no reason for developing the Macaulayan system in the way it was developed actually—in complete isolation from Sanskrit and vernacular texts and classics. Nor was there any justification to stress proficiency in language and literature so exclusively. Science could have been taught in conjunction with an introduction to technology. But these were defects of British education (at home as well) at the time till the closing years of the nineteenth century.

The second criticism has been that the present system has been content with training clerks for the administration and had no higher inspiration to make of education a means of self-development and national service through a disinterested devotion for science and the arts. But it should be recognised in fairness to the founders that the aim of turning out subordinate servants of the administration did not preclude them from teaching the best of European literature and science. As a matter of fact, the contact that the educational channel made possible between Indians and the best minds of the modern world and the spirit of political institutions in the West, especially the stirring ideas of liberalism as shaped after the French Revolution and built into political life in Britain and the other leading European countries, has been beneficial. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was inspired as much by the ideals of the French Revolution as by the higher religious thought of the West. Rousseau, Voltaire, Bentham and the Mills, (father and son), Morley and Gladstone and others, as well as the poets of liberty like Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron had a profound effect on Indians.

Whether intended or not, English education has served to open the eyes of Indians to the great days of their own past as well as to the infinite value of the free way of life. Both the consciousness of nationalism and the passion for liberty have been the end-results of British rule and education.

### Western Concepts Have to be Nurtured in India

Today after the advent of national independence and the adoption of the democratic, republican constitution crystallising the political experience and wisdom of the West, (won by them through centuries of struggle and sacrifice), we have to transplant democratic values on to Indian life, and give them an inde-

pendent root in it so that it may be assured of survival and progress in the new scene. This is largely a matter of education through an invigorating harmony between education and the spirit of the administration (as evinced in all its branches of legislature, executive and judiciary) is also essential for success. A democratic education and an autocratic administration do not go well together.

For such a needed democratic system of education to emerge and take shape in the country, it is essential that much fundamental thinking should be devoted to principles as well as to methods. Though effective action in the day-to-day circumstances of life proceeds best without any excessive or overt consciousness of theory and argumentation, it is essential that the elements of the democratic life should become the object of conscious realisation at some stage, particularly at the educational level. Lawyers, politicians, writers and the press have perforce to be familiar with the lineaments of democratic government and other bodies having influence on social life.

Education in a democracy should, therefore, implant a sufficiently clear and systematic consciousness of democratic rights and duties as a part of its basic task. This should form the intellectual and ethical background, won by all who pass through the educational ladder, irrespective of the special subjects they might study, science, arts or technology.

We should ask ourselves, therefore, as to what are the specific democratic values that we desire our society to realise in daily life and to teach in schools, and colleges.

#### THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Definitions are notoriously slippery. Every definition of democracy offered in the past (and present) can be shown to be defective from some point of view or other, either as too vague and comprehensive or too exclusive and limited in scope or too impracticable or practicable only under qualifying conditions that stultify democracy in practice.

The better procedure is to focus attention on the aspects of democratic life that are undoubted, ingredients of a regime of liberty, leaving their harmonisation to developing practice in the course of life.

We may take our departure profitably with the famous pronouncement of Abraham Lincoln—**government of the people, for the people and by the people.** The crucial phrase is the last, namely by the people. For all government is government of the people, meaning, over the people. And even monarchical and aristocratic or oligarchic regimes profess to govern for the people in the sense of governing for their good (of course as interpreted by the rulers.) The differentia of democracy is, therefore, indicated by the last phrase—**government by the people.**

Of course under modern conditions when large nation states are the rule, direct government by the whole people assembled in parliament is impracticable. We have to deal with representative democracy representatives being chosen by free elections. The party system has been an inevitable incident of this situation. The only way is to minimise the evils of the party system through law and convention, confining it to the choice of the governing group and keeping it outside the governing process. The rule of

law should be observed by the government, even if they are popular representatives. The first safeguard against democratic misrule is respect for the rule of law. Democracy has come into existence because government by the few has tended to overstep the law with impunity. There was no legal and constitutional check on the arbitrary action of privileged groups in power in favour of their own interests neglecting or contravening those of the people at large.

Education should inculcate not merely respect for the ordinary citizen in whom ultimate sovereignty rests in a democracy but also arm him with a knowledge of the rules and regulations that should govern elections and the functioning of representatives. If the limitations of governmental power are clearly apprehended by the people at large, they will be moved to resist when they see them exceeding their powers.

#### PARTICIPATION

Education should also inculcate the duty of participation in public affairs on the part of the ordinary citizen. No doubt much of the political affairs of the country will be looked after by political parties of professional politicians, but the citizen should learn to keep a wary eye on them. He should express himself freely on the way government is run, and the way parties behave in private and to the press. He should be ready to attend and organise public meetings in co-operation with his fellow citizens to express the considered opinions of citizens on matters agitating the public mind or proposals on the legislative anvil as they affect public interests seriously. These habits of self-expression and of co-operative action should be built into character at school and college through debating and other voluntary associations governed by scholars themselves. Group life, based on voluntary action and specific interests, should be duly fostered without authoritarian methods. **The love of liberty expressing itself in voluntary groups is a plant that needs careful tending.**

Thus a knowledge of civil liberties and of the powers and limits of government should be part of democratic education.

The theory of the sovereignty of the people is the basic myth of democratic society and republican virtue.

This implies a keen consciousness of the worth of the individual citizen or human being. Under monarchies, aristocracies and oligarchies, the ordinary citizen does not enjoy a position of dignity. He is regarded as subject and not as citizen. He is the object of government with no right to participate in its mystery. His is but to obey and pay taxes and serve the rulers in their wars. He is a labourer who is treated as a hand or a commodity for purchase and sale. Though formal slavery is abolished what is called wage slavery remains. He is tied down to his work through excessive hours, and the extreme difficulty of changing his occupation or place of residence. Dependence on the wealthy or for a mere livelihood (with but little right to determine the conditions of work or the policy or the establishment which he serves) naturally leads to ill-treatment by the master class. The sense of humiliation and resentment accompanying this condition of the majority of the working classes, under capitalism, is the reser-

voice of power mobilised by extremist agitators like the communists for consolidating them into a class-conscious proletariat, animated by hostile feelings to the bourgeoisie.

A democracy that means to survive and build the conditions of the good life for all should teach respect for personality as such irrespective of economic position. As the poet Robert Burns sang—"Man is man for all that, man is goal for all that. Rank is but the guinea stamp." The myth of the sovereignty of the people carries with it the implication that each man is "sovereign and subject at once" (to use Rousseau's explanatory phrase). He is sovereign as having a share in the making and supervision of governments and unmaking them too, when they fail to serve common good or interpret the general will.

The dignity of the common man is thus no mere dogma confined to words and repeated on solemn occasions or mummified in the Constitution. It is a living philosophy of life covering all acts and dispositions of life in a democracy as between citizens and as between them and the government.

#### THE TOUCHSTONE OF DEMOCRACY

It expresses itself in a crucial way in the power that has been clothed with in a genuine democracy to combine with his fellows and turn the government out peacefully through the ballot box. In fact this power of changing rulers in accordance with established procedure is the real differentia that marks off a live democracy from all forms of authoritarian rule. The ordinary citizen should be taught this privilege of his at school and college if democracy is to be a success. Indeed in addition to the national anthem, the fundamental rights and the preamble to the Constitution should be learnt by heart by every citizen, either through school or adult education centre. There is no better safeguard than this for ensuring the working of democracy and the prevention of the slow development of authoritarian rule by power-holders, who are irresistibly tempted to entrench themselves in unchecked power by bribing the citizenry through the power of patronage and intimidation.

In addition to such knowledge of constitutional powers vesting in the ordinary citizen, he should also form the habit of discussing public affairs in study circles and in informal exchange in the course of ordinary business. The habit of reading newspapers is not enough, if newspapers deal primarily with sensationalism, gambles on racing, cheap entertainment, prize fighting and so on. In England (whose people are not known for intellectuality and abstract thought) we find members of the working class showing remarkable interest in political discussion, often ramifying into deeper aspects of psychology and social philosophy. The large sale of the paper in backed specials and classics, issued by Penguin and Pelican publishers have been used by working class thinkers in their clubs. Discussion on that level is practicably absent in India. We find that even political party thinkers, like those of the Praja Socialist Party, are satisfied with imitations of British socialist ideas. India has to develop the habit of independent thought, if she is to make her democracy good and endow it with the power of natural growth.

Schools and colleges have here a clear-cut function.

They should have courses in political thought and constitutional law for all students, irrespective of specialisation in science or arts or engineering. Diploma courses given in the evenings can be thrown open to citizens as well.

It is possible to take over science without the scientific spirit as the Nazis, Communists and the Japanese have done. Democracy is but the application of the scientific spirit to social affairs. The discovery of common good is made through open exchange of thought and experience at all levels with respect for fact and an awareness of the incidence of programmes on the lives of all citizens. Respect for personality involves consultation of all in the framing of public policy and the realisation of it through governmental action.

Teachers of the sciences and mathematics and logic should make students realise the indirect lessons of the science for social action with truth as the goal. Truth applied to life is common good and the methods of science in gathering relevant facts and making inferences from them objectively (free from passion and prejudice) should therefore be used to illuminate the ways of democracy.

In this way, democracy at school and college will reinforce democracy in government and social life and the democratic way will have an assured future.

Another line of research is exploration of traditional ideas in regard to social affairs and spiritual or moral psychology to tap them for support for the new consciousness of the equal dignity and potential worth of all men. If religion can afford such a basis, well and good. If not, humanism based on science and its vision of nature should do for yielding a secure basis for human values.

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#### U.S.A. AND DISARMAMENT

Commander Allan Noble, United Kingdom Minister of State explaining to the First Committee (Political and Security) of the UN General Assembly how his delegation would vote in the committee on the draft resolutions on disarmament, said they could not agree to suspension of tests without any assurance of real disarmament. That, he said, was why the United Kingdom would vote against the Soviet draft resolution on nuclear tests and against those of Japan and India, though the United Kingdom recognized the sincere attempt at a compromise in the Japanese draft and in the Indian draft when taken in conjunction with the other Indian proposals.

Commander Noble emphasized that "a vote for the 24-Power draft (incorporating the six-point plan for integrated partial disarmament) is not a vote to end negotiation. We are anxious to continue negotiation, and have made that clear all along".

Dealing in detail with the other resolutions and amendments, Commander Noble welcomed the Belgian proposal calling for study by the UN of a world-wide publicity campaign on the dangers of an arms race and the destructive effect of nuclear weapons, disregarding ideological and political considerations. If such a campaign was to be useful, he said, it must be able to reach freely into all countries.

# JINNAH AND GANDHI

By Lal

SOME one points out that I have done an injustice to Mahatma Gandhi in saying that his formula for the solution of the Khilafat problem was self-contradictory—"Khalif's suzerainty with full self-rule for Arabs"—because suzerainty can also mean nominal sovereignty. That is true. But what do Khalifa and Khilafat mean or meant? Khalifa means "successor of the Prophet" and Khilafat means his government, and was intended to mean his overlordship, spiritual as well as temporal, over Muslims the world over.

I asked many Muslims when the Khilafat agitation was at its height: "What is Khilafat to you? How are you interested in who rules over the holy land so long as he is a true Muslim?" And their answer was almost identical. "We want the Khilafat to continue," the call for *jihad* (war against unbelievers) whenever it comes, and that somebody can only be a successor of the Prophet, the Khalifa. If the head of a small state is made Khalifa, he may not be accepted as such even by Muslims of neighbouring states. That is why he should have large territory under him."

## JINNAH HAD WARNED GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi must have had that sentiment in mind when he insisted on the Turkish Khalifa having suzerainty over Arab lands. *Is it wrong to conclude that he wanted to save fanatical Muslims from the predicament of having no one to start jihad against unbelievers?* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—he was Pandit till then—was going the whole hog with him as one of his immediate lieutenants. But there was one man, who had the courage to speak out his mind, and that man was a Muslim named Mohammad Ali Jinnah. At the Nagpur Congress (1920) he implored "Mister" Gandhi. "For God's sake," he said, "do not mix up religion with politics. You don't know what you are doing!" He was hooted for offering the advice and for daring to address the Mahatma as "Mister". No wonder that was the last Congress session he attended.

