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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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.....
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		IN THIS ISSUE	
		PAGE	PAGE
EDITORIAL	...	1	Metal Mirror Of Kerala
			by K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy .. 9
The Communist Party's Manifesto			DELHI LETTER .. 11
by M. A. Venkata Rao	..	4	Book Review .. 13
			Gleanings from the Press .. 13
Mr. Nehru And His Lieutenants			News & Views .. 14
by M. N. Tholal	7	Dear Editor .. 15

EDITORIAL

NEHRU-MENON'S 'RED' HELL FOR INDIA.

THE Indian National Congress, as if by inexorable fate, is wending its way towards the dangerous Red precipice. The sobering influence on the tempestuous Nehru having been removed by the sudden and untimely demise of Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel, and by the exit from the Congress of the sagely Grand Old Man Shri Rajagopalachari, this once great organisation has been now rendered easily vulnerable to the corroding influence of the crypto-communists that have gathered within its fold in all their strength. Gandhian leaders like Rajendra Prasad are no longer in control of the Congress, though they are put up there as idols to evoke respect and worship of the ignorant crowds. The rich offerings made by these worshipful multitudes at the altar of the Congress are actually enjoyed by the crypto-communists of whom Mr. Krishna Menon is the High Officiating Priest. The super-God Nehru is so mightily pleased with this showing of his communist devotees that he does not think it below his dignity to come down from his high pedestal to aid and protect the High Priest Mr. Krishna Menon and at times even to become his palanquin-bearer and to curse Mr. Menon's critics with the words 'You go to hell!'

Lest this picture of the Congress be deemed to be overdrawn and exaggerated, we would draw the close attention of the interested persons to the speech Mr. Nehru made recently while inaugurating the Congress Election Campaign at Bombay, in support of Mr. Krishna Menon against the rival candidate Acharya Kripalani, the National Patriot and Veteran ex-Congress President. The gravamen of the charge against Mr. Menon is that he is pro-Red in his foreign policies and gives twists and turns to the basic policies of the Congress so as to minimise the seriousness of the Chinese menace to India's Northern Borders. Even as regards his recent Goa action, he is believed to have taken this adroit step, by way of seizing this golden opportunity given to him by Salazar's foolish colonial policy to rehabilitate himself into public favour which he had lost by his attitude on the China issue. Another motive behind this step, it is surmised, is to drive a wedge between Mr. Nehru and the Western Free Nations and ultimately to draw India perforce within the orbit of the Communist bloc in International politics. But Mr. Nehru did not reply to these accusations against Mr. Menon. His personal attachment for Mr. Menon seems to have completely overpowered his sense of discrimination and political insight. In his valiant but unsuccessful effort to defend Mr. Menon, Mr. Nehru unwittingly enough,

gave away the whole case of Mr. Menon, when he said that he did not agree with everything that Mr. Menon said, as if Mr. Menon was incapable, even as Defence Minister, of properly weighing and evaluating his words—in fact people think that Mr. Menon uses words inconvenient to Mr. Nehru, with above-mentioned definite intention and purpose. As regards our Defence Forces and Policies, all that Mr. Nehru could say in favour of Mr. Menon was that he was slowly building up our Defence Forces on modern lines. But Mr. Nehru forgot, to reply to the charge that Mr. Menon was trying to politicise the Defence Services and thus break the morale of the top officials in the Army and also failed to explain how, in the absence of adequate forces now available, Mr. Menon proposed to meet the Chinese challenge and whether he was agreeable to take Western military aid if need be to hurl back the Chinese, without doing any violence to India's Neutrality. The overall impression of his speech was that it would prove to be more a liability than an asset to Mr. Menon's electioneering campaign and would work greatly to the advantage of Acharya Kripalani and his supporters, despite the abuses and invectives Mr. Nehru directed against the latter. The speech brought out Mr. Nehru in his true colours as a close collaborator, fully hand in glove with Mr. Menon, in the latter's perfidious mission to paint India Red.

Thus the peril of Mr. Menon to India's safety and integrity stems as much from his Defence and Foreign policies as from the unstinted support

and heart-felt blessings that they receive from Mr. Nehru who is, so to say, under the hypnotic spell of his Defence Minister.

The voters of North Bombay must therefore beware betimes of this vicious Nehru-Menon combine and break it by voting Mr. Krishna Menon out of power in the coming General Elections. Otherwise this Grand Alliance of Mr. Nehru and Menon will send India and her people to "Red Hell"

THE KASHMIR ISSUE.

The Kashmir issue is likely to come up for debate in the U.N. Security Council at no distant date. Pakistan's recent attempt to revive a debate in the U.N. Security Council on Kashmir, on the basis of the now defunct Graham Report is only calculated, as Mr. C.S. Zha the Resident Representative of India at the U.N., has rightly put it 'to exploit the Council as a propoganda forum against Government of India.'

India's forceful refutation of the allegation made against her by Pakistan that she has closed the doors against the latter for negotiations on the Kashmir problem, is supported by the sporting offer recently made by Mr. Nehru to negotiate a settlement of this problem on the basis of the Status Quo in Kashmir. The old Plebiscite offer made by Mr. Nehru in this regard can no longer be invoked by Pakistan in the present changed circumstances, though it would have perhaps worked well in the disturbed conditions prevailing in the whole of Kashmir when this offer was originally made. But the Pakistan Govt. was then in too truculent a mood to consider it favourably.

Notwithstanding the loud vehement repudiation of the Two Nations theory by Mr. Nehru, it cannot be seriously maintained that this theory was not fully worked out with the joint consent of the Congress and the Muslim League, in bringing about a partition of India and particularly of the old Provinces of Bengal and Punjab. The Partition of Kashmir on the basis of cease-fire line would be quite realistic and democratic in spirit in that it would meet half way the Two Nations Theory by which Pakistan swears and also appease the Secular conscience of Mr. Nehru, as also fulfil the democratic aspirations of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, as expressed by them consistently in the General Elections held so far in that State. Another great advantage of this solution would be that it would facilitate the forging of a strong Indo-Pakistan joint defence against the Chinese who are menacing the Indo-Pakistan Northern Borders.

DEMOCRACY AND PARTY SYSTEM

Parliamentary Party System as practised today in India, has come in for a great deal of criticism and even for condemnation at the hands of some political thinkers. Prof. S. Kogekar is one more addition to this group of critics. In his presidential address to the Indian Political Science

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Conference. he suggested for serious consideration of Indian political thinkers and leaders whether the present Party System could not be abandoned in favour of a broad National Front of political parties for the effective promotion of planned national development, based on an agreement between political parties on the fundamentals of national policies.

But Prof. Kogekar's suggestion bristles with a number of fallacies. The National Front consisting of such mutually warring political elements is feasible and conceivable only in a national emergency or for a limited purpose. But it is highly problematic whether it could serve the purpose of a truly National Government as envisaged by Prof. Kogekar which will place national interests above narrow sectional or party interests. Then again in India the Parties are not even agreed on the fundamental principles laid down in the Constitution. 'Constitutionalism' that is, a cultivated sense of due respect for the sanctity of the Constitution has long been abandoned by the Congress, the premier political organisation of the country in its misplaced and misguided zeal for imposing socialism on the country at a bound. Prof. Kogekar's assumption that Indian people are committed to national planning of the kind that is being enforced by the Congress Government today in India is not warranted by facts and realities of the situation. Opposition to such planning is mounting in volume and strength and is being crystallised under the banner of the Rightist Parties like the Swatantra and Jana Sangha.

