

The community of the girl felt outraged and took out a mourning procession. On the way they passed a Muslim school which they asked should close in sympathy with the sufferers. They refused. Stones and brickbats were thrown on the processionists and later a man fired into the crowd killing a man. Crowds of the community of the assaulters thereupon attacked their opposite community and set fire to their houses and killed a good many.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (who is the sole and supreme maker of the law and morality today in free India) was good enough to say that the crime should be condemned. But he was more interested in remarking that the resistance of the girl's community in expressing sorrow and anger was "unhealthy!" We have to live and learn! We agree that there is something unhealthy in the ethos of the communities in India. But a community by reason of its minority status should not be allowed to get off lightly from every attack and crime. Its minority status should not be an amulet that saves it from every responsibility for collective crimes indulged in by their members and exonerated by their accredited leaders

The writer of current topics in The Times of India was more pertinent and helpful in his remark that whole groups and communities are tempted to take the law into their own hands under the impression that justice will not be done to them and their members by the ordinary course of police and law procedure. This is the experience of the mild groups for decades. They are always the sufferers of aggression and (later) sufferers of the misplaced zeal of the authorities who exaggerate their self-defence gestures (often poor indeed and ineffective) and ex-

nerate the horrors of their opponents.

It would be more to the purpose if the Congress government unearthed the apparent conspiracy behind these unfortunate events in Jabalpur that took a toll of 31 lives and the gutting of hundreds of houses in broad daylight! For days the Government of India did not function so far as the aggrieved community was concerned! The strange phenomenon of men in police uniform attacking people of the majority community and setting fire to their houses was reported!

INDIAN TROOPS FOR CONGO

As we go to press, it is learnt that India has decided to send a brigade of 3000 troops to Congo in the service of the UN Mission there. The UN's prestige was at a low ebb and some countries like the UAR had withdrawn their troops. Now India goes to bolster the prestige of the world organisation in its forlorn enterprise. Indian troops will be in position and perhaps will go into action against Congolese armed bands before this issue is out.

This is a grave step that India has taken. At a time when the Chinese aggressors are in occupation of 12000 square miles of Ladakh and Pakistan's President has reverted to type as permanent antagonist of India waiting for some chance to damage her interests, it is a crime against the nation to send a single soldier out of the country. It may be that the UN cause in Congo is sound but surely there are other countries without the foreign aggressor on native soil to be approached for troops!

This is another example of Indian interests being sacrificed for vainglory by India's Prime Minister. The Afro-Asian Resolution on the strength of which India is sending troops to Congo does not unambiguously authorise the UN to use force to disarm all centres of power whether it is that of Tshombe in Katanga or of Mobutu in Leopoldville or of Kalonji or of Gizenga. Some nations like the UAR have already recognised Gizenga as successor of the late Lumumba. And the USA recognises Kasavubu. Kasavubu has ordered his Mobutu-led troops to resist with fire any attempt on the part of the UN forces to disarm. Indian troops firing on Congolese will release undying hatred against India which will be hard to outlive.

Moreover, the situation in Congo is still so delicate with the imminent possibility every hour of the Soviet Union's unilateral action. President Kennedy's reported private warning to Krushchev not to interfere in Congo and Laos does not seem to have had any salutary effect in Laos. For the latest information from Laos is that the Soviets and North Vietnamese are pouring military supplies into Pathet Lo territory, in spite of the warning from the USA!

Mr. Adlai Stevenson USA representative at the UN declared recently that any attempt by Russia to intervene militarily in Laos or Congo would unleash the dreaded nuclear war!

If war breaks out, Indian troops will be caught in an unenviable position, especially owing to our neutrality.

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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

How is the Prime Minister so confident that China will not make further incursions into our territory? How is he certain that they will not make a full scale invasion into Sikkim and Bhutan and Assam and Nepal?

There is a power vacuum in this whole area of South Asia extending to Australia. It is only the USA that is standing in the way of Chinese action. But if China stops short of North East India, the USA will not move to defend us. Even the sympathetic Eisenhower said that the border question challenged by the Chinese is beyond him. Who knows the rights and wrongs of these obscure places and who knows where precisely the MacMahon Line runs? he said.

North-east Assam, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and the whole of Ladakh are therefore easy victims to China and safe for the dragon in the near future.

It is clear that Nehru is relying on Russia to hold China back. But this is a futile hope and utterly unreliable. Recently new maps published in Russia show many Indian areas in Chinese jurisdiction precisely like Chinese maps! India had protested against this even five years ago but today Russia re-issues the maps exactly as before!

There has also been a sudden cessation of hostile ideological conflict between Chinese and Russian thinkers recently (which is ominous). That means that Russia may permit China to undertake some further risky adventure—in Famosa or Laos or India!

Truly free India's defences and diplomacy are in poor hands.

PAKISTAN'S ATTITUDE TO INDIA

Pakistani crowds, mostly students, stoned the Indian High Commissioner's office in Karachi with the police benevolently looking on. There was also an overflow attack on a Mandir and a Sikh temple with rough handling of some Hindu families living on the premises. This was supposed to be in retaliation to Hindu attacks on Muslims in Jabalpur. But it is not known whether it is not the Muslims who took the initiative and used fire arms even against the police in Jabalpur.

The incident throws the relations between the countries back to the old days when the League mentality reigned supreme. President Ayub Khan now speaks exactly as Liaquat Ali Khan spoke about India, who used to refer to Indians as dushman! (enemy). India has already sent the first instalment of the Rs. 83 crores she agreed to give for construction of Pakistan's canals. The justification given by the official appeasers was that this would win the goodwill of Pakistan! If the Congress-Gandhi-ideologists have not yet learnt that the only gift that will finally satiate the rulers of Pakistan and their proteges in India is that of Hindustan in its entirety offered on a platter, there is no hope of their learning from experience and the sufferings of the people brought on by their generosity and nobility and craze for fame at the cost of the people.

The editor of The Times of India put his finger

on the central flaw of these strange philosophies, legalities and moralities when he said that lack of public thought and discussion of the ideas and implications of these ideologies (running riot in the official and Party Mind) has caused them to continue in their virulent sway over the public mind. Under the new democratic auspices, we have a government by discussion. Every policy and its grounds in prejudice, self-interest, party interest and distorted history, morality and timidity masquerading as morality and justice to the weaker must all be brought out mercilessly into the light of day. Let us have a spring cleaning in thought on Social Affairs (from the beginning) conducted by rational method.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

The present policy of reserving whole lines of production is having a deleterious effect on production and the maximisation of the Gross National Product.