Inasmuch as Khilafat could make *jihad* possible, the Khilafat agitation was a cry in embryo for *jihad*—and Mahatma Gandhi was leading it. It was the height of lack of patriotism for anyone to say anything of the kind then—Gandhiji had with his loin cloth and his fasts captured the heart of the country, and sense had been outlawed from the hearts of the Hindus—just as it is the height of treachery for any one now to question our alliance with Col. Nasser—who stands for limitless power for Muslims, obviously to extend the House of Islam as enjoined in the Holy Koran. How then can any one oppose Col. Nasser without being a damned communalist?

• This writer welcomes criticism of the points he makes in this column because criticism helps him develop his thesis, while extravagant praise, which has been coming from some quarters—including veteran journalists—can at the most produce momentary satisfaction without results. A critic once went

to the length of saying that I was inclined to be anti-Muslim. In the matter under discussion I have shown that I was in the good company of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the soundness of whose advice our present secularist Congress leaders refuse to acknowledge even today. *Nehru is one of those people who refuse to learn even from experience.* How dare then the lesser fry?

## MOHAMMAD ALI AND THE WRITER

This writer is neither anti-Muslim nor anti-Sikh nor anti-Christian. He is anti-fanatic. Maulana Mohammad Ali was one of his best friends despite the fact that he was, and was considered to be, a fanatic. The friendship began over a report of his speech by me published in the Hindustan Times 30 years ago, whose authenticity the Maulana hotly denied, not without admiring the language in which it was couched. What attracted me to him was his wonderful English in his weekly *Comrade*, the unending torrential sentences overflowing with quotations from Shakespeare and other English and Urdu and even Persian poets, a crescendo of emotion always carrying the reader off his feet, and the unending complaint of the difficulty of his task wherein he had to write history as well as make it!

A desire to go through the old issues of *Comrade* carried me to his house, and what did I find? He was abusing a young, educated, well-dressed Muslim for not wearing a beard! How could this storehouse of learning, I asked myself, be such a fanatic? Soon he dismissed the Muslim visitor from the verandah, and invited me inside the house into a big room where in the left corner of a big table facing him was a life-size portrait of a beautiful English woman. As he had made me sit near him I could not help looking at the portrait of the English woman and wondering. He had excused himself for writing a telegram and as I gazed at the portrait I began wondering whether it was she who was inspiring his English. I had hardly made up my mind to say to him as soon he had finished: "So this is the lady who inspires your English" when to my astonishment—obviously he was aware that I was looking at the portrait—he shot the question: "Have you ever been in love?"

He was staring at me and saw that I was thinking what to say. "No, no, no," he cried, "if you begin to think, you have never loved. And you may take it from me that you have lived in vain!"

We passed on to other topics and he began complaining of the deteriorating political situation for which Congressmen in general were inclined to blame him, particularly as he had become fond of saying: "I am a Muslim first and everything else afterwards." But those Congressmen forgot, and the Hindus in general forgot, that it was Mahatma Gandhi who had first said the same same thing about himself. In an article in *Young India* in March, 1922, entitled

(Continued on page 14)



# An Old Tale of Traitors

By Baburao Patel

*This article conclusively proves the writer's unique gift of prophecy. It was on 13 April 1952 - 16 months earlier - that the writer wrote the prophetic article, "Biting The Hand That Feeds" in which he had predicted the perfidy of Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir adventurer.*

*The warning was not heeded by the all-wise Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and Sheikh Abdullah had to be arrested at 10 a.m. on August 9, 1953, as he was trying to cross the border into Pakistan in his 82 thousand-rupee Cadillac.*

*This article also analyses the general psychology of power-crazy Muslim politicians and reveals their blood-stained history of - murder for power during centuries of Muslim rule in India.*

*The historical importance of this article is undoubtedly great.*

THE best news we have had during the last six years of our freedom is the dismissal and arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, on charges of "disruptionism, corruption, nepotism, maladministration and establishment of foreign contacts of a kind dangerous to peace and prosperity of the State" which all means high treason in short.

The news would be still more welcome to us if the events take their logical course and Sheikh Abdullah is given a fair trial, found guilty. Though "Filmindia" cannot afford much in these days of slump, we would still not mind paying for the hangman's rope.

With the intention of crossing into Pakistan territory, Sheikh Abdullah rushed to Gulmargin his 82 thousand-rupee Cadillac—bought, of course, with Indian money—but was arrested at 10 a.m. on August 9, 1953.

This was the man, Nehru had embraced hundreds of times during the last six years as the supreme of secular democracy. This was the man for whom Indians had sung, danced and performed stage-shows all over India to help the Kashmiris. This was the man for whom our women had left the sacred cloisters of their homes and gone around with beggar's bowls collecting funds. This was the man whose old and dirty carpets we had accepted as new and paid fancy prices for them. This was the man for whom we had given the lives of thousands of our soldiers to turn his dirty shawl into a royal robe. This was the man on whom we have so far spent over 600 crores of rupees. We did all this because Nehru, our beloved leader, embraced Sheikh Abdullah twice every week and proclaimed from the housetops that Sheikh Abdullah was the last lighthouse of secular democracy.

Sheikh Abdullah also contributed to this myth by saying on May 22, 1950, at Teethwal, "The ties binding Kashmir with India were not mere legalistic but were born out of free will of the Kashmiris who found in India a true image of their own ideals and aspirations. This bond of unity between India and Kashmir, this kinship of heart and soul, this ever-growing and ever strengthening link between two great people can never be broken."

What beautiful words! No wonder Nehru embraced Sheikh Abdullah a hundred times more and good women of India rushed from door to door to collect

more funds for Kashmir to "strengthen the bond of unity," to cement "the kinship of heart and soul" and to emphasize "the ever-growing and ever-strengthening link between two great people".

## WE NEVER TRUSTED HIM

But we never trusted this political adventurer. We warned our people and our leaders. But in our secular democracy those whom Nehru protects even God cannot destroy. The warning of a journalist therefore went unheeded.

Two years later, Sheikh Abdullah sang another tune. On April 10, 1952, this "Lion" of Kashmir roared at Jammu, "Kashmir's accession to India will have to be of a restricted nature so long as communalism has a foothold on the soil of India. We want to join India without any kind of mental reservation. But how can we do so, so long as we are not convinced about complete elimination of communalism in India? We are prepared to welcome the application of India's Constitution to Kashmir in its entirety, once we are satisfied that the grave of communalism has been finally dug in India.... Many Kashmiris feel what will happen to them and their position if for instance something happens to Pandit Nehru.... If there is a resurgence of communalism in India, how are we to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow Kashmir? We in Kashmir want to function as a bridge between India and Pakistan and bring the two countries together by cementing the forces of love."

Knowing fully well that 40 million Muslims were living happily and peacefully in India, why did Sheikh Abdullah accuse the Hindus of India of communalism? And where does riot or communalism usually begin—with the Hindus or with the Muslims? Sheikh Abdullah's design was simple. By accusing India of communalism, he raised a smoke screen to cover his communal activities. By referring to Pandit Nehru in a touching manner, Sheikh Abdullah clouded the usually sharp perception of that generous and noble hearted patriot who often sells his country for a small sentiment.

But we saw through the game of this political adventurer, a hyena parading as a lion in Kashmir. In

our editorial article, "Biting The Hand That Feeds". (May 1952) we exposed Sheikh Abdullah and warned the nation and our leaders against the communal machinations of this political adventurer.

In this article, we asked: "Why has the secular minded Sheikh suddenly become conscious of his 34 lakh Muslims to the exclusion of 10 lakh non-Muslims?" We also pointed out that in India we are more conscious of the interests of the 40 million Muslim minority rather than of the 300-and-odd-million Hindu majority. And we quoted several instances of how fairly Muslims in India were being treated in the matter of fundamental freedom.

#### **HIS FORMER FLIRTINGS WITH KARACHI**

We had also revealed how Sheikh Abdullah had once sent his emissary to negotiate with Pakistan. And reproducing Sheikh Abdullah's threat "Sheikh Abdullah does not fear any one in this world. He will not bow down before India or Pakistan or America or any other nation. Let them get this fact straight", we had said, YES we have got this fact straight after sacrificing the lives of thousands of our Jawans and spending crores of rupees on Kashmir. And the fact is that after all said and done, Sheikh Abdullah is just another Muslim politician. And the sooner we realise this truth, with all its religious and political implications, the better for this ideal chasing secular state called India that is Bharat.

Our plain speaking made our leaders angry and we were threatened with prosecution—an old silencing device of the British which the white rulers left behind for their white-capped successors.

Nehru thundered from every platform for months and ended by naming 320 million people out of 360 million as communalists. Nehru laboured to tell us that only the remaining 40 million Muslims practised secularism in India. The majority accepted this as a huge national joke and allowed this mad mullah of international politics to rant and rave without taking him seriously. Opposition will kill Nehru and people still love this mad Mullah madly enough to tolerate all his nonsense if only to wish him a few years more of life. Love has no reason.

But whatever Nehru said, people in India still suspected Sheikh Abdullah as a designing communalist, out to stabilize his communal throne in Kashmir. A stage was soon reached when even the white-plumed Congress parrots looked askance at the way the affairs were going on in Kashmir. Finally on January 16, 1953, at the parrot parishad in Nanal-nagar, Hyderabad, with Nehru standing behind him, Sheikh Abdullah delivered his challenge in the following words, "If anybody feels that Sheikh Abdullah cannot come along with us for ever, than there is no use carrying Sheikh Abdullah with you. You must decide here and now what you want to do with Sheikh Abdullah. Asking parrots to decide about a hawk and with the cockatoo presiding?) My life is before you. My work is before you. Whatever I am, I stand before you. It is now for you to judge about me."

The bluff worked and the Congress parrots were silenced. Sheikh Abdullah went back to his kingdom to stabilize his power further and add more designs

to his communalism. On the crest of his communal tyranny, the people of Jammu launched the Praja Parishad agitation to secure justice and democracy from this political adventurer. Democratic Indians from other parties than the congress made common cause with the people of Jammu, and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the lion of Bengal, led the agitation in India.

But all the people got were bullets and abuses—bullets from Sheikh Abdullah and abuses from Pandit Nehru.

Once again and in the midst of this fight, we wrote another editorial, "Save Us From Nehru" (April 1953) Once again we warned our beloved Prime Minister against the communal machinations of Sheikh Abdullah and demanded that "our army people in Kashmir should keep a close watch on this political adventurer."

But Nehru did not listen to us nor did he take any notice of the patriotic agitation of the Praja Parishad which almost every day, brought home a harvest of dead, wounded and imprisoned. The climax was reached when Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was arrested for entering the Kashmir State without a permit. And once again tragedy came home when millions of mourners in India received the great martyr's corpse wrapped in a Kashmir Shawl generously provided by the unscrupulous adventurer of Kashmir. The lion of Bengal had gone roaring in the pursuit of justice and democracy. He was sent back floating in the air, cold and silent.

And once again Nehru backed Sheikh Abdullah and found no mystery in the sudden death of Dr. Mookerjee while in detention in Kashmir and refused to move when Dr. Mookerjee's heart-broken 84-year-old mother demanded a thorough and impartial inquiry.

#### **KASHMIR THIEVES FALL OUT**

Dr. Mookerjee's death rushed the climax of the Kashmir story. As Sheikh Abdullah's gloves slipped down and his knuckles started showing, the other gangsters of Kashmir took alarm. The going had been good for them for six long years with India paying all the bills and doing sentry duty in addition. The seven Bakshi Brothers whose keen patriotism in getting all main supplies for the State of Kashmir had become a lucrative labour of love, got frightened of losing the monopoly and its profits if Sheikh Abdullah showed his wrong set of teeth to India. Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, the big brother, flew to Delhi and returned to Kashmir to challenge the supreme authority of Sheikh Abdullah. It was a case of thieves falling out and soon different leaders of the Kashmir National Conference, the ruling party, spoke with different mouths. Their speeches soon turned into a babel and on July 30, 1953, even Nehru had to say "There was some confusion today regarding the internal situation in Kashmir because of the conflicting expressions of opinion by leading personalities in the State. I am slightly confused myself."