In the light of these facts the suggestion for a National Front appears to be impracticable and even dangerous to the proper functioning of democracy. It will surely help the acceleration of the process of ONE PARTY RULE already set in motion by the Congress in the country. The more practical solution of this problem would be the one suggested by the Swatantra Party which is to allow the members of the Legislatures the fullest freedom of expression in all matters except those which involve fundamental tenets of the Party to which the members belong and thus to enable the members to represent their constituencies not merely in name but also in spirit and reality, which is of the very essence of a true system of Representative Government. If Party System is not to be considered as an inevitable adjunct of a democratic form of Government—in fact Party System as we conceive it today came into being in the Western countries only in the nineteenth century long after the French Revolution—then this system may well be abolished, as an experimental measure in the first instance, in the Village Councils and Local Boards and also Municipalities, by barring the candidates in the elections to these Bodies from contesting their seats on party labels. If the experiment proves encouraging this bar could be extended thereafter to other Representative Institutions embrac-

ing wider areas. This will also help the Indian Body-politic to gradually evolve that the late Mr. M. N. Roy so brilliantly conceived for the first time, as 'PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY' which should be clearly distinguished from the dangerous concept of a Permanent National Front of political parties.

HERE AND THERE

Mr. Morarji Desai recently reprimanded in one of his speeches, the one-track minded persons who thought that heavy industries alone could boost up the country's economy. 'This was' he said, 'an erroneous impression which would be disastrous for the country.' Mr. Nehru, it is expected will shortly come out with a counter-statement strongly denouncing Mr. Morarji as a person possessed of Feudal Age mentality.

India is justly proud of the magnificent victory that her cricketers won against the M.C.C. team in the Test Match. But it is reported that our Angrej-Hatao-walas (Down with English fanatics) are unhappy at this mastery of the English game by Indians and its growing popularity in India. They fear that might encourage Indians to master the English language and make it very popular with the Indians. They are reported to be thinking of starting an agitation of 'Hatao Cricket' (Down with Cricket.)

Mr. Nehru in a speech at Bombay gave a realistic and graphic picture of his socialistic pattern operating in India under his benign rule. He said "Our Friends in the private sector have benefited a great deal from planning and their condition is much better today than ever beyond all expectations." Rajaji only describes this Pattern in his own inimitable language as 'License Quota-Permit Raj'

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said at a meeting in Bombay that there was nothing foreign about India's foreign policy, which was only an expression of its national sovereignty. Indian patriots will thank Mr. Menon for revealing the true nature of India's Foreign Policy on the eve of the Elections. In fact our Foreign Policy is not 'Foreign' and National Policy is not 'National' as all the Policies of the Indian Government are Soviet Oriented.

NEWS ITEM.

A primary school in Poonch District of Jammu and Kashmir State has been shifted to another place as a dowry for school mistress. State Minister Bakshi Gulam Mohmed during this recent tour of the District received a strange application from the girl pupils of the primary school at Darhal that "we have lost our school. Our teacher took a fancy to a boy of neighbouring village married him and shifted the school to the village as part of her dowry."

The Communist Party's Manifesto

M. A. Venkata Rao

The objectives of the Communist Party in programmes of work (Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary) are a complete contradiction of the very notions of free economy, free society and free culture.

The Communist Party of India (as is now recognised by people in authority and by a considerable section of the intelligentsia) is a subordinate limb of international communism which is part of the global activities and foreign policy of the Soviet Russian State called the USSR.

It is natural to neglect views and groups opposed to our convictions as not being congenial. But in politics and defence, it is more important to study the moves and tactics of one's opponents and possible opponents than to dwell with satisfaction on the agreement of allies with our purposes.

During this election time, it is necessary for voters to be informed of the meaning and drives of the Communist Party policies as embodied in their election manifesto.

Informed students should help the general run of voters to understand the implications of the communist party manifesto.

The first section of the CPI's manifesto gives a criticism of the work of the Congress Government in a nutshell from their point of view.

It is couched in a wide global point of view and views India and the work of its government after independence in the last fourteen years from the standpoint of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. The words—peace, socialism, the struggle of peaceful communist states led by Soviet Russia against "imperialist war-mongers" led by the USA, liquidation of colonialism etc. occur in a crucial sense in the opening section. The CPI views Indian affairs as contributing to Soviet world policies!

This becomes explicit in the last concluding section where the ingredients of Soviet Policy are mentioned in the very terminology of Soviet Russia.

In fact the entire terminology and point of view of the Manifesto are cast in the rigid Marxist-Leninist-Khrushchovist stereotype with which we are familiar in Soviet political literature and propaganda. The Indian disciples have learnt the language of their masters in the Kremlin to perfection.

The first section mentions all the counts of the critique levelled against the Congress Govern-

ment by the spokesmen of other parties with gusto while adding some of its own.

High prices, high taxation, corruption, extravagance, lack of relief to the common man, continuation of high disparities in income, failure in national integration as evidenced by increasing casteism, regionalism, communalism as evidenced by Congress collaboration with the Muslim League in Kerala, even anti-democratic procedures such as the arbitrary dismissal of the properly elected Kerala communist Government by the President, partiality as shown in backing capitalists against the just interests of labour, use or misuse of police power in favour of capital and against labour, and so on are urged with fervour.

The Manifesto complains that the rate of growth of industrialisation has been tragi and uncertain being the lowest among undeveloped Countries!

The Congress Government is accused of failure to perform the promises of plenty and full employment to the common man held out to him at the time of independence and during the last two elections.

It is to be noted that though the CPI makes these criticisms (along with others of other parties), the very policies advocated by it are being adopted by the Nehru Government and that the unsatisfactory results actually flow from the pro-communist policies in force!

If the objectives and methods of the communist party were put into effect and pursued with single-minded zeal (as they would be when the country goes fully communist), the very miseries listed by the election manifesto of the CPI would be intensified several-fold!

The CPI approves of the pattern of the present Five Year Plans with their excessive weight accorded to heavy industries and low priority given to consumer goods industries and the private sector.

It is this pattern that has starved the common man of the goods he needs for daily life—food grains, cloth, housing, medicines. Also, the social overheads needed to stimulate industrial growth and provide essential amenities to the people like roads, bridges, railway and water communications and transport, warehouses, regulated markets, public health measures, maternity relief, child welfare, old age pensions, minimum wages, elementary and technical schools, engineering, medical and agricultural colleges, seed farms,

agricultural extension services bringing advanced methods to the notice of the farmer through demonstration farms and so on—these social overheads also called **infra-structure** of economic organization are sufficiently large, expensive and permanent to require State action calculated to stimulate and lead without supplanting private effort and enterprise.

In India this aspect of State activity is being starved of funds on accounts of the large and overwhelming responsibilities that the Government have taken upon themselves in the line of direct production through their own bureaucracy using State funds and management. The CPI has no right to complain of the defects of the Congress administration since they flow from policies imitated from Soviet Russia which would be followed by them (if they attained power) far more ruthlessly and completely with results far worse in terms of the welfare of the common man.