The Mixed Economy principle is having the effect of a Dog-in-the-Manger policy. Government are unable in spite of their astronomical expenditure to carry production to higher levels all along the line. Nor have they been able to make an impression on unemployment. It remains as much if not greater than before the Second Plan.

Recently Coal supplies to the Steel Mills fell away owing to the inefficiency of the Public Sector. Government refused to allow more work for the private sector for a time in this field, though it had reached its targets and was more efficient than the public sector.

The Government have decided to keep the new line of the Cheap People's Car production to themselves. This is a mistake. The only thing needed was to allow existing car manufacturing Plants in the private sector to produce more and they would have evolved a cheaper car in competition with each other with no additional cost entailed on Government. One is afraid that these decisions aggrandising the Public Sector are made to benefit some influential personages whose tastes for management and high salary jobs are to be satisfied.

It is no wonder that it is announced that a list of 40 engineering and 45 non-engineering industries is made wherein Licences for production by private industrialists will be refused. They are not to be developed immediately by the public sector either. They are to be reserved to await public sector activity as and when it may be ready. This is socialism and mixed economy run mad! This is doctrinarism in excelsis! But all the same it does not prevent Mr. Nehru from declaiming virtuously in public meetings that he and his policies are not doctrinaire!

SWATANTRA PARTY ELECTION BATTLE CRY

"Swatantra is vital to Swarajya (freedom) and licence-raj must go. The battle for Swatantra has begun, help the campaign fund."

The Muslim Problem In India

By M. A. Venkata Rao

WE have had a Thirty Years' War and a Hundred Year War in Europe. The enmity between England and France lasted over four centuries. The hostility between France and Germany started from the Napoleonic victories over Germany and Austria in the opening decades of the last century and resulted in the crushing defeats on France at the hands of the Kaiser and Hitler. Even today the tension remains.

The conflict between Muslims and Hindus in India has lasted a thousand years (more or less) with intervals of peace or truce in different parts of the country. Before the British got the upper hand in early nineteenth century, Muslim dominance was crushed by the Marathas and Sikhs and it was from them and not from Muslim rulers that the British took over the sovereignty of India.

In the closing decades of the last century, political ambitions of the two societies, Muslim and Hindu, revived again with the consequent revival of their hostility.

So when the British ultimately quit rule in India in 1947, the antagonism between the two societies exhibited itself in the fearful massacres and riots that accompanied the transfer of power to Indian hands and the partition of the country between Two Indias, Hindu and Muslim.

This is the grim backdrop of history and communal psychology against which the current recrudescence of Muslim League activities should be viewed if we are to understand the realities of the situation.

On hearing of the grim outbreaks of violence and arson in Jabalpur following the Muslim students' outrage on a Hindu college girl student, Prime Minister Nehru commented that while the outrage should be condemned, the reaction on the communities showed that the country was not in a condition of health. Now "health" is a good metaphor to indicate a state of public affairs and social psychology. But it means nothing or even misleads us unless the analogy is clearly and unambiguously explained.

The coverage of the news of the disturbances in recent months in different parts of the country in the big daily press has not been satisfactory. The press is continuing the pre-independence policy of hush hush so far as Muslim atrocities are concerned. The theory of the Congress Government seems to be that the publication of Muslim lawlessness will inflame the Hindus against them and provoke them to retaliation which will increase tensions all round and delay the cooling of passions. Time and forgetfulness and silence and a ban on public discussion of the roots of the trouble between the communities are the remedies favoured by the Congress governing class. Together with consistent appeasement by way of condonement of wrongs committed by the favoured community and relief given more to aggress-

sors than to the wronged and injured, this ideology and policy have prevented the natural fusion of the two rival communities into one national society whose members have one political goal irrespective of religious differences.

The health of a society and government in such situations is indicated by the behaviour of the police and judicial authorities. If there is absolute justice as between wrong-doers of different communities and the guilty are apprehended without delay and produced before law courts to stand their trial and the law moves justly and impartially and punishes the guilty of either community, looking only to the nature and gravity of the crime committed by the individual the Hindu-Muslim tension will be in a fair way to resolve itself in due course. But unfortunately these conditions are not fulfilled and are not seen to be fulfilled.

The Times of India editorial commenting on the Jabalpur clashes and atrocities said, (for the first time, it seems to the present writer in the history of the big press on this problem) that there is need for a deep, impartial and open study of the root causes of the Hindu-Muslim tangle that has survived into independent India even after the supreme sacrifice of Partition. Muslims apparently are not satisfied with Pakistan. Jinnah himself said that the Pakistan that he had achieved was not the Full Pakistan of his dream but only a "truncated, moth-eaten" replica! Nevertheless, he accepted it as a foothold and spring-board for further expansion!

The Times of India commentator also said that mob reaction to communal violence on the part of one community is inevitable and intelligible so long as the communities are not sure that the aggressors will be punished without fear or favour. There have been instances where the guilty have been let off lightly!

If Governmental justice does not operate with efficiency and rigour, it is but natural that the communities should fall apart. They will tend to take the law into their own hands and develop a State within the State. This was tolerated by the people in the pre-independence era but now if the Congress Government fails in maintaining justice and order by punishing the aggressor, they will be tempted to organise themselves for self-protection. The people are now thoroughly roused by the multifarious stimuli of the Independence programmes of economic and social development and the appeal of the new democratic ministers for popular support.

The Congress will find that soon it will lose more than it gains by its appeasement policies. Only absolute justice will save its face before the public eye.

The current labels of "communalism" and policies of appeasement fail to touch the core of the problem. The remedies should suit the diagnosis but the diagnosis consists only of an emotional condemnation of "communalism" and a clinging to the policies of the

pre-Pakistan era on the assumption of a single national society of Hindus and Muslims.

Deeper analysis and closer understanding of the real inwardness of the Muslim political ambitions are necessary before Indian statesmanship can make a real beginning with the permanent solution of the problem.