This man who knew everything about Kashmir and who had often described himself as an expert on Kashmir and who had fought with the late Sardar Patel in the Cabinet and arrogated to himself the monopoly of dealing with Kashmir, was now "slightly

confused" because his blue-eyed boy was behaving in a manner prejudicial to his much flaunted ideals of secular democracy.

The climax was rushed when letters from Sheikh Abdullah to Pakistan and to America were reported to have been intercepted. And though Nehru stated in Parliament that the milk-toothed adolescent Sadari-Riyasat Karan Singh took the initiative in dismissing and arresting Sheikh Abdullah to prevent disruption of the State, we are inclined to believe the story that is current in Delhi that it was Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who insisted on the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah at an urgent cabinet meeting in Delhi. If this story is not true why should Nehru state in Parliament, "It is a matter of deep regret to me that Sheikh Abdullah, an old comrade of 20 years, should have come into conflict with our other comrades in Kashmir and that it should have been considered necessary by the Kashmir Government to place him in detention for the time being?" How does Nehru know that the intention of the Kashmir Government is to place Sheikh Abdullah in detention only for the time being? Pandit Nehru must tell us another about the dismissal and arrest of Sheikh Abdullah.

We, therefore, congratulate Pandit Nehru for his first manly and decisive action in dismissing and arresting a political adventurer who has foully bit the hand that had fed him for six long years, even though the action is six years too late.

Power corrupts all, be they Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews or any other race. But in the hands of Muslim rulers, power becomes a ruthless instrument of murder and treachery. It did not need any crystal gazing to realise that Sheikh Abdullah would some day stab us in the back. All that was needed was a peep into the past history of Muslim rulers in India and the crimes they committed to wrest power and to retain it, often killing their nearest blood relations in cold blood.

#### TRAIL OF BLOOD IN MUSLIM HISTORY

Writes Zahiruddin Faruki in his book "Aurangzeb and His Times": "Though the best traditions of Islam pointed towards a republican form of Government, no religious obligations were involved where the inheritance of a state was in dispute. Ultimately the question of succession became one of force, secret machinations and artful plottings, each party vigorously preparing itself for the coming struggle. The masses having no religious preference in the matter, were free to take sides according to their advantage and exigencies of the moment. This fact gave free scope to individual ambitions and to those disastrous pretensions which became the fruitful cause of dynastic wars in the Islamic world. Thus the inherent right of the first born son to the royal purple has no sanctity according to the Islamic law". (Page 3)

In the last sentence Zahiruddin Faruki has put his finger on the real cause of the large trail of blood and murder which Muslim rulers have left behind in the pages of history.

Let us take a hurried review of this trail of blood and murder for the benefit of our people and politicians who have to deal with Pakistan the rest of their lives.

Mahmud of Ghazni ascended the throne of Ghazni after his fathers' death and after defeating his brother Ismail whom he imprisoned for the rest of his life. (997 A.D.)

Mahmud intended to divide his empire between his two sons, Masud and Muhammed. But Masud blinded and imprisoned his own brother and ascended the throne.

In 1184 A.D. Muhammed Ghori captured Khusru Malik and his son and imprisoned them in a fort where they were put to death after some years.

In 1296 A.D. Allauddin Khilji perpetrated one of the basest murders in history when he killed his uncle Jalaluddin Khilji, the founder of the Khilji dynasty. The kind-hearted and unsuspecting Jalaluddin was assassinated by hirelings just when he had stooped to lift up his dissimulating nephew who pretended to bow low in homage before him. This man shed more innocent blood than ever a Pharaoh was guilty of. He murdered his patron, uncle and father-in-law. He exterminated not only the heirs of his predecessor but all the Jalali nobles who had transferred their allegiance to him.

Allauddin's lust had no limit. He captured many Rajput princesses and added them to his harem but the hazardinari slave which he prized most was Malik Kafur, a beautiful eunuch who became a favourite of Allauddin.

Allauddin took out the eyes, in his presence, of his two nephews Umar and Mangu Khan, both his own sister's sons who had rebelled against him. His third nephew Akat Khan tried to emulate his uncle's example and was beheaded by Allauddin while his followers were scoured to death with wire tongs.

Even Allauddin's army captains were as ruthless as their emperor. Writes Barani, the philosopher historian, "Nusarat Khan's brother was murdered and in revenge he ordered the wives of the assassins to be dishonoured and exposed to most disgraceful treatment. He then handed them over to vile persons to make common strumpets of them. The children he caused to be cut to pieces on the heads of their mothers."

After Allauddin's death, Malik Kafur, the beautiful eunuch whose abilities could be measured only by the depravity of his principles, set about the ruthless business of extirpating all rivals. The eyes of Prince Khizr Khan and his brother Shadi Khan, who were both in prison, were cut out from the sockets, with a razor, like slices of melon."

Mubarak another son of Allauddin forestalled Malik Kafur and killed him. And then he proceeded to kill his three brothers in prison, two of them blind, Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan, and the third Umar Khan. He also put to death his own father-in-law Zafar Khan. Mubarak appropriated Deval Devi, the beautiful Hindu wife of his elder brother, and let us not befool our pages by licentious orgies that followed.

Mubarak was soon murdered by his own favourite Khusru Khan who ascended the throne under the impressive name of Nasiruddin Khusru Shah. His first act was to appropriate the twice dishonoured beautiful Rajput princess Deval Devi. Ghazi Malik soon put an end to Khusru, a Dher, converted to Islam.

In 1327 A.D. Muhammad Tughlak, the then Emp-

ror of India captured his rebel nephew Bahauddin Gashtasp. Bahauddin was reviled by the women of the Emperor's harem, flayed to death and his flesh cooked and served to his family.

Muhammed also confined Sheikh Zadah Jami in an iron cage and ultimately executed him for calling the sultan a tyrant to his face.

In 1564 Emperor Humayun caught his rebel brother Kamran and blinded him so that he may not succeed to the throne. Prince Akbar also executed Kamran's only son in Gwalior.

Akbar the great got rid of the Mullahs of Islam by drowning them in the Jamuna river. His prominent victims were Mullah Mahomed Yazdi and Qazi Yaqub whom he had sent on boating trips.

Khurram afterwards Shah Jehan, fought against his father Jehangir and held the emperor as a prisoner, while Jehangir had kept his other son Khusaru in prison for the security of the State.

And Shah Jehan the builder of the immortal Taj in white marble dyed his own hands in red blood when he put to death his own brothers Dawar Baksh Parvez and Sharyar and his nephews Tahmura and Hoshung for no better reason than their being possible claimants to the throne.

On June 8, 1658, Aurangzeb took possession of the Agra Fort and imprisoned his father Shah Jehan for life. Aurangzeb executed his youngest brother Murad at Gwalior in December 1661. He had disposed of Dara, his eldest brother, in a similar manner in 1659.

#### ALL THEIR HANDS SOILED WITH BLOOD

Writing about Aurangzeb's murders, historian Zahiruddin Faruki says, "The hand of almost every Mughal emperor from Akbar downward is soiled with blood and it seems as if Aurangzeb could not avoid the effects of the hereditary tendencies."

These mad Mughals were so power-crazy that they seem to have made *takht ya takhta* (crown or coffin) as the motto of their lives. We have only mentioned a few outstanding murders of close blood relations. What the people went through under these different autocrats can best be left to one's imagination.

In recent times the murder of Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan, one of the founders of Pakistan, was one more inevitable casualty of power politics in Pakistan.

#### NEHRU TURNS AWAY FROM THESE EVENTS

It is a pity that Nehru the man who wrote a book called "Glimpses of World History", lost sight of the glimpses we have given above when he trusted a man like Sheikh Abdullah and described him as the supreme symbol of secular democracy. Sheikh Abdullah being a power-crazy Muslim politician is but a modern symptom of old Mughal history. And so will be Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, the man who has replaced Sheikh Abdullah. One can never trust power politicians of any race or creed, and least of all Muslim adventurers.

There is however, one distinct advantage in dealing with Muslim adventurers. They are dreadfully honest in their creed and can be safely relied upon to be unreliable in moments of need. They have to

maintain their historical traditions and those muslim adventurers never let down their heritage in this respect.

If our leaders and our people remember the past history of power-crazy Muslim rulers, they will spare themselves the heart burning disappointment that is awaiting our nation in the Kashmir affair. We had said before that the Kashmir was a prize cake and a prize cake can only be cut and eaten.

In the meantime we can think of only two ways of settling the Kashmir problem. The first is handling over the muslim populated areas to Pakistan with all the seven Bhakshi brothers across a friendly conference table and taking over the Hindu and Buddhist areas to ourselves. This will stop the present inter-dominion quarrel and save us nearly a hundred crores of rupees every year — money which we have been spending every year to feed the Kashmiris and make even a prize boy like Sheikh Abdullah a traitor to our cause. With half of this money we can turn Jammu into a paradise and the other half can be used for our refugees from Sindh, Punjab and Bengal.

Now that Sheikh Abdullah has gone and cries of "Pakistan Zindabad" are being heard in Kashmir, the long promised plebiscite is out of the question. With Muslims in majority, the plebiscite would never have made any sense anyway though it served as a talking point to our ideal chasing Prime Minister and gave Sheikh Abdullah a handle to beat both India and Pakistan into submission for six long years. The plebiscite farce must end as it will bring in only one result - Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

If Nehru loses face in adopting this way of settlement (And one wonders whether Nehru has any face left after Sheikh Abdullah's betrayal), the other alternative is to scrap the independent and special status of the Jammu and Kashmir State, as guaranteed by our flexible Constitution, and straight annex Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh to the East Punjab State. This will turn the present dangerous majority of thirty lakh Kashmiri Muslims into a harmless minority in the midst of over 12 million non-Muslims. This second way out would need the courage and strength of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, qualities which are unfortunately missing in our peace-loving Prime Minister. We may, therefore, as well give up the idea of annexing Kashmir to East Punjab.

But if Nehru decided to continue the old muddle of secular democracy under the aegis of Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, we must warn him in the interest of our people that the new lease to his old experiment will once again fail.

Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed is by no means an angel of secular democracy. He is also an old gangster from Sheikh Abdullah's gang and like Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed will also change his tune when his power and position are stabilized.

We have already spent so much money in Kashmir during the last six years that it would have been cheaper for us to have bought that State by the square yard as private property. Additionally, we have lost both life and face in Kashmir. We do not want to lose either life, money or face anymore to try Nehru's phony experiments in secular democracy. There

(Continued on page 13)

# Some Thoughts On Progressive Income Tax

By F. G. Clark

.....

**W**E have a law known as Prohibition.

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

It was 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 lessened public respect for all law.

We now have a law called The Progressive Personal Income Tax.

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 lawbreakers.

Like Prohibition, it lessens respect for all law.

Like Prohibition, it should be gotten rid of.

## THE EVIL GENIUS

*Although as old as history, the Progressive Personal 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?

## ENCOURAGEMENT TO CHEATING

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.

How much cheating is going on?

*The Department of Commerce estimates that from 10 to 20% of taxable income is unreported.*

The Treasury Department would rather not say how many billions are 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, 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 Congressman who got caught with his report down and had the law changed to get off the hook?

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

## END OF PRIVACY OF INDIVIDUAL'S HOME

**This law is 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 defense 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 this law can never be repealed.

But it can be repealed by the greatest force on earth—public opinion. Except for white caps almost nobody likes this law.

Certainly the Treasury Department does like it.

It is our prediction that it will be repealed and replaced with a better law through the force of public opinion.

And we don't think it will be very long.

From: *The Economic Facts of Life*

(Continued from page 12)

cannot be any secular democracy in a province with a majority of Muslims. There isn't one in Pakistan with all its talk of being an independent, progressive state.

Nehru's idealistic experiments with our life, money and prestige must cease. He mustn't toy with our resources any more merely to gain for himself a few talking points on international platforms. We have plenty of problems of our own without worrying about the damn Kashmiris. And Nehru mustn't any more propagate the myth of Kashmir having a strategical value in our defence. With over 1200 miles of a fluid frontier between India and Pakistan, Kashmir has no strategical value in our defence at all. The enemies from Russia and China, we cannot hold even if we pile up the dead bodies of 360 million people and compete with the heights of the Himalayas. There is no sense in clinging to this myth and wasting life and money over it.