If the present pattern is carried through to their logical conclusion of complete State ownership and management of all means of production and communication transport and distribution as the CPI desires and criticises the Congress for not doing, prices will rise much higher increasing the misery of the common man. Essential consumer goods—food, clothing, housing, medicine, schooling, social amenities etc. will remain in short supply. This can be realised from the present condition of the common people of the USSR as indicated by the speeches of Soviet leaders themselves from Khrushchov downwards. Food grains, meat and eggs and vegetables and fruits, clothing, housing, medicines, and other household necessities are still scarce and are obtainable only at high prices in the USSR even after 45 years of rigid, totalitarian Planning! Khrushchov has found it necessary to compensate the hunger of the common people through an appeal to their patriotism and imaginative hope in the declaration of free food and free necessities of other kinds after the next twenty years! Meanwhile the unfortunate Russian people whose misery is shared by those of the East European States within the Iron Curtain continue in a state of deprivation. Without this knowledge, our people are likely to be taken in by the propagandist declarations of the CPI in favour of State control of the economy in all spheres and lines of production.

The Manifesto calls for a more rapid expansion of the public sector i.e. Government owned and managed industries and for further expansion of State trading. In fact, it calls for the nationalisation of the remaining private-sector-big-industries and for the complete monopolisation of internal trading in food grains.

It calls for the nationalisation of banking as an immediate matter of urgency.

As a measure of anti-colonialism, it calls for the nationalisation of foreigner's plantations—tea, coffee and rubber.

Of course the next step is nationalisation of Indian plantations.

These measures are in the same line of development as is adopted by the Congress Government and will be taken in due course after the elections if the Congress is sure of this eventuality.

The corruption and inefficiency in Government management and service in general complained of by the manifesto (like others) will **not diminish** by this extension of communist centralisation of economic power.

In fact, much of the source of corruption stems from the excessive power of patronage accruing to Government agencies by this Statist policy—the power to confer affluence and fantastic rates of profit by way of permits, licences and quotas.

It is the government controls that are the source of corruption. The remedy is not the completion of centralisation as is advocated by the CPI in imitation of the USSR but in reversing the policy of maximisation of government power and adopting that of **minimum government**.

We must **limit** the functions and powers of government in order to obtain easier prices, abundance of consumer goods and a rise in the standards of living of the common man.

The Manifesto makes the charge that under Congress government the disparity in the incomes of people has increased enormously—only a small number of contractors, highplaced engineers and politicians benefitting from the tremendous expenditures of the Government. It alludes to the committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the question of where all this development expenditure of astronomical proportions running into thousands of crores of rupees has gone and is going. It says significantly that the committee's report has not yet seen the light of day with the suggestion that it is not likely to be published. The results will show the political and bureaucratic beneficiaries all too plainly!

The attack on big business in the Manifesto is due to dogma borrowed from Moscow. The slogan of classless society that it implies is psychologically impossible of fulfilment. If the class of big business owning private property and risking it in industrial production and commercial distribution is abolished by force as is done by socialism and communism, a new class of the possessors of political power will take its place. The New Class will have both political or police power and economic power in actual fact, though in theory they will not possess private property.

The top leaders of the communist party in a communist State enjoy the good things of the world—palatial buildings with rich furnishings, the services of servants and State vehicles, free medical services—the best the country can afford—etc. etc. and are in no sense in a poorer condition than the top leader of the democratic capitalist world!

The Manifesto complains that present taxation is soft on the rich class while it is hard on the poorer classes. For evidence it points to the tenderness in the direct taxation which affects the income-tax-paying richer classes and the contrasted hardship to the poorer classes in the matter of indirect taxation on consumer goods. Now if the big business class is abolished, the investment that it furnishes for new production at its own risk would have to be furnished by the Government itself. As the Government cannot manufacture wealth itself even in socialist states, the money burden now resting on the rich classes will have to be extracted by the Statist socialist government from the proletariat itself. The burden of state contribution in one way or other will rest more heavily on the poor-workers and peasants than under capitalism!

Indian voters have therefore to consider deeply the long term consequences, human nature being what it is, by way of further burdens and loss of liberty that will ensue if the policies recommended by the CPI are put into effect.

We shall have exchanged King Stork for King Log!

The CPI also uses the argument of the others that the present plans give too small a scope to small industries which alone are capable of affording widespread employment when stimulated all over the countryside in a planned way.

But under the Soviet pattern of Planning which we have adopted, there is no scope for small scale and cottage industries at all. Unemployment is controlled in Soviet Russia by diverting manpower into military production and advanced scientific research as into the conquest of space which have no immediate consumer value.

Also, under a system of dictatorship, economies of production can be set aside and more people than necessary can be employed at the cost of the total economy of the State. The losses in individual units of production are passed on to other units. It is impossible to calculate the costs of production and profit and loss in a totally controlled economy such as obtains in Soviet States.

The imbalances as indicated by disproportionate prices for consumer goods such as 400 roubles for a pair of pants and 15 roubles for a lunch etc. are due to the impossibility of calculating costs and adjusting supplies to ascertained demand in the absence of a free market economy.

The later sections of the manifesto make great play of the words—national, democratic, unity, integration, world peace, culture etc.

The language may take the ordinary reader unawares. It will mislead him into thinking that the CPI is nationalist and democratic in spirit and is a great devotee of national culture!

This would be a great misfortune for the country if the communists are allowed to get away with it.

Communism of the variety we have to deal with and as embodied in the CPI which is a limb of international communism (which in turn is a puppet of Soviet Russia as a huge imperial power aiming in dead seriousness at world empire) has no truck with nationalism.

Nationalism in the sense of the people of a country regarding their own country as the highest social value and as demanding rightly the ultimate loyalty of their will and mind and heart is not recognised by communism. It is wedded to internationalism of the working class proletariat. Indian communists put world communism under the lead of Soviet Russia as the highest centre of their loyalty and have stifled their own loyalty to India as the country of their birth and social fraternity and culture. This has been rendered abundantly clear in their attitude to the Chinese invasion of Ladakh which they refuse to call military aggression but only a misunderstanding."

The foreign policy they advocate is exactly the same as that of Soviet Russia. They support Soviet Russia's foreign policies wholeheartedly including their nuclear programmes. They accuse the USA as the world's Enemy number One. They refer to Soviet Aid as free from political strings and entirely disinterested but the aid from the USA and the free world are in their eyes entangling. It is clear that they want India to sever connections with the free world and come to depend for everything on Soviet Russia and its 'satellites'. This section shows the machine-made character of the CPI's attitudes and policies most clearly and throws up their onesided adherence to the communist bloc. It is not neutralism and noninvolvement as contemplated by Nehru but a total surrender to Soviet leadership in foreign and domestic affairs.

The Indian voter should study the CPI's manifesto carefully with this background in mind when he will come to realise how dangerous it is from the standpoint of national independence as well as economic prosperity and the happiness of the common man.

Mr. Nehru And His Lieutenants

By M. N. THOLAL

HERE is about the relationship between Prime Minister Nehru and Defence Minister Menon a good deal of misunderstanding in the country. This misunderstanding is due to the people's ignorance of the type of man they have for their Prime Minister. Those who know Mr. Nehru intimately know what he stands for. They know that he stands foursquare for Jawaharlal Nehru. Had that not been the case, the country would not have suffered division in 1948. But that is another story. Here we are concerned with the type of men Mr. Nehru likes to have for his colleagues, and I had a close view of that type when I was on the editorial staff of the *National Herald* in the late thirties.

Even before the daily started in Lucknow there was a very influential section of Congressmen there which did not call it the *National Herald* but substituted the word "National" by the surname of the Managing Director of the paper. We of the editorial staff often wondered what made Mr. Nehru select that particular individual for the managing directorship of the paper. (The reader will have to wait for the reason which follows.) He had been a lieutenant of his great father, Motilal Nehru, and his qualities of head and heart could not have been a mystery to his great son. The most eminent man among the directors, apart from Mr. Nehru, was Acharya Narendra Deo, and he found it necessary to complain to the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Nehru, that the Managing Director was mostly recruiting men of his community for the staff.