Sociologically, the problem is one of assimilation. Muslims should be assimilated into Indian society, (if not Hindu Society) on the political plane, if not on all cultural planes.

Social groups have shown different attitudes to each other in all societies—one of competition, of the resulting conflict, sometimes issuing in the truce of accommodation but in fortunate cases as in Welsh, Norman, Dane, Norwegian and Swedish have European nations into assimilation. Saxon, Celt, Scot, all melted into one national entity in Britain. So to a lesser degree in America which is still a Melting-Pot of races. The Americans find it necessary to run an Americanisation Department to help immigrants from different European stocks to assimilate into the parent 100 per cent American Psyche or National Mind.

From the day of independence, the Congress party and Government should have initiated a process of Indianisation of the varied peoples or cultures of the vast country. This was more important than the socialist policy of industrial nationalisation or expansion of the public sector.

The central failure of Indian social history is the failure involved in the non-assimilation of Muslims. Hunas, Scythians, Sakas and other Siberian barbarians were assimilated into the Indian janapadas or national societies—the Rajputs, the Gujjeratis, the Mahrattas etc are all transformations of foreign stocks now indistinguishable from the indigenous Hindu or Bharatiya entity.

But India failed to assimilate the Muslims. The reasons are not difficult to trace. But they should be traced scientifically and the results applied to the present problem of nation-making in India (with Pakistan competing for the fealty and loyalty of Indian Muslims as well as that of Pakistanis!)

Since the founding of the Indian National Congress in the last decades of the nineteenth century, nationalism has developed among Hindus giving an integral place to Muslims and others in the National Being. But the Muslims were led by their leaders, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Amcer Ali and others, to adopt a separate national destiny for themselves.

It is true that there were some periods in past history when some cultural assimilation took place. Muslims studying Hindu classics and Hindus studying Muslim works and some approach in dress and manners and social ideals. Reform sects like Sikhism, Arya Samai and Kabir Panth etc. showed a real fusion of Islamic and Hindu devotional attitude to God. Sufism approached Vedanta in exalted religious mysticism seeing God in all things and in the heart of Man.

But political rivalry burst these frail bonds asunder. Economic and political bonds are stranger

than religious and spiritual. Witness Europe which has a single civilization and religion of Christendom but fights in its nations bitterness and to the death for power and empire!

So in India. The hope of carving a Muslim ruling society and state or empire in India as in the days of the triumphant Moguls proved too strong for the imagination of the revived ambitions of Muslim leaders, all the time the moment for the transfer of power to Indian hands was approaching!

Consider this sentiment from a Muslim writer quoted by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his unhappy book *Divided India* written on the eve of Partition to persuade the Muslims against any hasty acceptance of Pakistan.

"There is not an inch of the soil of India which our fathers did not purchase with their blood. We cannot be false to the blood of our fathers. India, the whole of it, is therefore our heritage and it must be reconquered for Islam. Expansion in the spiritual sense is an inherent necessity of our faith and implies no hatred or enmity towards the Hindus." (The Meaning of Pakistan by F. K. Durrani, Quoted in *Divided India* on page 322)

"Muslim minorities have never accepted the role of a minority whenever in view of their numbers or physical strength, they felt themselves strong enough to form an independent State....."

"The desire of the Indian Muslims to have Muslim States of their own is part of a movement for the unification of the Muslim world (Silsilat Jamiat - bah dat - Umam - Islam) started in Turkey during the lifetime and at the instance of the late Ataturk by the late Syed Jaleal Ahmad Sinyusi....." (Confederacy of India by Punjabi, Quoted in *Divided India* page 323)

This aim was re-enunciated by Mahomed Ali Jinnah in his very inaugural address before Mountbatten in 1947, when he declared that the real aim of Muslims was the re-establishment of an Islamic empire extending from Morocco to Indonesia!

Jinnah advised Mr. Mahomed Ismail, League leader in India to bide his time and not to despair!

So when Indian administration weakens for whatever reason, we should expect these pan-Islamic and pro-Pakistani elements to start action causing embarrassment to the mild, incompetent, appeasing, unrealistic, suicide-loving Indian leadership today in the saddle.

A democratic government needs a strong national society with a strong sense of social solidarity and cohesion to keep differences within limits and to tolerate opposition while carrying on rule and by opposition parties carrying on debate.

But if the basic society is pluralistic containing one or more societies with extra-territorial ambitions, democracy will become suicidal.

The cardinal error of the Congress Leadership is to assume that there is sufficient national unity already between Hindus and Muslims for a modern nationalist government to be carried on. This is an error. National unity can be forged. It is a possi-

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Nehru's Smokescreens

By M. N. Tholal

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARTS speech in Delhi on March 5 was such a devastating onslaught on the Congress Government that the Swatantra Party would do well to publicise it as much as it can, not only through the printed word but also through a film as a little talkie, so that it can be taken from place to place and reproduced there. Not only that. One could go so far as to suggest that a summarised version of the speech should be

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bility but today it is not yet a fact sufficiently strong to rely upon!

The recent incidents of the action of pro-Pakistani elements in many places—Phirozepore where Muslims threw military bombs on a Hindu procession from a Mosque, in Bidar where on Republic Day Pakistan's Flag was hoisted and Jinnah's portrait carried in procession through the streets with shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad! and Hindustan Murdabad!" in Jabalpur where a Hindu girl was criminally assaulted by two Muslim students of the upper class and a mourning procession taken out by the outraged Hindus was attacked by Muslims, who later renewed their attacks with guns and lethal weapons, (their Mosque was found to contain a number of weapons), in Mysore where at midnight some hundreds of Muslim young men tried to molest Hindu women returning from a cinema show, at Chickmagalur where a crowd of 500 to 700 Muslims attacked the Harijan quarters and injured many and assaulted many women etc. etc. etc.—are clear indications of concerted plot to cause a weakening of the administration. A pro-Pakistani fifth column is clearly at work. As the disturbances are yet going on, the Pakistani Radio gives details in a virulent manner!

To refer to these incidents merely as cases of law and order and as due to "communalism" as if it was a detachable emotional masque is to play with the problem.

The utterance of President Ayub Khan on the Jabalpur disturbances is a direct interference with Indian domestic matters. He poses as the guardian of Indian Muslims! He utters the Big Goebbelsian Lie that such attacks on Muslims always occur in India whereas similar attacks on Hindus do not occur in Pakistan!