This Kashmir problem must, therefore, be settled immediately, one way or the other. We cannot risk another experiment with another Muslim adventurer.

Courtesy: *Burning Words*

"No End to My Sorrows" Gandhiji replied to the statement made by a French philosopher, M. Paul Richard, to the effect that he did not work for the freedom of India; he worked for non-violence. Gandhiji, while admitting the truth of M. Richard's statement said, "I am a Hindu first and everything else afterwards." Gandhiji went to jail soon after, leaving the unsecular sentiment for others to adapt for themselves and incur the odium of the charge of being communalists.

A highly emotional individual, it was impossible for Maulana Mohammad Ali to restrain himself on any issue. What was in him must out. So he became fond of inviting non-Muslims to become Muslims. Once he invited me likewise, saying he would prove the truth of Islam to the hilt for me, but I said, "Maulana Sahib, before you try to prove that Mohammad was the Prophet of God, you must prove that there is such a thing as God. At this he burst out laughing loudly and then earnestly asked me whether I really did not believe in God. On my telling him that I had my doubts, he said, "You are doomed. I tell you, you are doomed. I shall have to pray for your soul."

#### MAHOMED ALI'S SOLUTION

That, however, did not seem to make any difference between us. Once when I hesitatingly approached him with a request to recommend me to the Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* which was about to start its Delhi edition, he almost got angry with me and, knitting his brows, he said, "So much hesitation for such a trifling request" adding rather harshly, "What kind of a man are you? Aren't we friends?" A queer man, indeed. With so much of fanaticism he had such a warm place in his heart for unbelievers. He wrote out the letter there and then, full of extravagant

praise for me, sent for "Bhai Shaukat" who was about to leave for Bombay and asked him to deliver the letter himself to Abdullah Brelvi, the Editor!

Maulana Mohammad Ali had a formula for the solution of the communal problem which was not accepted by Congress leaders for reasons which I have not been able to understand. The formula was that every Hindu and every Muslim under a system of joint electorates should secure at least 15 per cent of the votes of the other community to qualify for election. Under this system there was the risk of a constituency going unrepresented for some time. But what did it matter, after all? Its adoption would put an end to communalism in the land. What really mattered at the time was agreement between Hindus and Muslims and this formula had a fair chance of securing it. The Government would have objected to it as cumbersome, but should the Congress leaders have developed such regard for Government as not to accept a formula to which the Government might have objected, when the great desideratum was unity between the two communities and the formula was likely to secure it. He could find no supporters for his device and the situation went on growing from bad to worse.

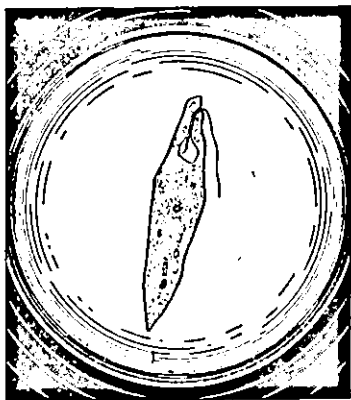
From: *Organiser*

#### FREEDOM TO DEVELOP ON ONE'S OWN

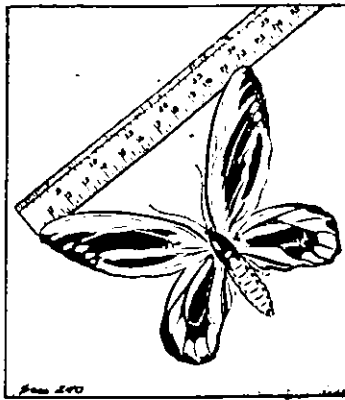
Of all the individual rights which our forefathers handed down in their legacy to us, none perhaps has been greater nor more fruitful to our society than the traditional right of every Indian to use and enjoy his individual freedom; and the incentive to develop to the highest possible degree his personal creative talents.

## DID YOU KNOW . . .

By Scio



The most primitive of all animals was long thought to be the amoeba but this title is now accorded the protozoan (first life) of the class Flagellata. They are microscopic, single-celled animals that reproduce by fission.



The world's largest butterfly is the New Guinea birdwing (*Troides alexandrae*), the female of which has a wingspan of 12 inches (30.5 centimeters).



Steadily growing for years, the influx of refugees from Communist East Germany to free West Germany has increased to about 7,000 weekly.

# Reflections Of A Revolutionary Of Our Times

By Alpar Bujdoso

(Hungarian Student Refugee)

*Twenty-two-year-old Bujdoso needs special introduction to the readers. Upto October 22, 1956, when the revolution broke out in Hungary, he was a student of forestry engineering at the University of Sopron, Hungary. On that historic day the students of Sopron held a mass meeting at which they established a general students' union to replace the DISZ, the Communists youth organisation. Bujdoso, was unanimously elected president of the new union. Earlier, Bujdoso was in prison for some time, following his expulsion from the DISZ for trying to initiate free discussion at a DISZ meeting.*

*During the hectic days of the Revolution, Bujdoso was chairman of the general revolutionary committee in Sopron and subsequently its Mayor till the Soviets reoccupied the country.*

*Recently Bujdoso toured Asian countries at the invitations of students. Only two Asian countries, India and China, refused visas to Bujdoso. The reason given for this refusal by Nehru Govt: "Visas were refused" as the Government of India did not wish to take sides for or against U.S.S.R. in regard to Hungary."*

THE first anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution has just passed. Much that is new and exciting has happened to those of us who were forced to leave our country after the Soviet occupation. For those who remained, however, things are much as they were during the years of tyranny under Rakosi. The new Soviet puppets led by Kadar, who control us, are always cursing Rakosi and denouncing his regime, but in practice that means little. They have reinstalled the Communist party apparatus, which denies the people any say in the administration even of local affairs. We are still bound economically to Russia, and get only the smallest portion of the return which we could have from our products, such as uranium, if Russia allowed us to sell them in the world market.

Our writers and other intellectuals, who supported the Revolution almost to a man, are now undergoing constant persecutions. Many have been summarily hanged or are now awaiting execution in Kadar's prisons. For these Hungarian patriots there was no anniversary of the Revolution. It was for us who have escaped the Soviet tyranny to remember them on that unforgettable day, October 23.

## Popular Upsurge

The first thing I would like to say is that it is still difficult for me to understand, after months of traveling in Asia, how some people can take an equivocal or "neutral" attitude towards the Hungarian Revolution. I have heard some people say that they do not know which "Side" to believe, because there are so many conflicting reports. What amazes me about this is that most of the Asian peoples have had to fight for their independence from a foreign imperialist Power, so they should know what are the true symptoms of a popular revolution. They should know that groups of "armed bandits" cannot overthrow a totalitarian government that has entrenched itself for eight years and has foreign troops in the country supporting it. Only a massive, popular movement could accomplish what our Revolution did in just a few days. More than anything else, the passive resistance and general strikes after the Revolution should prove to everyone that our people supported the Revolution from beginning to end, and not just at the start before the "counter-revolutionaries" took over.

Another sign of the Hungarian Revolution that should be familiar to every Asian is the type of arguments used by an imperialist Power to defend its actions. It blames the Revolution on armed bands of agents from outside, which is just as ridiculous as what the French say about "Communist agitators" in Algeria. Also, the Soviets claim to base their intervention legally on some clause of the Warsaw Treaty (which is only applicable to foreign aggression, so the Soviets claim to have uncovered foreign aggression in Hungary.) This "legal" argument reminds one of the treaty by which the British justify their intervention in Oman. Like every other small nation, we, Hungarians, can only ask, what is the validity of a treaty when it is used to suppress the legitimate national aspirations of the people concerned.

Even though our people have again been shackled by Soviet imperialists the Revolution has given us a wonderful inspiration, a measure of encouragement that will last us for generations again. For the few days of the Revolution we experienced our nationhood; we found ourselves as a freedom-loving people. None of us who was there will ever forget this feeling.

## End Of Suspicion

The spirit was particularly manifest in the relations between man and man during the Revolution. Previously, there had been a deepseated fear and suspicion of one's neighbours and associates in all walks of life, because informers and spies were rampant. We learned to trust only intimate friends. But when we burst the totalitarian bonds, the fear and suspicion vanished at once. We, the united Hungarian people, felt ourselves far stronger than the spies or the authorities.

And so a spirit of comradeship and brotherly love arose among the people such as we had never felt before. We sensed a deep bond of common suffering in the past and common hope for future. Everyone whom we met on the streets we addressed in the familiar form of "you." Sometimes we would greet strangers by asking them, "Friend, how has it gone with you these last eight years?" The answer was usually, "Not so good, but from now on we are the masters of our own destiny, and things will be better." This was before we could even imagine that the Soviet Army would return to crush us, or that fellow-

Hungarians, even some like Kadar who had suffered under Rakosi, would betray us to a Power which has traditionally been our oppressor.

Because of my own experience I can now well understand how the Indian people felt on the memorable day, August 15, 1947, when the foreign colonial Power withdrew and India joined the family of independent, self-respecting nations. It is a wonderful thing to feel that one has obtained, after centuries of foreign oppression, the power to decide one's own destiny.

Similarly, the Indian people should understand that this is how we, Hungarians, felt during the first three days of November 1956. "Fascist gangs" did not rule in Budapest or anywhere else. We, the people, became sovereign in our own land, and when the Russian tanks came back to force the Kadar regime upon us, they took away our sovereignty and reimposed Soviet imperialism.

The attitude of the Hungarian youth, as revealed by its behaviour in the Revolution, throws much light on the situation inside the Communist party in Hungary. Although most of the people had come to hate it, yet many observers seemed to think that the Communists were successful in their attempts to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. Therefore, it came as a surprise to many that the Hungarian youth, especially the students, were in the forefront of the Revolution.

The Communists could not indoctrinate us, no matter how hard they tried. This was because their system was a living lie, and they could not hide that fact from even the youth. They talked about liberty and democracy, but we could see the oppression all round us. They praised the equality of relations between countries of the "socialist camp," but we saw Soviet Russia exploiting our economy and dictating our political life. Even the people who benefited most from the changes introduced in the economic system after the war—except the opportunists who thrived in the Communist bureaucracy—despised the political organisation of the system.

#### TRADITIONAL INFLUENCES

The Communists were never able to root out the traditional influences in Hungarian thought, those of the family and the Churches. Even among the children of workers and peasants whom they brought into the universities (a reform which I and my friends heartily welcomed) they could not make their lies stick. I was amused to see many non-Hungarians ask me, in the course of my travels, what had been the understanding of the Hungarian youth about important international questions during the years of tyranny. I was asked, for instance, what the Hungarian youth thought of the war in Korea.

The answer to this and such other questions was that, although the newspapers we had access to, toed the Soviet line, we were not taken in by all that they said. The fact that India voted to condemn North Korea in the United Nations removed any doubts some of us had about the real aggressor in Korea.

In the light of our own experience, the attitude of some of the Asians towards the Hungarian Revolution that Russia can still be trusted to abide by her political commitments amazes us. During and after our Revolution the Soviets and their Hungarian puppets

practised such open deception that we are surprised to find people still accepting the bona fides of the Russian rulers.

Here we all had a glimpse of what a "dictatorship of the proletariat" means under the Soviets; it really amounts to a dictatorship over the proletariat.

The ambition of many of us during all these happenings was to put an honest believer in Russian professions to the test. For example we would have liked to show him the perfidy of the Soviet technique of suppressing our Revolution, and asked him what he thought of it. He would probably have said, "Well, I don't know about what happened in the past but I say we must have mutual confidence in each other. Now the Soviets have promised safe conduct to Imre Nagy. I feel certain they would never break such a pledge; but if they do, I am on the spot and I will draw my own conclusions." It would have been interesting to talk to such people after the Soviets had abducted Nagy. I didn't get the chance, but I do hope some people in India and elsewhere will ponder over this type of neutrality.

The only difference between ourselves and the other countries of the world which the Soviet Union would like to control in future is that we were already in their grip as a result of World War II. The Soviets use more subtle means to infiltrate the countries which they do not yet dominate. They praise their five-year plans and sign joint statements upholding Panchashila, while running a subterranean programme of subversion to destroy them.