MODUS OPERANDI

To this Mr. Nehru replied from England that he did not care to which community members of the staff belonged so long as they were competent. That was, as any one can see, and as we all saw later, not only putting a premium on communalism, which Mr. Nehru condemns in every speech he makes, but also a stab in the back of the *National Herald*. In any case, it was a rebuff to Acharya Narendra Deo who had tried to do his plain duty as a director, and very naturally he withdrew into his shell and had precious little to do with the *Herald* thereafter. That is what happens to sensitive men in association with Mr. Nehru. The saying was already current in Lucknow that "no gentleman can work with him."

The Managing Director selected a close relative as General Manager one of whose chief qualifications was that he had little experience of any kind for the job. Machinery had to be bought. He went to Bombay and purchased a

rotary which had been lying idle for some years. It took all the genius of Lucknow's mechanics and engineers to make it move, and the first issue of the paper was a sight for the gods. It was a horror. Later it was found that things had been purchased for about twice their market price and defalcations ran to about half the amount collected from shareholders. So much for the General Manager, who had to go after Mr. Nehru had declared at a meeting of the Board of Directors that the Managing Director had "not even the brain of a patwari (village official)". That did not prevent Mr. Nehru from selecting the same man with the same brain as one of the Central Ministers when he became Prime Minister. (He was a failure again and had to leave.) Next there was a general manager who had lived in Germany for some years. Mr. Menon, our Defence Minister, has lived in England for 29 years. What greater qualification do you want, dear reader, in your Defence Minister?

The choice of the Editor was even more interesting. At first it was rumoured that Mr. Nehru would bring some one from England to edit the paper. That did not happen and the paper started with the Editor's name appearing as Acting Editor. Soon financial considerations, resulting from the paucity of funds and defalcations allegedly prevented any invitation to any outstanding personality to come and take over the job. But surely some one could have been found in the vast Congress organisation to fill the post without being much of a burden on the paper. But the search was ruled out because an editor was simply not wanted. The Managing Director wanted to be the de facto Editor and to have all the powers of the editor in his hands. The News Editor, although he could not turn out a decent editorial every day or even every other day, wanted his name to appear as Editor and to this end was prepared to let all editorial power to be exercised by the Managing Director. In this bargain the sufferer was the paper. But then who cared for the paper?

COMPETITION IN RECRUITING DUFFERS

Things came to such a pass that this Acting Editor once blurted out to me, "The Managing Director wants all men of his community. I'll have all South Indians on the editorial staff." And yet it was not communalism that was the motivating force. The real motive was self-interest based on the idea that men of the same community will be loyal. A man who cannot take his stand on his ability has to strengthen his position by hav-

ing loyal men as his subordinates. Thus an hierarchy of incompetent men follows the appointment of an incompetent head.

The Acting Editor, who became Editor, was a scatter-brained fellow who was in the habit of contradicting what he wrote in the first or second paragraph of the leading article in his third and fourth paragraph. I was the leader-writer but he would write the main leading article everyday to be able to claim that he had written it. I pointed out his self-contradictions and he became so nervous that he asked me to edit his leading article "mercilessly" every day. This I did for years. Sometimes I had to rewrite the whole article. But he was always able to claim the authorship. So it did not matter.

Between the Managing Director and the Editor there seemed to be a competition in recruiting duffers. While the blunders of the Managing Director's men remained a closely-guarded secret, those of the Editor's duffers were published in the paper. Things came to a head and the Directors, headed by Mr. Nehru, had to appoint a man to find out who committed the mistakes which appeared every day in the paper! The man appointed against the wishes of the Managing Director and the Editor did his job so well that both of them were mighty angry with him and he had to go. The presumption that formed the basis of his appointment was that the Editor did not know, and could not know, who was responsible for the blobs in the paper. That being the case he was adjudged absolutely unfit to be the editor. But that did not seem to occur to any one! Nor did the Editor take the appointment as a vote of censure on him. Perhaps it would be truer to say he preferred to swallow it. Not that the Editor did not know. He had appointed duffers to shine as one-eyed among the blind, and he was shielding his men. He simply did not want, like the Managing Director, competent men under him. It was not in his interest. That is what inevitably happens when an incompetent man is placed on top. The whole staff is selected on the basis of inefficiency. And if there is by chance a competent man, trouble is sure to arise.

Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost, became the principle of almost every one. Loyalty to Nehru paid. Loyalty to the Managing Director paid. It paid because they could help. How could loyalty to the paper pay? The paper could not help. So it came to this that almost every one who counted became a saboteur. It was a heartrending experience.

RAFI KIDWAI TAKES A HAND

After some years one of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's spies found I was re-writing the editor's leaders. He came to see me and I hurriedly put the Editor's stuff in one of the drawers of my table. He had noticed it and when I went out for something he

came in, opened the drawer and found out what I had been doing. Three-quarters of the leader that day was wholly mine with as much of the Editor's struck out, apart from the editing of the rest. So Rafi came to know what was going on in the office and through him the other directors, and that was the end of my old friendship with the Editor! The Devil soon took me as the hindmost and I was shunted out. In fairness to Mr. Nehru I must say he was in prison when this happened and he was displeased at my departure and wanted me back. But a Director belonging to Delhi, who alone was out of prison when this happened, did not follow his advice.

Long before I left the Herald, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had made up his mind to reduce Khaliqzaman to zero, by having him ousted from the chairmanship of the Lucknow Municipal Board, by sponsoring letters to the Editor against him. The latter had already been jilted by the Congress High Command—Maulana Azad blames Mr. Nehru for it in his *India Wins Freedom*—after the Congress had entered into a gentleman's agreement with the Muslim League in U.P. to form a coalition cabinet after the general elections of 1936. The campaign in the Herald made Khaliqzaman more bitter against the Congress, particularly as he had to go. That made him unfurl the banner of Pakistan. The whole editorial staff was against those letters to the Editor being published against that prince among gentlemen, but could not resist the pressure of the Managing Director and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, also a director. "After all," they said, "They are only letters to the Editor!" Thus it was that the National Herald instigated the unfurling of the banner of Pakistan by that great lieutenant of Motilal Nehru and that great gentleman of U.P. who knew not how to flatter, and not knowing that that knew nothing. I am in the habit of summarising situations in verse and this is how I did it that time:

To be a leading Congressman
This much you ought to know:
To stand foursquare for self against
All national winds that blow!

After that meeting of the Directors at which Mr. Nehru was reported to have denied that the Managing Director had even the brain of a Patwari, we thought he was on the way out, but Kidwai corrected me. "Why? How can he go?" he said, "He is loyal to the Nehru family". And the Herald continued to be a hotbed of intrigue.