What is needed is in addition to a judicial commission of inquiry into the Jabalpur incident, a bigger Presidential Commission of Inquiry, to go to the roots of the Hindu-Muslim tangle and lay bare the historical and psychological aspects of the vast problem. Let us have a scientific appraisal by a body of non-party, non-political scholars, judges, historians and administrators. Along with international communism, we shall find ourselves face to face with an international Islam.

recorded in simple Hindi for being played all over India and Rajaji be persuaded to take some pains over it so that the hundreds of millions of people who understand Hindustani may benefit by it. After all, Rajaji cannot go everywhere and it is of the utmost importance that what he is saying these days should reach the ears of the masses all over the land.

FEAR COMPLEX

The greatest reason for saying so was summarised by Rajaji himself when he asked those present to shed their fear complex. Nothing can help the people do so better than listening to what Rajaji has to say and realising that a man can say all that with impunity under the constitution of the land. The present position is that the man on the street is afraid of talking against the Government openly, as if he is likely to be arrested the moment he opens his mouth to let fall some words against Mr. Nehru. Indeed, even leaders of parties opposed to the Congress mince their words and think twice before using the words they do, as if they had never read the Preamble to the Constitution of India or do not believe that it has any significance. Even educated Government servants are afraid to vote against the Congress Party candidates in the belief that to vote against them is to vote against the State and the Republic, and it will be disloyalty on their part to do so. Having eaten of their salt, they say the reference is to the salary given by the Government—how can we vote against them? They cannot distinguish between the Congress and the State, and fear some kind of punishment if they vote against Congress candidates. So the first essential is that the people get rid of the fear of the Government, so that the democracy, which the Constitution of Free India has promised us, be established in the country. How can there be real democracy in the country so long as the people are afraid to vote freely?

Ridding the people of fear complex is a task in which all parties should cooperate. But the Congress stands to gain by this fear complex, knowing that the day the people shed their fear complex their rule will be over. It cannot and will not therefore be a party to eradicating fear from the hearts of the people. But if the other parties mean business and are in earnest, they should all cooperate in this preliminary task of laying down the foundation for the successful working of democracy.

AN EXAMPLE

I can give an example from personal experience how the Congress Government is trying to drive fear into the hearts of the people. Some years ago I sent a despatch to an anti-Nehru daily of London, the Daily Express. I handed it over to a big post office in New Delhi to see that the stamps were franked in my presence. The clerk read the address and kept on staring at it for over a minute before stamping

the postage and then kept my letter carefully in a corner of the table before him, instead of throwing it in the heap of foreign letters on the floor beside his chair. On noticing that I had observed his stare, he asked a colleague on the left what the postage for London was, as if he was only trying to see that the letter had the requisite postage stamps. The question was meant to explain to me why he had stared at my envelope for such a long time.

The despatch was on Nehru. What followed was even more interesting. A CID inspector, living in my neighbourhood, came to pay me a social call for the first—and last—time. Thinking that I may not be aware of the fact that he was in the CID—in which case he rightly thought the visit would prove useless—he asked another neighbour to tell me who he was, and for this purpose he sought and found an opportunity to pass in front of us several times when we were talking, so that my neighbour may pass on to me the information regarding his being a CID man, without the act arousing any suspicion of collusion in my mind. One can safely say that if there is any tribe which has nothing but contempt for the police, it is that of journalists. In any case any journalist afraid of the police is hardly worthy of his calling. My contempt for the Congress Government has since this incident undergone a considerable increase and that increase has been reflected in my articles.

The visit of the CID man was designed to intimidate me and the design itself based on the assumption of the cowardice of the people. If the people were not cowards policemen would see little sense in covert intimidation. On the one hand, Congress ministers remind policemen they are public servants. On the other, they expect them to undertake exploits of the kind I have related, for the purpose of intimidating people. I might mention here that, although I wrote quite a number of very bitter articles against the powers-that-were in the early twenties in the *Independent of Allahabad*—Motilal Nehru's daily—and in the *National Herald of Lucknow*—Jawaharlal Nehru's daily—in the late thirties, during the war when all kinds of rules and regulations for the Press were in force, I was never once paid an intimidating visit by a CID man. I did hear some rumours about the U.P. (British) Chief Secretary and the Governor saying, "We must get this man"—I used to give the British Government hell on the plea that they could not win the war without granting freedom to India which was thus a military necessity—but never was any intimidation attempted overtly or covertly. It was left to the Congress Government after the "achievement" of "freedom" to devise such devious methods of intimidating people.

MINISTERS ORDINARY PEOPLE

Rajaji observed in the course of his speech that he knew all the Congress ministers and that they were ordinary people. He might have gone further and said they were ministers because they were ordinary people. Mr. Nehru is rather fond of duffers. He has to be, to shine as one-eyed among the blind and to be their dictator. Lacking his father's intellect he has cultivated an aversion to brainy people, lest he seems a pigmy among them. Apart from

that, brainy people are seldom flatterers, and he wants flattery all the time to feel great. His father was a talent scout, for one thing, because he was confident of his own abilities, and, for another, because he was an honest man. After all, the hallmark of an honest man in power is that he selects the best possible men for jobs. His son selects flatterers and worshippers and then laments the paucity of the material in the country. The man he selected to preside over the destiny of the *National Herald* and who made a mess of it when it started publication, he had occasion to observe later, had "not even the brain of a village patwari." But the same man when Nehru became Prime Minister was made Minister for Rehabilitation. What he wants is loyalty to himself and not brains, which shows again that it is not the interest of the country that he has in mind but his own supremacy. That Minister for Rehabilitation developed the habit of ringing him up and obtaining the decision he wanted on an issue after giving his version of the case and then go ahead undaunted with the seal of the Prime Minister's approval. Things came to such a pass that he had to go, despite his loyalty to the Nehru family, which, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai used to say, was his only qualification.