The Hungarian Revolution has one crucially important lesson for India and such other nations when the situation demands it, the Soviet Union will not hesitate to use armed force to subject them to its imperialist domination. And when this happens, Russia's excuse will be to rescue them from "fascism" and "counter-revolution" in other words, from the system of social, economic, and political democracy. So we say to our fellow-students and young intellectuals in other countries: study the facts about what happened to us and be careful.

#### LET ASIA HELP

In conclusion, we wonder if it is not possible for freedom-loving people the world over to unite in a common opposition to tyranny wherever it exists regardless of "cold war" and other politics. Cannot the peoples of Asia, for example, help us to free ourselves from the Soviet imperialists, just as they have freed themselves or are in the process of freeing themselves from Western colonialism? The Eastern European peoples look to countries such as India to put on Russia the kind of pressure which will ultimately make her decide she has more to lose than to gain by suppressing our independence and freedom.

We, Hungarians, turned to the people of India for help during our Revolution—our student organisations, for example, sent urgent cables to Nehru asking him to intercede with the Soviets and express moral support for our movement for independence and neutrality. We got no answer—all that we heard was Nehru declaring that the situation in Hungary was "not clear." After it was too late we finally heard Nehru agree that our Revolution was a national movement.

Condensed from: *The New Socialist*.



## The Shape of Things To Come—Nehru Drops the Hint

NEW DELHI: Mr. Nehru said that there was going to be "increasing conflict" between the idea of parliamentary democracy and full-blooded private enterprise.

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the second seminar on "Parliamentary Democracy" in the central hall of the Parliament.

Mr. Nehru said that it was sometime said that parliamentary democracy was inevitably combined with the system of private enterprise. . . . But I do not see what parliamentary democracy has got to do with private enterprise. I see no connection except the past connection of past habits and past thinking.

Continuing he said: "It is extraordinary how change in the world is much swifter often than the workings of the human minds."

*Mr. Nehru has said a mouthful in these few sentences and halftruths. But the fact that he sees "increasing conflict" between "parliamentary democracy and private enterprise" is an inkling of the workings of his own mind. The increasing conflict IS NOT BETWEEN parliamentary democracy and private enterprise BUT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE on one hand, and PLANNED ECONOMY, socialism or communism, whatever Mr. Nehru, may choose to call them on the other. Mr. Nehru, by his juggling of words, IS ONLY CONFUSING the young minds. In any case, to the discerning and the intelligent public in the country Mr. Nehru has laid open the mind and heart of the Government.*

*The Forum of Free Enterprise, Bombay, may please advertise this statement in their next advertisement to the "national" Press, as they have done in the past of quoting Mr. Nehru in support of Free Enterprise!*

—EDITOR

### "SAME MIXTURE AS BEFORE"—DHEBHAR TO CONTINUE AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT

New Delhi: Mr. U. N. Dhebbhar is expected to continue as Congress President for another two years term.

The Congress Working Committee has informally approved of his candidature before dispersing today.

The proposal that Mr. Dhebbhar be requested to run for another term is reported to have been put forward before the Committee by Mr. Nehru.

—Times of India

### POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN SELECTION OF HIGH COURT JUDGES

The Statesman (Delhi) has published a report of the findings of the Law Commission. This publication has roused the wrath of the Prime Minister, and he even threatened action against such publications, under the Official Secrets Act. Here are some of the findings of the Law Commission, according to the Statesman.

In unmistakable language the Law Commission has drawn the attention of the Government to "the selection of unsatisfactory judicial personnel" at the High Court level in recent years.

Although reluctant to discuss the individual instances the Commission is reported to have recorded that the "weight of testimony" compelled it to hold that some appointments of the High Court judges seemed to have been made on "considerations of political expediency or regional or communal sentiments."

"Bitter and revealing" criticism of appointments made to High Court judiciary heard by the Commission throughout the country tour, the Report says, seemed to express "acute and well-founded" public dissatisfaction.

According to the Commission's findings, canvassing for appointments to High Courts, previously almost

unknown is now prevalent to some extent. Regrettably, the Commission adds that instead of being considered a disqualification, canvassing is encouraged by "some persons on whom rests the responsibility of these appointments." These unsatisfactory appointments could not but adversely affect the quantity and quality of the work by the High Courts.

### SCANDAL OF THE PENICILLIN FACTORY

The Hindustan Anti-biotics (Private) Ltd, a State-owned enterprise involving an investment of FOUR CRORES OF RUPEES went into production two years back. The Indian people considered this venture as yet another milestone in the industrial renaissance of the country. We were given to understand that this ambitious scheme will not only save us valuable foreign exchange but our dependence on foreign pharmaceutical firms will also come to a close. . . . But now it appears that something has gone wrong, very, very wrong there.

The Medical Profession is hesitant to try their stuff for the hazard involved exceed the narrow sentiment of patronising Indian national products. . . . Another disquieting fact which has come to light is that Penicillin worth Rs. 45 lakhs remains unsold in the Factory because IT IS BELOW STANDARD QUALITY. . . . the Penicillin Factory, apart from showing steady profits, has been actually losing over 20 lakhs of ruppees annually. But most damaging of the findings of the Experts Committee, appointed by the Government of India, to go into the affairs of the Factory, is the crime against the sick population in issuing Penicillin with Five-year guarantee when the product does not retain its potency for EVEN THREE MONTHS. This practice of the Factory, according to the Experts Committee, was not ONLY UNETHICAL BUT ALSO ILLEGAL. The Union Government should take a grave view of such a thing.

—Organiser

## **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

### **WARNING AGAINST HASTY REPLACEMENT OF ENGLISH**

Special emphasis on the need for the avoidance of undue haste in changing the medium of instruction from English to the various Indian languages in universities has been laid in the Report of the Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission to go into the question. The Committee was presided by Mr. H. N. Kunzru.

The recommendations of the Committee are of far-reaching importance in so far as they touch on the problem that is very much before the country, and bear on the general question of English in the general curriculum not only of universities but of schools as well.

The recommendations of the Committee are generally approved by the University Grants Commission, held in New Delhi, under the presidency of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh.

The four-member Committee was appointed by the University Grants Commission in October 1953. It was entrusted with the task of examining the problem of the medium of instruction at the university stage and recommend ways and means of securing adequate proficiency in English. The other members of the Committee were Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Mr. V. K. Appayan Pillai and Mr. Samuel Mathai.

The report of the Committee is being forwarded to the Union Government and the Universities.

—*Times of India*

### **REIGN OF TERROR IN PAK OCCUPIED KASHMIR**

Srinagar: Sajada Begum, wife of a former editor of "Pak Kashmir", a paper published in the Pak occupied part of Kashmir, has crossed into Indian territory with her baby, after having faced innumerable difficulties and braved heavy snow and biting cold.

Her husband whose paper voiced the views of Kashmir Muslim refugees in the occupied areas, was pushed into the Valley, across the cease-fire line by the Pakistanis early this year.

Sajada Begum told the Kashmiri Police, amidst sobs, that she had to flee because she was exposed to torture by the Pakistani Army Intelligence men and the Pakistani Police.

She said: "When my husband was pushed back into the Indian side of the cease-fire line, for having constantly written about the plight of Kashmir Muslim refugees in the Pak occupied areas of the State, I was exposed to starvation and constant harassment by the Pakistani Government authorities. They confiscated my property and threatened all my relations and directed them not to see me or help me.

Speaking of conditions in the Pak occupied areas of the State she said the honour of Kashmiri Muslim refugee women is not safe. These helpless women are dishonoured by the Pakistani military and the Pakistani Reserved Police.

"Hundreds of children have died of starvation.

There is no food available in these areas. In spite of the fact that the Pakistan Government has let loose a reign of terror in the area, hundreds of women staged demonstrations against the Government for having reduced the people to starvation.

—*Times of India*

### **HIGHEST TAXED INDIVIDUAL IN WORLD**

Poona: The highest taxed individual in the world today is the Indian in the top income bracket, said the Vice President of the Indian Merchants Chamber, Mr. G. P. Kapadia, here.

He said that the burden of income tax together with the wealth tax and the expenditure tax on higher income groups in India was the highest in the world—higher than in the United States and in Western Germany which have made remarkable economic recovery after the war years.

Analysing the incidence of income tax in various countries, Mr. Kapadia said that the burden was low in India for groups whose income did not exceed Rs. 20,000. For those with higher income the burden rose steeply.

An Indian whose annual income was Rs. 2,66,670 had to pay 67.4 per cent of it as taxes. His counterpart in West Germany was required to pay only 50 per cent. In the United States the percentage was only 41.9.

Mr. Kapadia was delivering the Ogale Memorial lecture before the Mahratha Chamber of Commerce and Industries. He said that the recent trends in taxation in India had caused much concern to businessmen and industrialists.

He thought that there should be lower taxation, better recovery and lesser evasion instead of the heavy pattern of taxation and lesser recovery.

—*Times of India*

### **EUROPEAN TEA ESTATES MANAGERS' HOUSES SEARCHED**

Jorhat: Residences of about 20 officials and managers of European owned tea estates in Sibsagar District have been searched by the Police.

The Police also raided the residences of 12 managers of the Jorhat Tea Company. The Sadar office and the office of the Superintendent of the Company were searched.

Though not officially confirmed, the searches were stated to be in connection with the alleged contact of some of the managers with the hostile Nagas.

Some papers were reported to have been seized by the Police during the raids. No arrests have been made by the Police so far.

—*U.P.I.*

### **JAI PRAKASH NARAIN ON THE GRAMDAN TANGLE**

New Delhi: Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the Bhoodan leader, said that the Sarva Seva Sangha was preparing a draft resolution for the benefit of State Govern-

ments to help the Gramdan villages to meet the needs of social and economic transition.

Answering a question as to whether there was a danger of the Gramdan being misused for collective farming, the Bhoodan leader said that there was no reason why collective farming should be introduced into Gramdan villages. Collective farming was being introduced in only one Gramdan village, and that too, on an experimental basis. In another village collective farming started earlier and had to be given up. Bhoodan workers have been emphasising the democratic and voluntary aspect of the movement.

—P.T.I.

### THE HAMLET-LIKE NEHRU AT RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE

New Delhi: Mr. Nehru could not understand why he was present at the inaugural occasion of the World Conference of Religions. Mr. Nehru began his brief address to the Conference with the remark: "You might ask me why have you come to this conference, when ordinarily you are not to be seen on these occasions. I am myself in a quandary and I cannot understand why I am here. . . . Showing respect is one thing and intervening in these religious questions of which I do not know much is another."

—Times of India

### NON-MATRICULATES AND ILLITERATES EARN UPTO RS. 500!

Chandigarh: During the question hour in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha it was disclosed that of the 31 honorary sub-registrars appointed by the State Government, seven were not even matriculates. A former Minister, Mr. Prabhode Chandra, asked if it was a fact that three or four of them were illiterate and had to fix thumb impressions to obtain their allowances, but the question was over-ruled.

The Revenue Minister, Giani Kartar Singh, who was answering the question, said that a sub-registrar could earn an allowance upto Rs. 500 per month.

—Organiser

### MR. H. V. KAMATH'S CHARGES AGAINST CONGRESS IN HIS ELECTION PETITION

Jabalpur: "My profession is to carry on the propaganda for revolutionary, ethical socialism in the country," stated Mr. H. V. Kamath in answer to a question by the Election Tribunal chief, Mr. Bhide, as to what was Mr. Kamath's profession.

Mr. Kamath has filed a petition calling for setting aside the election of Shri Maganlal Bagdi from the Hoshangabad constituency from which also Mr. Kamath was a candidate. Amongst the grounds for disqualifying the election of Shri Bagdi, Mr. Kamath stated that the candidate had made false and reckless propaganda against him in that he had stated:

(1) Kamath's opposition to Nehru was anti-national and treasonable. This statement was made in a circular printed over the signature of Mrs. Sucheeta Kripalini. Mrs. Kripalini had denied having signed the circular but the circulars were distributed by Bagdi.

(2) "The 'Hut-wallas' i.e. the PSP Party men were threatening Nehru's life with bullets." This statement was published in "Sahvadhan" published over the signature of Shyamlal Jaiswal. This propaganda was entirely without foundation.