STORY OF A CORRECTION

Preference for loyalists is not without its reasons. A lady closely related to Mr. Nehru once made a speech criticising the Congress High Command for not seizing the golden opportunity offered by the war to start a movement. For

such criticism Subhas Chandra Bose had been expelled from the Congress. The speech was reported in the Herald. The lady, realising she had made a mistake, denied the speech and Mr. Nehru wrote me a letter — I was acting as Editor then—condemning us as irresponsible people, and asking me to hold an inquiry as the lady had told him there was no reporter present. Our reporter was in fact presiding over the meeting held under the auspices of the Students' Federation. A subeditor was also present and had confirmed the contents of the report before it was published. I wrote back to Mr. Nehru as much in our defence. But, lo and behold, a couple of days later the same reporter who had stuck to his report, of his own accord came to me and began apologising for the wrong report, and I had to publish a contradiction, as Mr. Nehru had desired me to do in his letter. That reporter is an MP now. And so is Mr. Nehru's typist, while his personal servant, Hari, was a member of the U.P. Assembly. Shades of Hitler must be jealous at Mr. Nehru's achievements.

Once when I was acting as Editor, my leaders created somewhat of a stir. Mr. Nehru, thinking that some new man had joined the staff sent four foolscap pages of praise from Dehra Dun Jail through a lady who had gone to see him. Rafi Kidwai thought he had enough material to accuse me of sabotage. So he suddenly

entered my office one day and fired the question, "May I ask you something?" "Certainly," I replied. On which he asked, "why were you not writing like this when the Editor was functioning?" "Because, Rafi Sahib," I said, "one cannot be brilliant on chambers of commerce resolutions or convocation addresses, and the Editor used to choose the best subject for himself." "I see," he said a number of times, adding "You are right. This will have to stop." And he started a campaign to get rid of the Editor. But the Editor knew the art of flattery and it was I who had to leave that hotbed of intrigue.

Those who do not know what Mr. Nehru is after, cannot understand why he should allow Mr. Menon to take such liberties. If a man is loyal to you, you would naturally be kind to him. Mr. Menon knows what Mr. Nehru wants, and he is doing his job to the satisfaction of Mr. Nehru. What do a few mistakes now and again matter, when the main purpose is being served? Much can be excused in a man whose loyalty is beyond question. When an inquiry was ordered on the conduct of the late Maharaja of Patiala I —then on the staff of the Pioneer—was jubilant. "What are you feeling happy over?" asked a British colleague. "Nothing is going to happen to that man. He is loyal to the Royal family." And nothing happened to him. So nothing can happen to him who is loyal to the Nehru family.

Metal Mirror Of Kerala

By K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy, B. A.

ABOUT ninety miles to the north of Trivandrum is the ancient village of Aranmula, idyllically situated on the left bank of the river Pamba, in the Thiruvalla Taluk. Famous for its ageold temple consecrated to God Parthasarathi (an aspect of Lord Krishna as the Divine Charioteer of Arjuna) and the spectacular snakeboat regattas held in the first month of the Malabar New Year (August), Aranmula is the home of the unique bellmetal home industry carried on by two families of hereditary craftsmen who alone know the secret of casting exquisite bellmetal mirrors from an alloy of copper and tin.

ARANMULA KANNADI (Aranmula mirror) has gathered around it a tradition and great sanctity. It has been hailed as the finest and rarest example of bellmetal casting. This metal mirror is regarded as one of the most treasured curios of the world. Inspired art and impeccable craftsmanship combine to render the manufacture of the metal mirror one of the most amazing achieve-

ments of indigenous art-crafts as remarkable as the mummification of ancient Egypt.

The origin of the bellmetal industry at Aranmula, the crowning achievement of which is the metal mirror, is lost in obscurity. Tradition and legend aver that nearly four centuries ago, the Chieftain of the Principality of Aranmula, a great patron of arts and crafts, brought down a few families of Kannans, professional casters in bronze, to settle down in his principality and make the ceremonial utensils, decorative lamps, bells and such other articles required for the daily worship in the temple. The Chief endowed the artisans with liberal grants of land and special privileges as incentives to them to stay permanently at Aranmula.

For some reason, the craftsmen proved unsuccessful in their efforts to manufacture the required articles to the satisfaction of the fastidious taste of the Chieftain, who was a great connoisseur of art-crafts. The indignant Chief thought

that the Kannans had grown lazy when provided with all means for a happy settled life. He threatened the artisans with eviction and disgrace if they did not make articles to his exactingly high standards.

The craftsmen who were at their wits' end offered special prayers and sacrifices to the Deity in the temple and decided to make an offering of a unique Crown for the image in the temple. With faith in God, and fear for the Chieftain they laboured hard for many days. The womenfolk for the Kannans threw into the melting pot all their silver ornaments accompanied by prayers and entreaties to the God to save their husbands from ruin and disgrace at the hands of the great Chieftain who was all powerful.

The Crown made out of the combination of copper, silver and tin, the exact proportion of which was at that time quite unknown to the casters, turned out to be marvel of art and craft. Silver-like in colour, and brittle like glass, it shone with a rare effulgence, and when cleaned it acquired the quality of reflection. The Kannans felt overjoyed for they were convinced that the Lord had come to their rescue. The MUKUDAM (Crown) known as the KANNADI BIMBAH (Mirror Image) is even now preserved in the temple and worshipped.

The startling and fortuitous discovery was immediately put to use by the intrepid Chief and the talented craftsmen. The casters worked hard and after a few experiments got at the proper proportion of the various metals and manufactured metal mirrors. The Chief liberally patronised the casters in developing the home industry. The Chief proclaimed that the metal mirror was a gift granted by Lord Parthasarathi in the Aranmula Temple and laid it down that the ARANMULA KANNADI should form one of the eight auspicious articles used in all Hindu homes for religious rites. By observing this rule himself he gave the lead and prominent people in the principality followed suit. The ARANMULA KANNADI thus became an article of everyday use in the Hindu household and it was invested with a halo of sanctity. In some of the outstanding sculptures on stone and metal, and in mural paintings, adorning the famous age-old temples in the State exquisite feminine figures are noticed carrying in their hands mirrors resembling the ARANMULA KANNADI.

Another legend associated with the Aranmula Metal Mirror has an interesting story to tell. There was a very old lady, a grandmother, in one of the Kannan families living close to the Aranmula Temple. Being too old and unable to work she had to depend entirely on the charity of the kind hearted people worshipping at the Shrine. She lived on the goods given by such devotees who looked upon poor feeding as a means to please the Lord. Always on her quivering lips were the words "Aranmula Appa, Annadanaprabho" (Lord

of Aranmula, Lord who provides in food). She believed that her prayers to Lord Krishna resulted in food being provided to her by some devotee or other. One day it so happened that no one gave her any food though she had remained in the temple late in the night till all the poojas were over. With tears and prayers she left the temple and went to her dilapidated hut. Due to extreme hunger she did not get any sleep that night. Without interruption she prayed to God. At dead of night she saw in front of her a lovely boy. "Granny dear, I could not give you any food today. Come with me. You will find some rice and mango pickle near the Kalvilakku (stone lamp) in the courtyard of the temple", so said the boy. Immediately she hastened to the spot and found there rice and mango pickle. She began eating with great relish. The boy sat close to her playing with the broken parts of a bell metal container used for keeping lime for chewing betel leaves. The boy rubbed the two pieces of the bronze container, smearing them frequently with maroti oil used for lighting the same lamp. While partaking the food, the old lady watched with curiosity the boy at his pranks. After eating sumptuously she washed her hands and looked round. But the boy was nowhere to be seen. She saw the two bits of bronze with which the boy had been playing, lying at the foot of the lamp. She took them up and examined the bits when to her astonishment she found out that they were shining like mirrors, and smelling of maroti oil. Being too tired to trek her way back to her residence, the old woman lay at the foot of the stone lamp and slept. She then had a dream in which, some celestial being spoke to her thus, "Oh, dear Granny. Are you not happy now that you have had a fine meal? Did you not notice the shining bits of bell metal? If you do not get any food in future, you take two bell metal bits and rub them with maroti oil. They will then become just like glass. You can sell them to the Chieftain and with the money procure food".