Some people consider Nehru to be the Hamlet of Indian politics, judging from his acting and mannerisms. That is paying him a tribute which he hardly deserves. There is nothing of the Hamlet in him, for all the time he is planning for just one thing—self-advancement and self-aggrandisement. When Mr. Dhebar once referred to his loyalty to "Mr. Nehru and the Congress" first things come first—he inadvertently gave away the reason for his selection as President of the Congress by the Congress Dictator, Mr. Nehru. Few drew the conclusion from Mr. Dhebar's shameless confession that Mr. Dhebar was disqualifying himself for any position of responsibility and power in a democratic country. But confessions such as these pay and that is why they are made. That is the state of things in the country. There has never been such single-minded devotion to self in the Congress as there is today under the leadership of Mr. Nehru.

SMOKESCREENS.

Everything that Mr. Nehru professes is meant to throw dust into the eyes of the people. He is an expert in the art of throwing up smokescreens to prevent the people from seeing through him. If he professes to be following Socialist policies, it is because it is only under socialism that he can, as Rajaji put it, sell favours and licences and grant monopolies and amass power. If he attacks Indian Communists frequently, it is to make the people believe that he is against Communists, so that it may not be obvious that he is upholding the cause of Russia and even China. If he is really against Communists, why does he allow Soviet Russia to spend crores of rupees in India to help the Communist Party of India? Even the strong speeches he made on Chinese incursions, it is now obvious, were smokescreens. That Mr. Nehru should resort to smokescreens shows he has much to hide and much to be ashamed of. That

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Planning For Law And Order

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu I.C.S. (Retd)

WHILE the Government have been planning for everything, it has not thought of Planning for Law and Order, which is not only its basic function but also an important factor in the economic and social climate of the country. Not a day passes without clashes. On one day, the 4th February, at Jabalpur, the Army had to be called to quell disturbances arising from the molestation of a girl and at Madras there was a strike in Transport because some students had differences with the bus conductor. At the same time arrests continue in Madras of those who want that State to be renamed while Hubli State Transport workers have decided to strike. In addition, the agitation for Punjabi Suba and for other borders, which have already cost crores, continues to smoulder. By coincidence, the Prime Minister has appealed for discipline, explaining, "We quarrel and do not have the capacity to subordinate ourselves to a common aim. We quarrel over petty things—lure of office, this and that. We lack the capacity to accept decisions taken after discussions and arguments". He offered no solution, probably because he had no time to examine what disposes us to quarrel.

Whatever the disposition of the people, and it will be unfair to our traditions to assume that it is worse than that of others, the disrespect for the rights of others is also a result of circumstances. The President recently maintained that the law and order situation is worse than it was in the time of the British. Unless the conditions responsible for this are seen clearly, there will be little improvement.

Among the causes to be discerned, the most important is the principle of Civil Disobedience. Though the Congress has now repudiated it, the Government is embarrassed when it is called upon to punish others for what has rewarded it in the past. The result is that demonstrations, strikes, fasts, even rebellion as in Nagaland are resisted up to a point, after which, the original demand is conceded only with change of words. Nothing can be more fatal to good administration than being brow-beaten by abuse of the laws. As the legislatures and courts can remove all legitimate grievances, no one, much less large bodies of people, should not be allowed to take the law in their own hands. Though this is recognised, what is not done is to meet the threat to the law, as soon as it is announced. If preventive action, which the law prescribes is taken immediately against the leaders, mass support which creates safety

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Congress socialism would lead to Communism, as Rajaji says, is not just intelligent anticipation. It is proved by the growing practice of depriving the people of their fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution which Mr. Nehru has taken an oath to uphold.

for the leaders and difficulties for the government, will be anticipated.

The second cause for the disrespect of the law is the large volume of new legislation, which cannot be enforced because it is against the convictions of the people. Prohibition is the worst instance, illicit supplies being available without let or hindrance everywhere, with revenue lost to the police and to those to whom they farm out the production. The Suppression of Immoral traffic similarly allows the police to farm out vice, making examples of those who are not amenable. From breaches of law, so enjoyed, the attitude spreads to all laws, the forbidden ceasing to be reprehensible. Controls have also accustomed people to bribery as a means of survival in trade and industry. Not until the Government withdraws its unnecessary interference in the social and economic life of the people, meaning and majesty will not return to the laws.

A third cause for the collapse of law are the exigencies of our democracy. The elected government and representatives cannot afford to be firm with important groups and persons, on whose votes they depend. The rival communities in Jabalpur, the students and workers in Madras, the communities involved in linguistic disputes have their opportunity for revenge at the elections, if they are strictly judged instead of being ambiguously placated. The successful ministers therefore are those who say 'parkalaam' and keep decisions always pending, whatever happens in the meanwhile. The only solution is to make the executive entirely independent of elections, which is what the Constitution provides, by describing the executive powers of the President in the authentic terms in which are described the powers of the American President, who selects his ministers from eminent but not elected men. The Council of Ministers with only powers to "aid and advice", have on a wrong analogy of the British system arrogated powers to order and execute. Even now, if the correction is made, as suggested by the President, of the separation of the Executive and Legislative functions, the former will have independence to enforce the law, subject only to the legitimate control and criticism of the legislature and not the illegitimate pressure and pleasure of groups and individuals. Democracy and not merely the administration, will be betrayed if the public tamely accepts the interpretation of the Constitution by the Prime Minister, without even allowing jurists to examine, if and how the literal provision can be ignored. A breach of the law at the highest level is not only evocative of breaches of law at all levels, but is also the cause of demagoguery of the ministers on one hand and of corruption, partisanship and inefficiency of the administration, on the other.

The fourth cause, the paralysis of the administration, arising from its complete dependence on Ministers with executive and legislative powers, has

(Continued on page 9)

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

The Central Budget

'Soaking' The Rich And 'Fleecing' The Poor

By B. Ramakrishnan, M.A.

THE Central Budget for 1961-62 which has been presented to the Parliament, cannot be a popular Budget, since it picks both the pockets of the rich and more so, of the poor. By the scale of fresh taxation proposed in it, in the very first year of the Third Plan, the Union Finance Minister has confounded many prophets who were harping on the natural restraints of a pre-election year. By casting his net wide to make a 'bold' and 'impressive' start in raising resources internally for development plans, our finance Minister has given a token of the Government's foolhardiness in pushing on, at full speed, with the execution of the over-ambitious Third Five Year Plan, at all costs. The key-note of the Budget is found in the Finance Minister's statement that "It is no longer a question of trying through taxation to cover the deficit on a revenue account from year to year, but also to have a surplus to finance the plan." For this purpose, the Budget seeks to dig deeper and deeper into the pockets of the people, in the coming financial year and make up for a revenue deficit of Rs. 60.60 crores. The imposts on about thirteen common man's articles of daily use and consumption such as Kerosene, tea, coffee, tobacco, betelnuts, matches, cotton-textiles, crockery, Radios, wines and spirits, are bound to increase still more the cost of living and make it more difficult for the already much harassed common man to balance his family budget.