(3) "That the PSP Party was financed by Foreign Powers" was the propaganda made by Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the Election campaign. This propaganda was also untrue and without any foundation.

—Maratha

### HOW BERIA DIED? SHOT BEFORE EVIDENCE WAS GATHERED

VERY soon after the death of Stalin we in the Presidium began to get reports of some double game which Beria was playing. We began to have him followed and in a few weeks we established the fact that our suspicions were justified. He was clearly preparing a conspiracy against the Presidium. After waiting for a favourable moment, we designated a special session of the Presidium, to which, of course, Beria was invited, too. He appeared, apparently not suspecting that we knew anything. And right there we began to cross-question him, to adduce facts, data, to put questions to him, in other words, we put him through a cross-examination which lasted four hours.

For all of us it was clear that he was really guilty, and that this man could be dangerous to the party and the country.

### SUMMARY RED JUSTICE

We left him alone in the room, in this very room in which we are now conversing, with him sitting on the very chair on which you are sitting now. And we went into another room and there had a discussion of what should be done with him.

Our inner conviction of his guilt was unshakable. But at that time we did not have at our disposal a sufficient amount of juridical evidence of his guilt. And we found ourselves in difficult position. *Evidence for his consignment to a court we still did not have, yet to leave him at liberty was impossible.*

*We came to the unanimous decision that the only correct measure for the defence of the Revolution was to shoot him immediately. This decision was adopted by us, and carried out on the spot.*

*But we felt much easier when, some time after his condemnation, we received sufficient and irrefutable evidence of his guilt.*

—As narrated by Nikita Khrushchev to a leader of French Socialist Delegation to Russia.

### PAK SUPPORT TO PORTUGAL ON GOA STAND

Madrid: The Pakistan Minister for Interior, Ghulam Ali Talpur, said that Goa belonged to Portugal and that the population of Goa wanted to remain Portuguese.

Speaking at a press conference in Madrid the Pakistani Minister said that Portugal's stand on Goa was just and that Pakistan was on the side of justice.

—UPI-AFP

### INDIA STATE TRADING CORPORATION SOVIET RUSSIA'S BITTER EXPERIENCE

The I M F Survey reports that India's State Trading Corporation formed in May 1956, has, within ten months of its formation, established itself as the largest single concern in India's export-import business. India urgently needs foreign capital, and Mr. Nehru has been at pains to assure the world that foreign capital may be safely invested in India. Yet all his actions show that he remains a convinced Socialist. The Russian State Trading Corporation, Arcos, a branch of which was set up in London many years ago, was a monument of the vices of State concerns. All major decisions had to be submitted to Moscow, and the managers were frequently changed for political reasons, rendering settled business relations difficult. The Corporation was eventually abolished at the request of our (British) government who declared it to be the centre of a spy organisation.

Our sympathiser Mr. R. Bhavan issues a vigorous Individualist journal **THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN**, in Bombay. We look to him to keep a watch on the India State Trading Corporation.

—From *The Individualist* October, 1957.

### SQUEEZING OUT THE HINDUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

Karachi: Hindus in East Pakistan might get about half the number of seats they now hold in the provincial legislature under the new separate electorate system being worked out by the Muslim League-led Coalition Government in the Centre, a ministerial source said here today.

At present Hindus have 72 seats in the 310-member House and this might be reduced to somewhere between 35 and 40, these sources said.

One of the reasons adduced for this reduction is the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan after the last census held in 1949. Seventy-two seats had been allotted to them under the separate electorate system on the basis that the Hindu population then amounted about 96 lakhs. Though Pakistan had been maintaining that large number of Hindus had not migrated to India due to harassment by the majority community it is now being said that about 40 lakhs of Hindus had left the country and settled down in India. It is believed that the Hindu population of East Bengal was about 1,20,00,000 at the time of partition. Making allowance for both national increase and migration, it is not much less than one crore even now.

Mr. Fazlur Rehman, Muslim League Law Minister, who hails from East Pakistan is understood to be working on a plan to reduce Hindu representation. One of the plans being considered, well-informed sources said, was to allot seats on the basis of electoral rolls as against the basis of census figures.

### KASHMIR—BACK TO 1953

From hints dropped by the British delegation here it is thought likely that its draft resolution would seek to take the Kashmir question back to 1953, when Dr. Frank Graham, the U.N. Representative for Kashmir, suspended his mediatory efforts after making a report to the Security Council.

Such a resolution would be tantamount to ignoring India's stand that the situation in Kashmir is primarily governed by Pakistan's acknowledged act of aggression and the fact, even subscribed to by Dr. Jarring, that the various factors in Kashmir have tended to change during the past five or six years.

Some surprise was expressed here that the British delegation should be putting the final touches to a resolution on Kashmir even before India had put forward her point of view.

—PTI

### INDISCRIMINATE FORCE USED ON HINDI SATYAGRAHIS

Chandigarh: Mr. Justice S. B. Capoor has held that the force used on the "Save-Hindi" Satyagrahis in the Ferozepur Jail was "excessive, indiscriminate, and out of all proportion to the needs of the situation."

Mr. Capoor in his report to the State Government, has stated that there was incontrovertible evidence that the Arya Samaj under-trials were beaten inside the barracks and even in bathrooms, which was unparalleled in the history of jails in Punjab.

The official handout containing brief extracts from the 30-page report said that the report was being carefully examined and action against the jail authorities was under consideration.

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## KHRUSHCHEV'S POLICY OF "NORMALISATION" WITCH- HUNTS IN SOVIET SATELLITES

A Correspondent writes from Bucharest:

Mr. Chisinevski and Mr. Constantinescu, recently removed from the Politburo of the Rumanian Communist Party, have been accused in a resolution passed by a plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee of "anti-party" and "factional" activities, the Rumanian news agency, Agerpress, said today.

The resolution, published in full today in the daily *Scientia*, was passed by the plenary session of the Central Committee which met between June 28 and July 3.

The resolution accused the two men of working against the unity of the party and its leadership, and said they had presented the activities of both "in a distorted way" and tried to persuade others to join their "anti-party" stand.

Mr. Chisinevski was Secretary of the Central Committee.

The resolution which ran to thousands of words also accused the two Rumanians of responsibility for liquidating Mrs. Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca, two Rumanian Cabinet Ministers disgraced in 1952.

The resolution said Chisinevski was "highly responsible" for "the opportunist policy of liquidating the Luca-Pauker factional group and opening the doors of the party to the alien Fascist elements and carperist petty bourgeois elements."

Mr. Constantinescu who was editor of the newspaper *Scientia* and secretary of the Bucharest party committee was accused of participating in the "spreading of the personality cult and in popularizing Ana Pauker in particular."

Both men had declared to the meeting that they consider these "sanctions" correct and "pledged to correct by their action the severe mistakes committed in regard to the party."

A final section of the resolution specified the tasks of the party as the need to "strengthen unity and iron discipline" to raise the standard of living and consolidate unity with the Soviet Union.

## KHRUSHCHEV AMONG THE "REVISIONISTS"? WAR NOT "INEVITABLE"

*Party Life* official magazine of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in an editorial, said that in the week-long discussion "not a single person of the Central Committee supported the anti-party group."

The discussion took place in "a very democratic atmosphere and altogether 215 people expressed a desire to speak.

"The most important task now facing the party is an explanation of party policy and the exposure of the anti-party group's real aims.

"It is well known we had the Marx-Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists wars are inevitable. This conclusion was right for its period, but since that time the situation had radically changed, the inevitability of war does not exist any longer and on this basis the foreign policy of the Soviet State is building."

The magazine accused the anti-party group of relying on "stale, outmoded quotations and methods of work" to convince the Central Committee.

## FULL "OFFENSIVE" AGAINST "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES" IN HUNGARY

Reuter reports from Budapest:

The Hungarian Socialist workers' (Communist) Party yesterday confirmed in office its present leadership under Mr. Kadar and ordered a counter-attack against "the counter-revolution" on cultural lines.

A resolution passed at the end of the Party's first national conference since the Hungarian rising last year said "chauvinist, nationalist and damagoc confusion existed in culture."

Therefore, relying on intellectuals loyal to their system, they must "open an all embracing counter-attack the progress of the counter-revolution in our cultural life. Politically and professionally we must strengthen the position of the Party and State leadership by removing counter-revolutionary elements from key positions in cultural life," the resolution said.

The conference resolution pro-

posed making the study of Marxism-Leninism compulsory again in high schools and universities.

Observers said one of the prime demands of the Hungarian students during last year's rising was the abolition of compulsory lectures in Marxism-Leninism. The present situation in universities is obscure and the subject is still taught, although not compulsorily, and no examinations in it are taken.

The resolution instructed the Party's Central Committee, in order to protect Party unity to apply the most severe measures in serious cases.

The resolution instructed the Party's Central Committee, in order to protect Party unity to apply the most severe measures in serious cases.

Eighteen newly-elected members included Mr. Jozsef Ravai, a former close associate of Mr. Rakosi. Mr. Ravai returned here a few months ago from the Soviet Union but had held no party office until now.

Mr. Kadar told the closing session of the conference that there had been differences of opinion during its sessions, particularly in analysing the past.

## SOVIET VISITOR DISPLEASES YUGOSLAV HOSTS

Reuter reports from Belgrade:

Mr. Viktor Grishin, chairman of the Soviet Trade Union Council, claimed here yesterday that Soviet democratic centralism which is the opposite of Yugoslavia's decentralization plan was responsible for shorter working hours, higher pensions, reduced prices and raised output in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Grishin, who is also a full member of the Soviet Communist Party—Central Committee, was making his "greetings address" to the Yugoslav congress of workers. He was speaking after President Tito had left the meeting after attacking "apologists of dogmatism," which was interpreted here as referring to the Soviet Union and communist bloc countries.

He said there were "various forms" for the role of workers in management, but the aim was the same construction of socialism and then of a communist society.

He praised Russia's method of "democratic centralism" often at-

tacked here and said its success had been proved in the war.

In his 25 minute speech, Mr. Grishin made no reference to President Tito's attack and ended his speech "Long live the eternal and indestructible—friendship between peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and all socialist countries."

He did not, directly criticize Yugoslav policies but some Yugoslav officials later commented privately that he had turned his speech into a propaganda occasion.

From: "The Radical Humanist."

### NO MORE PARTY SPIES IN PLANTS AND OFFICES, NO MORE "LABOUR CAMPS"

In an article, *Party Life* went on to recapitulate improvements in socialist legality wrought since Stalin's day—particularly mentioning the abolition of corrective labour camps, as organised by the former State security organs, the strengthened position of trade unions and regional groups.

The magazine revealed that as a result of the expulsions and June plenum decisions, the party had embarked on new important steps to reshape the organizational form of the party.

It is stated that the plenums of the Central Committee and of all local party committees took place now regularly. This was a tilt at the position under Stalin when such meetings were held infrequently.

The most striking of all, the magazine stated, "the apparatus of the Central Committee and of regional party committees has been reduced in a positive manner."

It said that political departments and the post of "party organizer" of the Central Committee in plants and offices "have been liquidated."

### U.S. DILEMMA OVER CHINA POLICY:

RAWLE KNOX writes from Hongkong in the *London Observer*:

The moderate words of President Eisenhower—and even of Senator Knowland—on Britain's decision to go ahead alone and trade with China as she does with Russia have caused a mild sensation in Asia.

Following hard on the Formosa riots, and drawing jittery disapproval from the Chinese Nationa-

lists, these Washington reactions are being discussed in the fitful light of a possible American change of her China policy.

If, as Mr. Walter Lippmann states, the object of American policy is to keep some 13 million overseas Chinese from giving their undivided loyalty to Peking, it is a wasted effort.

Except in Malaya and of course Formosa—the overseas Chinese form an unpopular minority (unpopular only because they are successful) who are excluded by every possible means from political influence. It is the local national Communist parties which present the real danger and their hand is assisted by America's refusal to recognise China.

The creation of Seato and the American-inspired attempts to form an anti-Communist (meaning anti-Peking) bloc of Japan, Formosa, South Korea and South Vietnam have made it difficult for Washington to extricate itself.