Both these legends go to show that the womenfolk of the Kannans had a big share in the manufacture of Aranmula Metal Mirrors. When the metal for casting the mirrors is being melted, the womenfolk put tiny bits of metals into the fire accompanied by prayers to the Lord in the temple. This practice is being followed even now. Tradition, legend and folk lore combine to invest the Aranmula Metal Mirror with divine grace.

The Aranmula Metal Mirror is cast from a special alloy of tin, copper etc., the exact proportion of which remains a closely guarded secret of two of the surviving families of Kannans at Aranmula. The metal mirror is usually oval in shape, six inches by four inches, and about one-fifth of an inch in thickness and has a bright and polished surface as that of cut-glass mirrors. The

(Continued on page 11)

Election Commissioner's Amazing Performance

(From Our Correspondent)

All major political parties, except the Communist and the PSP, have accepted the Election Commission's offer of facilities for election broadcasts from all-India Radio on the basis of the present strength in Parliament and the number

(Continued from page 10)

polishing of the surface as that of cut-glass mirror is a difficult and delicate job, demanding consummate technical skill and experience, and great patience. A paste of rice, bran and laurel **MARROTI** (*Hydnocarpus Wightiana*) is used for the purpose of polishing. The polished plate is fixed with a mixture of lac and wax on an artistically hand-engraved brass frame. Scientific skill and mastery of craftsmanship of the most advanced type are required for casting these metal mirrors which evoke the envy and wonder of modern masters of metallurgy. The cost of the materials that go into the manufacture of these mirrors is small compared with the extent and quality of the highly skilled labour which the complicated process of manufacture demands at every step.

The different processes in the making of metal mirrors are attended to by the entire family of **Kannans**. The master craftsman prepares the mould, the alloy and wax, and attends to the casting and polishing. The womenfolk help the men in small jobs which do not require much of technical skill. The manufacture of a mirror involves the strenuous efforts of a whole family for four to five days. The price of a fine quality metal mirror is roughly Rs. 30/- to Rs. 45/-. Although the **Aranmula Metal Mirror** cannot compete with the cheap glass mirrors in price and ready availability, it is prized very much by collectors of curios, especially connoisseurs from foreign lands. A home industry in which a lofty creative art and accomplished craftsmanship combine to produce one of the marvels of metallurgy attempted nowhere else in the world, **ARANMULA KANNADI** has remained an object of utility and beauty through the ages.

The art craft of metal mirror casting had centuries before attained its summits in Kerala. During the reign of H. H. Sri Ayilyam Thirunal (1860-1880), he had two big size mirrors cast by local craftsmen. These beautiful mirrors were installed in the Padmanabhapuram Palace. They retain their brilliance even to-day. The making of metal mirrors continues to be a living art craft in Kerala evoking wonder, envy and admiration.

of candidates they are putting up in the coming general elections. They are considered here to have done the right thing as the offer was manifestly unfair, suggesting, as it evidently does, that the Election Commission has a stake in or favours the status quo. The PSP, in a letter to the Chief Election Commissioner, has denied that it ever demanded equal broadcasting time for all parties, irrespective of their size. What it had suggested was that in apportioning time the total number of votes polled by each party at the last general election be also considered. That would obviously have been a fairer basis, as a party may find no or little representation in Parliament while polling a considerable percentage of the votes cast. Should it therefore be denied broadcasting facilities?

The non-Congress parties should have put their heads together and arrived at a common demand, failing concession of which they should have rejected the Election Commissioner's offer. It is a pity that the Opposition parties do not realise the need of a common front against the Congress even where the latter, by virtue of holding the reins of power, is inclined to abuse them in its own interest. There is really little sense in their lament regarding the absence of an effective opposition, if they cannot join forces to produce that effective opposition. The acceptance by the other parties of the Election broadcasts seems to be based on the principle that something is better than nothing, as it certainly always is.

While the Communist Party is certainly right when it says that the Election Commission's proposal in its present form "is heavily weighted in favour of the ruling party," there is little sense in its objection to the inclusion, among the major parties, of the Swatantra Party which in its view, has yet to prove its position through elections. With the "power of big money behind it", the Swatantra Party, according to the Communists, can put up a large number of candidates and therefore secure more broadcasting time than the CPI, which has the status of the main opposition in the Lok Sabha. Before the CPI complains of the power of big money behind the Swatantra Party, it should tell the people wherefrom it gets its not inconsiderable funds.

The people have a right to know whether foreign powers are interfering in our general elections and subsidizing a particular party. Where do the sale proceeds of the Russian literature, that

pouring into India like an avalanche, go? Is it true, as was alleged in the Rajya Sabha, and not denied by the Minister to whom the question was put, that Russian technicians and scientists pass on a high percentage of their salaries to the Indian Communist Party? What is pertinent in this connection is that the allegation has not been denied by the Indian Communist leaders themselves. The Nehru Government seems impotent to prevent this Soviet subsidization of the Indian Communist Party, which constitutes direct interference with Indian affairs and betrays the type of peaceful co-existence the Soviet Government believes in. Trojan horses in all countries everywhere is its guiding motto, even while condemning the existence of foreign bases with the consent of the people concerned and their governments.

AMAZING ADVICE

The Election Commissioner's advice that foreign affairs, particularly our relations with China and the border dispute with her, should not be referred to in the broadcasts is amazing in the extreme. In any democratic country the Election Commissioner would not have dared to proffer such advice, which is obviously in the interest of the ruling party, and lets the cat out of the bag. If it has not been tendered on the advice of the Prime Minister or his disciples, the Home Minister and the Broadcasting Minister, it is born of the kind of subservience that seeks to do what is likely to please the Master. One wonders if the Election Commissioner realises that by proffering that advice he is indirectly infringing the Sovereignty of Parliament.

If the border dispute with China is not to be dealt with, nor, on the same principle, should the border dispute with Pakistan. The Election Commissioner is in fact seeking to take away with one hand what he has offered with the other. In a democratic country a party has the right even to clamour for war against aggressors and to condemn the pusillanimity which rejects it as a solution of the problem. What right has the Election Commissioner to say that the candidates should be afraid of China? That is what his advice amounts to. And if the candidates are to be afraid of China, so will the Parliament that they form after the elections. In the result the Election Commissioner stands for a cowardly Parliament and is dictating the type of men that should be returned to it. Indeed, if the Opposition parties do not make capital of the Nehru Government's cowardice vis-a-vis China, all that need be said is that they do not know their job, for it is the primary business of the Opposition to make what may be called a mountain out of an even alleged molehill, wherever the Government errs or appears to err or can be made to appear to err. It is no part of the duty of the Opposition to prolong their opponent's rule.

When the attention of the Chief Election Commissioner was drawn at a Press Conference to

the fact that All-India Radio had broadcast a news report of Mr. Nehru's speech at a Congress Party election meeting, and he was asked if this constituted an "election malpractice", the Chief Election Commissioner said he "would make a note of it", although he could not say whether or not it amounted to an improper practice. If this is not an improper practice on the part of AIR, there is no sense in the Election Commission dividing broadcasting time among parties, for the Congress Party will be getting, through Mr. Nehru's daily speeches, some time every day and that too during the news broadcasts which among the intelligent are naturally the most popular feature of AIR and listened to more attentively than any other programme. It is to be hoped that the Election Commission will have the courage to revise its opinion and not place Mr. Nehru above all rules and regulations.