FRESH TAX PROPOSALS.

The estimated revenue for the year 1961-62 is 962.92 crores as against the estimated expenditure for the same period which stands at Rs. 1023.52 crores, thereby leaving a deficit of Rs. 60.60 crores. This is expected to be more than covered, leaving a small surplus of 27 lakhs, by the fresh tax proposals. A reduction in tax on the new bonus shares from 30% to 12½%, the increased surcharge from 5% on earned incomes over Rs. 1 Lakh to 10% of the basic tax, the imposition of excise levies and indirect taxes on coffee and other such 13 consumer's articles, are some of the new proposals. Foreign investors who come with Government approval will benefit from the proposal to levy the super tax at the rate of 20% on dividends paid on inter-corporate investment, whether Indian or foreign and whether on a majority basis or a minority basis. Entertainment expenses of companies beyond a specified limit will be counted as expenditure for purposes of tax. The reduction of export duty on tea by 9 naye Paise per Kilogram, a five year tax holiday for newly started hotels which satisfy certain conditions, concession to

those who construct housing for persons in the lower income groups and reduction of development rebate on machinery or plant by 5% are some of the reliefs given by the budget. The indirect taxes are expected to fetch Rs. 57.87 crores and direct taxes Rs. 3.00 crores, which together will produce a total of Rs. 60.87 crores, so as to cover the revenue deficit of Rs. 60.60 crores.

IMPROBABILITY OF HOLDING THE PRICE LINE.

A Budget being an estimate of the probabilities and not a prediction of certainties, it may be open to some doubt whether proposals adumbrated in this Budget, will serve their intended purposes, but of their framework there is no mistaking whatsoever. In this sense, the Finance Minister seems to have unreservedly fallen in line with the new orthodoxy that Government expenditure determines public finance and not vice versa. The two main fields into which the finance minister has led his tax expedition for the coming year, are Customs and Central Excises and the extent of his thrust will undoubtedly come as somewhat of a surprise to many. To cover the revenue deficits, he has relied more on fresh taxation than on deficit financing, which resources, he intends employing, if at all necessary, at the barest minimum. One thing that clearly emerges from the trends of the last five years is this, that the continued rise in prices caused by deficit financing has produced a trail of discontent among the majority of the population consisting of middle classes and poorer sections of the population. Realising these evident repercussions on the public mind, of the economic consequences of inflationary prices, the Finance Minister is careful to assure the people in these words, "It must be our endeavour to keep the pressure on prices under check by raising additional revenues and mobilising savings so as to ensure that deficit financing is kept within the limit of Rs. 550 crores envisaged in the draft outline." But it is feared the tax proposals in respect of essential consumer and capital goods will defeat the laudable object of the Finance Minister and may, even have an inflationary effect on the prices and it is extremely unlikely that the Government will be able to hold the price line as promised.

BURDEN NOT SO EVENLY SPREAD

Mr. Desai has claimed that he has endeavoured to spread the burden of new taxation evenly and as fairly as possible. From the 1947 Budget to 1957 the

man's expense account, a wide range of commodities and consumption expenditures will be drawn upon, as resources for the development finance. The wisdom of taxing Kerosene, which is increasingly coming into favour in middle class families as a fuel, alternative to firewood, charcoal or coke, thanks to the advent of cheap stoves, is to say the least quite questionable. The finance Minister's explanation that the rapid growth of demand for Kerosene, which is an imported commodity, has to be discouraged, is not tenable, seeing that the Government is strictly controlling the volume of imports in the light of the availability of foreign exchange. Mr. Desai, moreover, has not been equally concerned about the foreign exchange aspect anywhere else in the tax scheme. The excise duty has been levied on medium grey and processed cotton textiles, on the ground that there has been a shift in production from the heavily taxed fine qualities. But it cannot be ignored that this would result in an increase in Mill's consumption of foreign cotton. Similarly there is no clear case for levying excise duty on coffee in view of the complaints being made by industry about difficulty in the home market when exports also have fallen. Restraining internal consumption of tea, when its exports have not increased may have some repercussions on its production. It is rather unfortunate that the Finance Minister should feel that there are no limits to taxing tobacco and perhaps he is influenced more by prejudice than reasons of getting revenue in this move to increase tobacco as also liquor duties. On the whole the poorer classes will be hit harder than others by these tax proposals. The middle class will have its share of taxation in the form of taxes on radio sets, refrigerators and air-conditioning machinery. It has been rightly pointed out by our elder statesman C. Rajagopalachari that these proposals are "an invasion on the poor man's wants."

A more general criticism which would no doubt be heard with regard to the new excise levies is that the cost of administration and collection will be disproportionate to the realised revenue in most cases. The estimated revenue from the excise duties would be Rs. 30.90 crores but this will necessitate a great expansion in the collection and estimation departments. The more the expansion in the administration the greater are the chances for corruption, nepotism, partiality and such other evils which we are trying to avoid now. Parkinson's law will be a good guide and reminder in this respect.

It is one of the postulates of the Third Plan that inflation can be contained by limiting deficit financing. Taxes on consumption whether by way of excise duties or customs duties, are in theory disinflationary, but to what extent they will in fact discourage consumption is a mootpoint. One factor that will tend to defeat the disinflationary effect of consumption taxes is the large volume of "pent up" inflation and purchasing power which would still chase goods and push up prices, and that would cause hardship to many who are no more guilty than wanting to satisfy only their reasonable consumption needs.