### PRUNING THE PAN—WISDOM DAWNS TOO LATE

The "Financial Times" carried a Reuter message from New Delhi that the Prime Minister has informed the Cabinet in an austerity letter that India's second Plan may cost Rs. 12,000 millions more than estimated.

The report added that Mr. Nehru said that part of the programme would have to be temporarily shelved. Stating that due to rising prices the cost of the Plan may rise to Rs. 6,000 crores. The report stated Mr. Nehru as saying that it was manifestly impossible for the country to incur so huge an expenditure.

### RS. 12 LAKHS BIHAR CONGRESS SCANDAL

There is a reported misappropriation of nearly Rs. 12 lakhs in the Bihar Congress Committee in the Sadaquat Ashram. This has become a big scandal in Patna and due to factions inside the report has also reached Delhi where it has considerably perturbed the High Command. It is reported that the amount was collected from different persons as donations and contributions to the Congress Fund.

As soon as the news reached

Delhi the High Command ordered an immediate inquiry... This unnerved the Bihar leaders. They summoned all the workers of the Sadaquat Ashram and asked them to prepare vouchers for Rs. 12 lakhs straightway. It is said that these vouchers were ready within a week. Quick work that.'

—Delhi Times.

### CONGRESS BRAND OF JUSTICE —MINISTER'S SON ACCUSED OF SMUGGLING GOLD SHELVED

Jullunder: Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon's son, Sunder Singh has been charged with gold smuggling by the General Secretary of the PSP.

A Press Note issued by the Punjab Government challenged anybody to name the Minister's son involved in gold smuggling and face the consequences.

Mr. Harbhajan Singh, general secretary of the State PSP, who accepted the challenge, in a press note says: "I hereby name Sunder Singh, son of Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister as one of the leaders of gold smugglers. I further allege that Sunder Singh is not only the leader of gold smugglers but is also responsible for a large number of other crimes. But cases against him are being shelved as he is the son of the Chief Minister. —Organiser

For Every Patriotic Indian

*Straight from the Man  
who Knows*

### Background Of the Kashmir Problem

By JUSTICE MEHERCHAND MAHAJAN  
Ex-Chief Justice of India

Published by the Libertarian  
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Sandhurst Road., Bombay 4.

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# Book Reviews

## CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

**CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM**  
by John Strachey (Victor Gollancz, 25s.).

John Strachey had already made his reputation as a Marxist thinker when he recently got an opportunity as Minister for Food and Secretary of State for War in the Labour Governments between 1945 and 1951 to participate in the practical carrying out of socialist ideas in an advanced capitalist demopolitician, faced as he always is, by the insistent urgencies of the immediate situation, has his vision necessarily bounded by the short-run horizon; he is apt to lose sight of the long run controlling factors in the dynamics of history. The politician in Mr. Strachey, it would appear, has got the better of the economist and sociologist in him.

### FRESH DISCOVERY

Mr. Strachey's book is calculated to resuscitate old controversies. The same, time-worn issues of pluralism, mechanistic materialism, of the quest after certainty of knowledge and truth are raked up over again and attempted modifications of Maxism are hailed as fresh discoveries. It is of course true that Marxism is not a closed, rigid system, which emerged fullgrown like Venus out of the mouth of Zeus, and must acquire fresh significance in the light of changed circumstances. As has been freely acknowledged by all his discerning critics, Marx's vision of the general development of society is fundamentally right though there are bound to be modifications of detail, relative to the time and circumstances of different countries. But to suggest, as Mr. Strachey does, that it is partly right and partly wrong is to do less than justice to the architectonic quality of that great system of knowledge.

Mr. Strachey finds fault not with Marx's economic insight but with his political judgment. Marx had predicated that the development of capitalism would increase the rate of exploitation of the workers. This would drive them to revolt against

their oppressors, seize power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a catastrophic revolution has been averted by the growing strength and resilience of democratic forces in advanced capitalist countries. Marx grossly underestimated the impact of democratic pressure on capitalism in its last stage. Capitalistic society is being transformed today under our very eyes into a Socialist one by peaceful and perfectly democratic means.

This is the central thesis of the book. It is the basis of Mr. Strachey's refutation of the alleged Marxian doctrine of the increasing immiseration of the workers. It is fundamental to his criticism of Historical Materialism. It is crucially significant to an understanding of his theory of the State and conception of democracy.

### LAW OF WAGES

Marx's original error, according to Mr. Strachey, lay in his iron law of wages. In predicting that real wages would never rise above subsistence, he made an error of the very mechanistic type against which he was always warning his readers. Marx did nothing of the kind. It is Mr. Strachey who is guilty of interpreting Marx in too mechanistic a manner. Mr. Maurice Dobb had noticed such a bias even in Mr. Strachey's earlier work, *The Nature of Capitalist Crisis*. On the other hand, Marx saw tendency and counter-tendency as elements of conflict which achieved balance only by accident. Marx's assumption of subsistence wages was only a 'first approximation'. He expressly recognised that by legislative interference, wages could be raised higher than the minimum fixed by the traditional standard of life (cf. *Value, Price, and Profit*, p. 5.)

### POLITICAL CAUSE

In face of the above, it is interesting to read 'that the derivation of economic consequences from a political cause is a strictly impossible phenomenon in Marx's system

(p. 154). Mr. Strachey contends that the interaction between 'the economic base' and 'the political superstructure' of society is anything but one-way; it is reciprocal. As against this, we can do no better than quote Engel's himself: In the famous preface to *Capitalism*, he says "at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means." It is only those who are caught in the characteristic vice of bourgeois intellect of supporting metaphysical-absolutist abstractions as actually existing in reality will regard this as a refutation of Historical Materialism. Absolute independence and absolute dependence are mere conceptual entities; relative independence is a fact. According to Marx, the historical development of society can only be foreseen in its general direction, not in every incidental detail. These details play a part in determining the course of history in detail, they do not affect the general direction in itself (Cf. Jackson, *Dialectics*, p. 195). Further it must be remembered that the British are a highly practical-minded people quick at registering in Parliament the altered equilibrium of power in the country itself.

### CRUCIAL QUESTION

This brings us to the final crucial question, Mr. Strachey's theory of the State and the definition and meaning of democracy. Mr. Strachey is of course aware that the victory of the Labour Party in Britain is due to the strength a self-governing trade unions into which the wage-earners have been organised. Nevertheless, his contention that the socialist transformation in Britain is being carried out by the democratic device of establishing an alternative government must be accepted. The issue, however, goes much deeper than that and concerns the very nature of the State. Mr. Strachey seems to waver between an atomistic conception of state and society, and one more or less along Marxian lines. He gives us an outline of a kind of equilibrium politics akin to the equilibrium economics of early competitive capitalism. In the hands of Adam Smith, economics showed how individuals pursuing their self-interest were led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was

no part of their intention. This was because the individuals behaved in a uniform manner and were blind to the total resultant situation, which further they are reported unable to affect. This was the alchemy which turned private vice into public good. In a similar manner, no one, according to Mr. Strachey, knows the truth about political and economic issues. Truth emerges as a sort of consensus, a general balance of opinion, out of the diverse, divergent and one-sided opinions of millions of individuals, no one of whom is singly able to control it in his own interest. The analogy between equilibrium price and objective truth is complete.

Implicit in the classical theory was the assumption of a society of equal incomes in which no one was able to exert a greater pull on the market than any other; which led Wiser to remark that classical economists had unconsciously written the theory of value of a communist society. Mr. Strachey introduces the same assumption when he defines contemporary democracy as more than the sum of its parts, in which power is diffused throughout the community more or less equally so that no one really has power over his fellows.

The complaint of the rightwing conservatives, however, is that today the consensus no longer emerges. That again is the meaning of the lament of Walter Lippman and the petty-bourgeois Liberal Democrats over the disintegration of Public Philosophy. Strange to say, in reply to these critics, Mr. Strachey takes the Marxian line and attributes their jeremiad to finding their state being made the instrument for furthering the purposes and interests of the wage-earning majority. He is aghast at majority rule being called 'tyranny' and wonders whether we should have instead 'minority rule'! Gone is the enthusiasm about truth and values. The will of the majority is the truth which must prevail. Democracy in the Labour Party sense is itself a form of dictatorship!

#### SIMPLE POINT

An elaborate facade would seem to have been raised by Mr. Strachey to prove a simple point, the one quoted from Engels above. Nevertheless, his work fulfils in a large measure the long-felt need of a

competent analysis of contemporary capitalism. An equally competent analysis of contemporary democracy, not systematically attempted here, will reveal a striking similarity in the practice of democracy in all societies on the way to Socialism, whether in the Soviet or in the capitalist camp, whether advanced or underdeveloped. Economic freedoms for the individual are few and far between; opposition parties are insignificant; one-party democracy is the ideal in theory and practice. Mr. Strachey's book will have rendered service of no mean order, if, in spite of its avowed purpose, it helps the realization of this essential unity of Left forces.

—From *The Times of India*  
(Sunday Edition)

#### NOT BY BREAD ALONE

**NOT BY BREAD ALONE** by Vladimir Dudintsev, Published by Hutchinsons, London.

Victor Zora writer in the *Manchester Guardian*:

Mr. Vladimir Dudintsev, the author of "Not by Bread Alone," who has been under great pressure in Russia to rewrite his novel, does not take back a single word in a preface he has written for the English edition of the book.

Hutchinsons, the London publishers, who were recently approached by Soviet officials with a request that the publication of the book should be postponed "as the author now wishes to make certain revisions", said that they could not delay publication but offered to publish a preface in which Mr. Dudintsev could explain where and why he had changed his mind.

They received the preface on Monday without any indication that the writer had changed his mind in any way. What is more, although attacks on the book continue to appear in the Soviet press, Mr. Dudintsev has struck to his guns, and in public speeches has defended not only his right to have written the much criticised book but to write more of the same kind.

Perhaps the most important result of Mr. Dudintsev's stand is its effect on other Soviet writers and on Soviet youth generally for they have been encouraged to persist in their efforts to cure Soviet society of the ills Mr. Dudintsev had laid bare.

In his preface Mr. Dudintsev expresses concern at the misinterpretation of his book by Western, he might have said "Soviet" critics, but he continues to maintain that the conflicts he describes "derive from real life". Some of his Soviet critics have argued that this is not so but the only concession he makes to them is to say that a family by which he presumably means Soviet society, "always finds the right solution to its conflicts."

Mr. Dudintsev says he was "horror-struck" when he saw the use was benign made of his books by Western "experts on Russia," who paid attention only to the "dirt" he had washed out when he was cleaning some dirty linen. At the same time he pays tribute to those reviews who looked at his book as a work of art with all its contradictions and peculiarities," and hope that the British reader will find in his novel the Russian people's "great love of humanity and faith in the inevitable victory of the forces of reason and justice."

Mr. Dudintsev ends his preface on this note, but this is the ver note which his Soviet critics I sa is hardly if at all, audible in h book. They believe that the nov is a "derogatory" portrayal o Soviet life, and that it preache pessimism in that the reader wh enters with the writer into th world of deceit and oppression, h describes, may as well abandon a hope.

#### What Ails the Hindu Society?

Revolutionising  
Indian Life—Part I

**Annihilate Orthodoxy**  
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## Letters

### To The Editor

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#### INDIAN PRESS AS A FOREIGN JOURNALIST SEES IT

Dear Madam: As an Irish journalist visiting India, I have been reading the English newspapers regularly for the past two months. I feel that the English press here in general flaunts a rather uncritical pro-Sovietism and at the same time, somewhat undiscerning anti-Americanism.

An example of this are the reports published in the English press of the recent World Conference on Religions held at Delhi. The only delegates whose names were published in full were those from Soviet Union. Another was the story, subsequently published, "Revival of Religion in the Soviet Union."

It is a well known fact that many churches in Moscow are closed and the number of churches in Soviet Union has no relation to the population of what was till the Revolution an orthodox Christian country. Very few have been built since the Revolution. Khrushchev instructed his Party men some time ago about the new methods to be adopted for anti-religious propaganda. Religion now comes under the control of a special Ministry. There are no hints of these in the Indian Press.

I respect India's right to be neutral and am impatient with those who do not. My own country is neutral, belonging to no pact or bloc. But India today is looking for economic assistance not to Russia but to U.S., America can give the assistance and India knows that. **YET THE ANTI-AMERICANISM OF THE PRESS CONTINUES.** When we wish some one to help us, we should, at least, refrain from insulting him.