NEHRU DROPS THE MASK AGAIN

The violence of the language used by the Prime Minister in Bombay on January 15 in his campaign for Mr. Krishna Menon is an indication of the former's attachment to the foreign policy he is pursuing for self-glorification. "When some students or others come to me and tell me that Mr. Menon should be dropped as a Congress candidate, my reply to them," he said, "is: Go to Hell!" They have in fact a much more attractive alternative and their report should be to go and vote for the main Opposition candidate and persuade others to do the same, and send all Congress candidates to the destination the Prime Minister suggested to them. But minus the strong language he used in describing the attitude of anti-Menon Congressites and others, Mr. Nehru should be considered to be in the right when he said, "I can understand any one not agreeing with the foreign and domestic policies of the Congress, but to say either deliberately or otherwise that my policies are right, but Mr. Menon is distorting them is pure fraud."

To the discerning mind there is an element of fraud in the enunciation of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy, and that is due to the fact that people will not be prepared to support that policy if it is put to them in all its nakedness, and as Mr. Menon sometimes chooses to do on behalf of and in obedience to the Prime Minister. There are many things which Mr. Nehru does not like to say himself and which he makes Mr. Krishna Menon say. The latter in doing so incurs much odium but, if he is the master's voice, as it usually is, Mr. Nehru is bound to come to his aid with all the emphasis at his command.

But what right has Mr. Nehru, it is being asked here, to ask those who think Mr. Menon is distorting his policies to "quit the Congress immediately" and "not come within miles of the Congress"? The Congress is no part of his inheritance and a man can be opposed to his foreign policy and yet have the right to be a Congressman,

so long as he subscribes to the Congress creed. In talking as he did in Bombay Mr. Nehru is only giving further evidence of the dictatorial hold that he has established over the Congress and which he is trying to strengthen through the Congress over the country. That is in fact the main reason why all democrats should find themselves ranged against the Congress, which today cannot boast of even a few members or leaders courageous enough to condemn Mr. Nehru for his extravagant and undemocratic utterances.

As for the charge that the PSP, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh have become "bhai, bhai" to oppose Mr. Menon, it only shows what the country thinks of the latter and of the Prime Minister's foreign policy. It is better, it is being pointed out here, to be "bhai, bhai" with patriots rather than with aggressors like the Chinese or underminers like the Russians, under Mr. Nehru's guidance, implicit or explicit. (Mr. Nehru knew, as it became known later, that the Chinese were occupying Indian territory when the cry of Hindi-Chini "bhai, bhai" were being raised by his followers and admirers.) The allegation that the parties supporting Acharya Kripalani have no common policy seems to indicate that Mr. Nehru does not think that the security of the country can be the basis of a common front against any one or any party.

Book Review

*TAXATION'S NEW FRONTIER

Mr. Joseph S. Thompson, a co-founder of the Federal Pacific Electric Company, San Francisco has long been an advocate of Henry George's views on the land question. In the process of building up an industrial empire from humble beginnings, Mr. Thompson has acquired an intimate understanding of the repressive influence of the existing tax structure on business enterprise. His recently published book "Taxation's New Frontiers" is a call to United States to make a fresh appraisal of its financial policies: "We can establish an era of freedom which will encourage a widespread accumulation of capital and stimulate its use in productive undertakings," Mr. Thompson says, "or we can tax capital into oblivion and strangle our traditional incentive and our steady payrolls to death. This choice is our great modern challenge." Mr. Thompson's call is equally applicable to all those Western Countries who keep dipping deeper into the tax barrel to meet their ever-growing commitments. Great Britain, for example, has recently announced its intention to impose a tax on capital gains, and the income tax net is to be drawn tighter on certain types of business income in Australia which have hitherto managed to escape.

* "Taxation's New Frontier" is obtainable from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 50 East 69th Street, New York, 21, N.Y. Price 1 dollar, post paid.

Mr. Thompson points out that raising public revenue is the least important aspect of taxation. Taxation can bring misery to a people by fining the industrious and thrifty, fostering fraud, creating privilege and imposing a drag on progress. Or it can bring comfort by stimulating and rewarding those who create and produce. He is emphatic that income and capital gains taxes, sales taxes, property taxes and tariffs all discourage production and are therefore improper sources of Government revenue. In Mr. Thompson's view, the true source of public revenue is land: "General taxation should be abolished or used only as a repressive measure and replaced by public collection of the entire rental of land, which is not taxation at all." He quotes Australia's own capital, Canberra, as a classic illustration of what happens when all increases in land value accrue to the nation. Lease in Canberra now sell for hundreds of times what they bought at their first auction in 1924. Increases in Canberra's land values have become so great, that ultimately they will offset the entire cost of establishing the national capital. Mr. Thompson emphasises that exercise of the States' right to the unearned increment, which accrues to the occupancy of land, is not nationalisation. Land would still belong to the title-holder as long as he paid his land tax into the common treasury for the good of all. Unless we regard our land as "the common heritage of all the people and collect our public revenues in a way that spurs—rather than stifles our economic progress," Mr. Thompson warns that "all of the labours of the nation's lawmakers and economists will amount to nothing more than an exercise in futility."

Only 96 pages in length, and most easy to read, Mr. Thompson's book is to be highly recommended as an introduction for those new to Georgist teachings. But it also provides valuable refresher material for Georgians interested in the modern application of their principles.

—M.T.W. in Progress (Australia)

Gleanings from the Press

SILENCE IS GOLDEN

Nothing would be easier than to inflate the difference over the Goa episode until it overcast the entire field of mutual relationships. Nothing would suit and please more a number of nations and, of course, individuals, some even within the Government of India. But when the wise disagree strongly among themselves, they do not allow the disagreement to become an opportunity for their common opponent to benefit to their discomfort. It is gravely disadvantageous to the West to have the Soviet Union regarded as the sole truly anti-colonial white power. It is gravely disadvantageous to India to have to rely for support in international affairs largely upon the Soviet Union. The last thing both India and the West can want is the increase of the influence of

ne Communist nations in India, with all its attendant dangers. However non-aligned India may be, for the West its existence as a democratic country is by itself a support and a safeguard. However mistaken and wrong-headed India may consider the Western nations, for her, too, these homes of democracy and liberty are pillars of strength in a largely autocratic and totalitarian world. Honest men need not fall on one another's necks, but they must not become, even because of serious disagreement, so cool to one another that the dishonest and the vicious can take advantage of both.

—Opinion

News & Views

KRISHNA MENON'S MYSTERIOUS TALK OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH CHINA AND U NU'S VISIT TO INDIA.

"Personally likeable and adored by thousands in his country as Mr. Nehru is in ours, U Nu is, among the outstanding Asian statesmen of our time, easily the closest in spirit and friendship to our country.

The circumstances of his visit this time are, however, rather other than ordinary. Officially there is, of course, nothing more to it than is given out—officially. He will be here on his way back from Kathmandu and will, as on many earlier occasions, avail of the visit to undertake a devout Buddhist's pilgrimage to Sarnath, Rajgir and Gaya. But for neither of this would it obviously have been necessary for him to come all the way here to meet Mr. Nehru.

I have nothing definite to go by. But I recall that despite denials at the time both by our Government and U Nu himself, it transpired later that his last visit here and talks with Mr. Nehru were very purposive. The Sino-Burmese border agreement with a potentially adverse edge on the McMahon Line sector was the provocation then. What is it that's cooking now?