ADVERSE EFFECTS OF IMPORT DUTIES ON INDUSTRY

Another unusual feature is the decision to tax

capital goods like imported machinery, steel manufactures, railway material and non-ferrous metals. Though the Finance Minister has treated the increase of 5 percent in the duty on machinery as "Small", the fact that it is expected to yield Rs. 7.76 crores shows that it will impose a substantial burden on industry generally. Nor is there any substance in the statement made by the finance minister that the increase will have a protective value for the growing Indian Machine manufacturing industry because, under our import regulations, only machinery that is not made in the country is allowed to be imported. If the Government sector is not ready with new development projects, the regulatory agencies of Government should at least not hinder or halt the fruition of new industrial activities of the private sector. In the words of Dr. V. K. V. Rao there is "a danger that a wide array of taxes on intermediate goods and capital goods might affect both the pace of internal development and the build up of export capacity."

HALTING CONCESSIONS

Regarding the reduction of tax on bonus shares, the finance minister's gesture is a halting one. Even a lower rate of 12½% is too much when we see that company reserves, have been already taxed at the full corporate rate. The objectionable element of double taxation, in other words still persists, although its incidence has been some-what reduced. Secondly, it is improper, on any count, to continue to retain the taxation of bonus issues financed by the capitalization of share premium accounts. It is true that the tax, at the reduced rate will fetch some revenue to the Government, but the surrender of that revenue from this source will not be too great a price to be paid for encouraging corporate capital formation, which is the prime need of the present stage of our economic growth. Mr. Desai, for instance, has not seen his way to make any concession to Section 23A Companies which need to plough back a higher proportion of their earnings in their enterprises. Prof. Ranga truly says, the whole framework of the budget "is a planned approach for discouraging people either to save or to develop new enterprises."

SURCHARGE ON EARNED INCOMES

An intriguing proposal is the increased surcharge on earned incomes above a lakh of rupees from the existing rate of 5 per cent to 10 per cent of basic tax. But already the total incidence of all direct taxes on private incomes is such that capacity of the higher income brackets to bear any additional burden is now practically nil. This tax again proves that the Government is not in a mood to consider the suggestion sometimes made to encourage saving and investment, that a ceiling should be fixed on total liability of individuals to pay income tax and wealth tax. This stubborn attitude of the Government may be socialistic but all the same most unfortunate, since it may have a most disturbing effect on the private sector and consequently hinder and hamper the industrial output of the country.

The aggregate of income tax and wealth tax liabilities alone amount in some cases of higher income brackets, to sums considerably in excess of current incomes. The Finance Minister cannot be unaware of the fact that such confiscatory taxation will seriously reduce incentives in the entrepreneur clas-

ses. It is not in human nature to exert and earn more if the fruit of additional effort is to be surrendered to the Government, for being used for items of Government expenditure which is, more often than not, ill-conceived, misdirected and mismanaged.

It is all very well to extend tax attractions to the foreign business men or corporate enterprises by abolishing or reducing taxes, but unless the domestic entrepreneur class is in a position to come forward enthusiastically to expand corporate enterprise either on its own, or in partnership with foreign capital, all the Government's half-hearted efforts to stimulate economic activity in the country will not be very successful.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL

Thus the cumulative effect of custom duties on imported machinery and other capital goods, increased surcharge on private earned incomes, the retention of levies on bonus shares though somewhat reduced, and wealth tax will be to discourage saving and investment and the industrial development of the country. The Government appears to be concerned more with finding resources for expanding the public sector even at the cost of the private sector, irrespective of the disastrous economic consequences such a policy might have on the country as a whole.

The fact that we enter on the third plan with virtually no external reserves and with our international balance of payments in a highly vulnerable position, is a pointer to the urgent need of having a practical approach to economic plans and projects in the light of the real needs and requirements of the country. But it is to be regretted that the Finance Minister and the Government do not see this writing on the wall and are occupied only with their ideological fancies and hobbies.

MASSES TO BEAR THE BURDEN ULTIMATELY

For reasons stated above, the appeal made by the Finance Minister for "blood and sacrifice" will not evoke much response from the people faced as they

are, already with the stark realities of life. Only a few men at the top who run the Government and the upper strata of the bureaucracy and perhaps a small number of specially favoured industrial monopolists may stand to gain from such a Budget, but it holds out no cheer for the majority of businessmen, the middle classes and poorer sections of the community who will have to literally pass through a period of 'blood and sacrifice' as envisaged by the Finance Minister. The Budget shows that the Indian Government is at the parting of ways. On the one hand, with the elections at the door-step, it cannot show its real Socialist teeth and claws by going ahead ruthlessly with its confiscatory taxation policies of further 'soaking' the rich, and on the other hand, with the grandiose third year Plan making heavier calls on the limited resources of the country, it cannot but think of 'fleecing' the poor by indirect taxation, even against its own will. Such is the plight in which its chimerical plans have landed the country. The common people therefore will do well to ponder over the words of Prof. Mises in this connection. He says, "With present height of income and inheritance tax rates, the reserve fund out of which the interventionists seek to cover all their expenditure, is rapidly sinking. High surtax rates for the rich secure only modest additions to the revenue. From day to day, it becomes obvious that large additions to the amount of public expenditure cannot be financed by "soaking" the rich, but the burden must be carried by the masses.....Those anxious to get subsidies will have to foot the bill for subsidies. The deficits of publicly owned and operated enterprises will be charged to the bulk of the population." ('Human Action' page 853). The choice therefore, has to be made by the common man between a Government-controlled Economy with its oppressive incidence of taxation on the whole population, and a self-regulated free Market Economy with its minimum taxation system. Otherwise this game of 'soaking' the rich and 'fleecing' the poor will go on merrily as indicated in the Budget, to the great distress and the misery of all the classes.

The State Of Soviet Agriculture

By S. Kabysh

ESTIMATES of a high yield in the virgin lands for 1960 have not been borne out. Toward the middle of October, Soviet readers were told: "Forecasts have proved to be premature.....We have begun to pay for the late sowing and the blunders of last year."

At the end of October, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol stated: "The seventh harvest in the virgin lands is only now at an end. The reaping took place in difficult conditions... ..without early sowing a large harvest cannot be expected." Soon afterward, Central Committee Secretary Kozlov spoke of the harvest:

.....the weather this year has been unusually capricious: in southern areas frost and strong

winds destroyed part of the winter sowings, and in Kazakhstan and Siberia the protracted spring and cold summer proved an obstacle. Despite this, state purchases of grain will be no less..... than last year.