The only explanation that occurs to me for this feeling is the assumption in India that the western countries are the enemies of Soviet Union. This is totally incorrect.

Too often have India's reactions to world events in recent times been simple counter-reactions to the Anglo-American Press. India's at-

titude towards Hungary is an example. Is was in Europe at the time of Hungarian crisis and saw and felt how the prestige of India and of Nehru slumped overnight. That was a mistake on India's part, which won her no new friends even while she lost many old ones.  
Banaras —Desmond Fennel

#### FORUM PROPAGANDA "BLITZED"

Dear Madam: For the last two years a body known as the Forum of Free Enterprise has been functioning in Bombay. From its name it should be obvious that it stands for Free Enterprise and Free Economy as against the Planned Economy sponsored by the Government of India under the slogan of "socialist pattern of society." But judging by the way it is functioning, and the slogan that it ALWAYS blazons in its advertisement "A Non-Political Body to Educate Public Opinion on Free Enterprise"—it cuts at the very roots of its existence. How can politics be eschewed from a body that is out to educate public opinion? Do the organisers believe that they can educate public opinion without entering the field of politics? It shows a colossal ignorance, or a fright on the part of its capitalist sponsors, NOT TO CLASH with the Government of the day, for fear of the individual members losing the crumbs of patronage that they get from a Government wedded to Planning, Regimentation and the Destruction of Free Enterprise and Free Economy. And the most stupid part of this campaign of the Forum is to give advertisements of its Code of Conduct and other inspired propaganda to ALL newspapers, including those that openly support Government Planning and OPPOSE Free Enterprise, and even accuse those who criticise Government Planning, as foreign-inspired or foreign-financed. One has to rub one's eyes when one sees its advertisement in the Blitz, an avowedly Red weekly, with its flirtations with Moscow and Red China.

A Forum of Free Enterprise indeed—Paid Advertisements in a section of the Press that is openly AGAINST Free Enterprise and Free Economy. Such propaganda on the part of the juvenile sponsors of the Forum does not enhance its

reputation nor can it convince any intelligent advocates of Free Economy of its genuine desire to mould public opinion for Free Economy or Free Enterprise. It was no wonder that Taya Zinkin, the Manchester Guardian correspondent, called the Indian Capitalist class "a cowardly lot" for not taking a bold stand to oppose Planning and Nationalisation. And the Forum of Free Enterprise confirm this verdict.  
Bombay 10 Jaywant,

#### EMERGENT CAPITALISM

Dear Madam: Very few people in India realize how inter-connected are capitalism and democracy. Capitalism, in fact, is the only guarantee of democracy. There cannot be, and has never been, a democracy without capitalism. Simply because the economic democracy is more democratic than democracy itself. It is the right to purchase, to dispose of and to possess that ensures a democratic life. Unless I have property which is entirely my own to do what I like with it, I can place no significance on other rights like the right to vote. A striking quotation from Wilhelm Keilhau will make the point clear: "It is, therefore, no paradox but plain truth that freedom of purchase is more democratic than democracy itself. This for two main reasons. Firstly, the electorate always is and must be restricted by selective rules, whilst even small children can throw in their preference by buying. Secondly, general elections can only take part at intervals, whilst the economic choices of the people are daily expressed through the purchases made." (Principles of Private and Public Planning).

Capitalism, we may say, is the test of democracy; it is the criterion of democracy. But capitalism must be fully distinguished from the feudal economy from which it is emerging. The feudal economy is better understood as monopoly economy. In the old days, the lords were in the habit of granting special rights and privileges to favourite vassals. In other words, monopoly was a recognized characteristic of the age. Mostly, monopoly consisted in land.

To-day capitalism is emerging from this remnant of the nineteenth century. We see the vesti-

ges in the various political monopolies. The politician who has taken over from the feudal lord, continues the tradition and is born with the itch to tax. The politician thus, so long as he interferes into the economy, can only hinder the evolution of capitalism proper.

Another hindrance—and probably a major one—to capitalism comes from Marxian socialism. Karl Marx was not entirely wrong. He put down the exploitation of the times to the monopoly that reigned in most industries. For the free market, as a concept, had not fully manifested then. Marx's error lies in his close identification of a feudalistic remnant with capitalism itself. In other words, he mistook the monopoly for an essential capitalistic structure. Hence his faulty recommendation: Do away with the entrepreneur and replace him by the politician.

Communism, is, therefore, a feudalistic economy where the politician is the primitive lord. Communism is a seizure of the 19th century power of the feudal head.

For capitalism to truly blossom forth, monopoly must be done away with. Monopoly disfigures capitalism and is its only evil. For the free market is disrupted and unsettled by monopoly. Men like Gesell, George, Meulen, Jeffrey Mark, and others have pointed out the monopolies that exist over land and money. Money and land are the only two commodities which are not controllable by the free market's operation. The law of supply and demand is powerless to regulate equitably the price of money and the price of land. The price of land can rise without theoretical limit because supply is fixed. Practically there is a limit, set by the supply of money and the demand for land.

This emergent capitalism is the most democratic economy in a process of evolution. It is the culmination of natural economic forces. From feudalism to semi-capitalism or political feudalism, and then to capitalism proper with limited government is the transition towards democracy. For it is only in capitalism that all the economic rights are guaranteed, the economic rights which form the bed-rock of all other rights. "Consumers control production by their money-

votes. No one is disfranchised. Every day is election day. The cash register is more dependable than the ballot box. Those in charge of the polls are dependable, too. Minorities count." (W. T. Foster and W. Catchings).

The libertarian outlook may, therefore, be described as an anti-monopoly (which connotes anti-socialism too) and a pro-capitalist movement.

—K. D. Valicha

#### WEALTH TAX AND NEHRU

Dear Madam: Mr. Nehru's house in Allahabad was recently valued for the purpose of wealth tax at Rs. 30,000 by the authorities. Mr. Nehru called this ridiculous and, according to press reports, had it enhanced to a lakh and a half.

In one particular instance, a bungalow at Lonavla, a property worth not more than 30,000 was valued by the authorities at Rs. 90,000 for the purpose of estate duty. They argued that if the adjoining piece of land, belonging to a neighbour, was brought and annexed to the property in question, its value would appreciate. It did not occur to them that the owner of the adjoining piece of land might not like to sell it.

Was the former case an attempt to please and the latter to fleece?  
Bombay —S. W. Dukle

#### LAND REFORMS IN MYSORE

Dear Madam: The long awaited Jatti Committee on the land reforms has submitted its report which has been received with mixed feelings. For once, a committee on such an important aspect of Indian life has failed to justify its set-up and falsified the expectations of the farmer. The landlords' interests have been zealously guarded while the tiller has been let down.

**Ownership:** The committee has not fixed any date as Tillers Day but has recommended that the tillers may become owners when they pay the price. This proposition is nothing new. Even the Roman conception of ownership was identical. Did the Government of Mysore set up this committee of 12 wise men to report on the generally accepted principles.

**Ceiling Area:** The committee has

proposed 4½ times the basic holding as ceiling limit, and the basic holding is one now existing in Hyderabad. Basic holding is stated to be one that would enable the cultivator to earn a net income of Rs. 1,500/- a year. It is difficult to say how this committee calculated the net income at about Rs. 1,500/- when actually it is not even half of that. The average income from a basic holding is about Rs. 600/-.

The committee has strenuously avoided displeasing the landed gentry because it consists of some big landlords whose interests had to be safeguarded.

The Tenancy Legislation as enacted in Bombay has created bitterness in the minds of the people. It has sown seeds of litigation (about 3000 to 5000 suits in each taluka) and the poor man has become poorer. The number of suits now pending before each appellate authority is an index of the sorry state of affairs.

It appears that the land problem cannot be solved in this fashion. An impartial tribunal consisting of representatives of landlords and tenants should be set up under the chairmanship of an expert on land problems. Such a Tribunal could go in to the question of land reforms and recommend to the Government the measures to be adopted. Half-hearted proposals cannot solve this eternal National problem.  
Sirsi —Shri S. S. Nejjur

#### R. L. Foundation Library Opened in Nagpur

Nagpur: The Nagpur Branch of the R. L. Foundation Library was opened at the Library Hall of the "Nagpur Times" Office on 15th November. Mrs. Vimalabai Deshpande is the Secretary of this Library on behalf of the R.L. Foundation Trust, Bombay.

The R. L. Foundation library will be open to the public in the morning and evening from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Books on Libertarian philosophy, Economics, Politics and Sociology will be available to the public on condition of safe and quick return. Facilities for reading newspapers, magazines and periodicals will also be provided to the reading public.

The "Nagpur Times" Library will also be combined with the R. L. Foundation library.

## New Books Added to R. L. Foundation Library

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Aryabhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay during the last month.

Howard Committee: *General Education in a Free Society.*  
 Pearson, Lester B.: *Democracy in World Politics.*  
 Ganguli, B. N.: *India's Economic Relations With the Far Eastern and Pacific Countries.*  
 Bolitho, Hector: *Jinnah; Creator of Pakistan.*  
 Lumby, E. W. R.: *Transfer of Power In India, 1945-7.*  
 Huxley, Aldous: *Collected Short Stories.*  
 Sitwell, Osbert: *Great Morning.*  
 Frankel, Charles: *Case For Modern Man.*  
 Jones, Coronwy A.: *United Nations For the Classroom.*  
 Bartlett, Frederic: *Study of Society.*  
 Parsons, T.: *Economy and Society.*  
 Oliphant, M. L.: *Atomic Age.*  
 Curtis, Lionel: *Civitas Dei.*  
 Emerson, Rupert: *Representative Government in Southeast Asia.*  
 Hartog, Lady: *India: New Pattern.*  
 Mumford, Lewis: *Transformations of Man.*  
 Walker, Richard L.: *China Under Communism.*  
 Morris-Jones, W. H.: *Parliament In India.*  
 Wicksell, Knut: *Lectures on Political Economy, Vol. II. (General Theory).*  
 Wicksell, Knut: *Lectures on Political Economy. Vol. II. (Money).*  
 Johnston: *Pocket Atlas of the World. Crescent and Green.*  
 Park, Robert Uzra: *Race and Culture.*  
 Nathan, Peter: *Retreat From Reason.*  
 Clausewitz, Carl Von: *On War. Vol. I.*  
 Clausewitz, Carl Von: *On War. Vol. II.*  
 Clausewitz, Carl Von: *On War. Vol. III.*  
 Russell, Bertrand: *Why I am Not a Christian.*  
 Spiegel, Henry William: *Development of Economic Thought.*  
 Culati, I. S.: *Capital Taxation in a Developing Economy.*  
 Dixon, C. Aubrey: *Communist Guerilla Warfare.*  
 Alexander, Horace: *New Citizens of India.*  
 Gangulee, N.: *What to Eat and Why.*  
 Feldman, Herbert: *Constitution For Pakistan.*  
 Hobman, D. L.: *Welfare State.*  
 Corbett, Jim: *My India.*  
 Mehta, Hansa: *Adventures of King Vikrama.*

Hutheesing, Krishna: *With No Regrets; Krishna Hutheesing's Autobiography.*  
 Keay, F. F.: *Indian Education in Ancient and Later times.*  
 Macdonell, A. A.: *Vedic Grammar for Students.*  
 Madan, Balkrishna: *India and Imperial Preference: Study in Commercial Policy.*  
 Crawford, J. A.: *Mosquito Reduction and Malarial Prevention.*  
 Dharker, C. D.: *Lord Macaulay's Legislative Minutes.*  
 Hill, W. W. Douglas P.: *Bhagavadgita.*  
 Dey, Mukul: *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh.*  
 Hampton, H. V.: *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education.*  
 Dongerkery, S. R.: *Universities in Britain.*  
 Karunakaran, K. P.: *India in World Affairs. Aug. 1947-Jan. 1950.*  
 Shay, Theodore L.: *Legacy of the Lokamanya: Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.*  
 Hume, R. E.: *Thirteen Principal Upanishads.*  
 Radhakrishnan, S.: *Dhammapada.*  
 Indian Council of World Affairs: *Indian-American Relations.*  
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