One guess is as good as any. But I, for one, don't like the look of certain things. For instance, Mr. Krishna Menon has lately been rather mysteriously talking of the possibility of China coming round to have a "peaceful" settlement. Then, not very long ago U Nu had a pretty lavish holiday in China. And, come to think, there'll be the interesting backdrop of U Nu's talks with King Mahendra—another China returned dignitary currently happy with Peking".

—Beacheomber's Diary (Thought)

CHANGE OF GOVT. IMMINENT IN INDIA, SAYS ASOKA MEHTA

HASSAN,—Mr. Asoka Mehta, Chairman, Praja-Socialist Party, addressing a public meeting at the Mysore Bank site said that in the world there was a trend towards change and this trend had brought into being the Kennedy administration in U.S.A. Such a change had become imminent in Indian politics also, to replace the crumbling

administration of the Congress.

Mr. Mehta said that the Congress misrule had cost the country five per cent. of the country's territories. And China was increasingly occupying our territories.

The administration, said Mr. Mehta, was becoming corrupt and the Police Department, for instance, was becoming a greater menace than the dacoits. The Police Department, he added, was acting in a curious way by recording only 60 per cent of crimes.

Referring to the unemployment problem, Mr. Mehta said that there were 150 lakhs of unemployed people in the country. The increased production of 46 per cent. was concentrated in a few hands like the Tatas and Birlas who were made to contribute lakhs of rupees to the election fund of the Congress. The difference between the lowest income and the highest was three times that which obtained during the British rule.

The Congress, Mr. Mehta said, was like a mammoth pillar which was crumbling and good people were being thrown out every day. Mistaken misadventure was degenerating the Congress which was leading the country to bankruptcy.

KRISHNA MENON'S CANDIDATURE OPPOSITION FRONT IN BOMBAY

The former office-bearers of the Bombay Pradesh Youth Congress, who recently resigned from the organisation on the issue of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's candidature, have decided to form the "Anti-Menon Youth Front".

Mr. Ramakrishna Bajaj stated that the Front was being formed for the specific short-time purpose of opposing Mr. Menon in the election and would be dissolved thereafter. He appealed to Congressmen who were opposed to Mr. Menon's candidature to come out boldly to fight against him.

The following statement of policy was formulated by the Front:

"Mr. Menon's remaining in power in the Government as India's Defence Minister and spokesman of our foreign policy spells great danger to the country."

"The Front will support Acharya J. B. Kripalani in the election, for this is the only way for defeating Mr. Menon."

JAGJIWAN RAM'S 'FREE RIDE' RAILWAY OFFER RESPONSIBLE FOR CHAOS AND CONFUSION AT CONGRESS SESSION. LOSS OF 25 LAKHS TO RAILWAYS AND TRANSPORT BOARD.

THE LASTING MEMORIES which delegates to the 67th Annual Session of the Indian National Congress will carry home with them will be of utter chaos and confusion, of gross mismanagement and disorder.

It is futile to blame either the "indiscipline" or the "affectionate enthusiasm" or even "some mischief-mongers" for the pandemonium that was the Patna Congress. The Congress leadership would be doing good to no one, certainly not to their

party, by seeking such scapegoats.

The responsibility for the mess created lies squarely on the Bihar Congress leaders, headed by Sri Jagjiwan Ram, Union Minister and Chairman of the Reception Committee.

JAGJIWAN RAM'S RAILWAY OFFERS FREE RIDE

In order to attract people to the Congress session from all parts of Bihar it was propagated throughout the State that special trains would run from every station in Bihar to Patna during the Congress Session. Word had even been made to go round the common folk that on the trains there would be no checking of tickets.

A large number of buses were also run by the Bihar State Transport Board but no fare was charged. It is estimated that the loss to the Railways and State Transport Board due to this action of the Congress Government must be in the neighbourhood of some Rs. 25 lakhs.

FREE RIDE SHOULD ENTAIL FREE MEAL, FREE ENTRY.

The large number of visitors who came to see the Session thought that as they were brought to Patna free of charge, they could enter the Congress Pandal also without purchasing a ticket and it was this that caused the stampede on the first two days of the session.

Twice, the meals prepared in the Common kitchen for the delegates and workers were snatched away by the huge crowd which had assembled to hear Pandit Nehru. Some among the mob actually shouted that as they were brought to the Session free of charge, they must get meals also free. Having said this, they forcibly entered the common kitchen where food was being cooked for delegates and workers and took away everything they could lay their hands on.

Another reason why law and order broke down completely during the Congress Session was that all police officers of the rank of sub-inspectors and above had been drafted to look after the "safe-custody" of the VIPs. The Session was expected to take care of itself.

—The Organiser

DOMESTIC CRISIS IN SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY HINTED

WASHINGTON—Senator William Fulbright told reporters that something was going on in the Kremlin. Very little information was available, but it was thought that what was going on was lined with the difficulties between the Soviet Union and China.

Mr. Fulbright was relaying Secretary of State Dean Rusk's views after Mr. Rusk had briefed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Fulbright is the chairman of the committee.

Speaking to reporters later, Mr. Rusk was not so specific, but said the State Department was looking at reports about developments in Moscow.

"We know there are some problems between China and Russia," he said. "but we must not attempt to reach hasty conclusions as to what it all

means to us. Both countries are committed to world revolution."

Senator Fulbright said that the "mysterious business of Molotov, whether he is or is not going back to Vienna (as head of the Soviet delegation to the International Atomic Agency), is one of the things involved."

Senator Hubert Humphrey, a member of the committee, told reporters "that a grave domestic crisis is going on within the Communist Party." The Russians were short of capital and were having trouble with agriculture, he said. They were also having difficulty in meeting the costs of their military establishment.

The picture of the world Mr. Rusk presented to the committee was somewhat more encouraging than it was a year ago according to the Senators.

Senator Albert Gore told reporters: "There is a modicum of encouragement that the tide may have turned our way in the cold war struggle".

Dear Editor

TAXATION, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THEFT.

There are some people who advocate a single Tax, others who advocate Taxing everything in existence. It is safe to say that none of the Taxers can tell of anything that Taxes have paid for. When we examine the national accounts we find that Taxes are greater than total money existing. This alone shows that Taxes do not pay for anything. If they did there would be as much as Taxes. Furthermore, the people as a whole supply to Government all the Goods and services Government does buy. The people as a whole are taxed to the amount of the value of the goods and services supplied plus an interest charge. Can any tax upholder explain away the above facts? Can any single Taxer tell us for what purpose taxes are levied if it is not to create a Loan market for counterfeit money? The evidence is that taxation is Theft.

Taxers are taxers for one purpose only, that is to enable them to live on the proceeds of Theft. The consequences of that Theft are full asylums, Jails and Infermaries, Wars, Strikes and poverty amidst plenty. Therefore the consequences become the purpose of Taxation. Unemployment is also caused by the abundance of Taxes destroying the market for abundance of wealth. What do taxers do towards production except to steal it for their own comfort? Taxers one and all are thieves and as such should be put to jail for their crimes against society. Tax gatherers are also murderers as well as thieves because every suicide caused by Taxation is plain murder. It is time to end the Tax & Loan swindle and thereby to end the War promoters' business, War being a monstrous promotion by the operators of the Banking Racket.

Devon, England. —G. T. Olarens Shaw

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