The level of state purchases is fixed irrespective of harvest yields, and since the entire output of state farms belongs to the state and collective farms are obliged to hand over their appointed quota even if it means leaving none for their own members' private use, it is not unlikely that Kozlov's forecast will be correct and state purchases will not be down on last year. However, it is almost certain that the actual gross yield of grain in 1960 will be less than the 124,800,000 tons harvested last year. Since the Seven-

Year Plan envisaged a 1960 grain harvest of not less than 152,400,000 tons, this means that output will fall by nearly 20 percent below the target set. The serious position is well illustrated by the fact that of the three main suppliers of grain—the RSFSR, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine—only the RSFSR had completed its deliveries of grain to the state as of November 29.....

In the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus the harvest began at the end of July, and most of the staple grain crop had been gathered in by the end of August. At that stage, only four of the twenty-five oblasts in the Ukraine had failed to fulfill their planned production by more than ten percent. Nevertheless, the press did not publicize the harvest; there were no rapturous accounts of high wheat yields, and practically no sharply critical reports on districts and farms that were lagging behind. This was apparently due to the fact that there have been radical changes in the planning of crops in the Ukraine. Starting this year, there has been a marked switch to corn production and some 11,000,000 hectares were given over to it, accounting for nearly half the area sown with grain crops. It is planned that corn should provide 57 percent of the gross grain yield this year. Since this crop ripens later than wheat, the comparatively early completion of the rest of the grain harvest may be ascribed to this.

At the beginning of the year, a special ministry had been set up to improve direction of operations on the farms in the six northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. Last year 1,500,000 hectares of wheat were still standing unharvested when the snow arrived in Kazakhstan, owing to shortage of labour and machinery. To avoid a similar catastrophe this year, measures were taken to alleviate these shortages. Before the harvest a total of 38 rail-borne construction teams, each consisting of 200 skilled personnel, were assembled at various points in European Russia and dispatched to the virgin lands to build elevators and grain reception points. From the Ukraine alone were sent 30,000 combine operators and tractor drivers, 25,000 engineers and other skilled personnel, a total of some 64,000 men. Machine operators known for their high productivity and speedy work were transported to the virgin lands by plane. In Kazakhstan, 150,000 young people were engaged in gathering in the harvest. According to radio reports, some 20,000 towns-people were assisting in harvest work in the Kurgan Oblast. Special brigades of propagandists and speakers were brought in to raise enthusiasm, 70 brigades and 484 speakers being sent from Semipalatinsk alone.

There was no shortage of machinery even in the virgin lands of Siberia and Kazakhstan. In addition to the central pool, harvesting machines were brought to Kazakhstan from the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and other places. In Kokchetav Oblast, 12,500 combines and 7,400 reapers were made ready for the harvest. In Novosibirsk Oblast, 22,000 combines and reapers, 16,000 windrow harvesters and 17,000 trucks were at work at the end of August. However, these machines were by no means always fully utilized. Lack of spare parts, breakages and faulty repairs caused frequent delays. This resulted in 30 percent of the tractors and 40 percent of the trucks being out of action. Perhaps the primary cause of harvesting de-

lays, however, were the continuous rain and wind, which flattened the crop and caused it to be thick with weeds. More than 500,000 hectares of wheat were flattened in Kokchetav Oblast. Consequently, workers who had been brought thousands of kilometers to help with the harvest were idle. In some cases skilled personnel were being employed on work that had no connection with the harvest.

In order to overcome the formidable difficulties which beset the harvest, Communist propaganda demanded that the workers in the virgin lands work miracles. In Siberia, orders were given for the grain to be gathered in any weather, by any means. Grain cut in rainy weather failed to dry out in the windrows and this resulted in delays since it could not be properly threshed, even at a second attempt. At the end of September, some 8 million hectares were lying unthreshed in the fields of Kazakhstan. By the middle of September, 4,300,000 hectares of grain had been cut in Altai Krai, but more than 40 percent of this total was still lying in the fields although falls of wet snow were expected at any time. Much grain was cut when it was far from ripe; in some cases it was grass, not grain, that was cut. On some farms, losses of grain during harvesting were as high as 50 percent. Islands of uncut wheat were left on the harvested fields and the ground was covered with flattened grain. To conceal these enormous losses, the fields were plowed over and the stubble and straw burnt off; in some cases, the flames caught uncut grain and destroyed that too. The roads to the reception points were strewn with grain, as much as a ton per kilometer. However, this grain was not always lost. "Everywhere on the roads one can see people.....gathering the corn and making up 5-6 sacks a day, and then they sell it in the market at 6 rubles a bucket. To avoid responsibility for damage to grain after threshing, state farm directors delivered damp grain to the elevators and reception points, the moisture content running as high as 45 percent. More than 20,000 tons of such grain accumulated at one elevator: it not only overheated but also went moldy.

On October 25, Pravda announced that the farms had made "new strides toward achieving the primary target in agriculture." However, even Pravda mentioned the fact that hundreds of thousands of hectares of grain still lay ungathered in the fields of Siberia and Kazakhstan, while in the Ukraine the corn crop had not been harvested. Moreover, snow and low temperatures were already affecting many areas.

In September, there was drive to harvest the corn crop throughout the Soviet Union. On October 10, it was announced that 22,600,000 hectares, or nearly 86 percent of the total, had been gathered. Yet of this figure only 1,700,000 hectares was fully ripe and the remaining 20,900,000 were used for silage or green fodder. Thus, the harvest of mature corn will be considerably less this year than was estimated.

The "battle for grain" in the second year of the Seven-Year Plan has ended in major failures, and it is quite clear that the projected harvest target of 152,400,000 tons has remained no more than a planner's dream.

—BULLETIN

Institute for the Study of the USSR

Thoughts For Our Politicians

S. R. Narayana Ayyar.

(We feel that a note about our contributor, with whom we have arranged to write a series of articles, will be useful. He is a member of the legal profession for nearly 40 years. He is the author of the following books: (1) "Grave Danger to the Hindus" with an introduction by Mr. G. V. Kerkar of Poona, 1940; (2) "What Shall We Do?" with an introduction by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer 1949. (3) Will India become the Europe of Asia?" 1953. He has written these books in his pen name of "an Obscure Hindu." Last year, we may add, his views were commented upon in the Madras High Court in a case of defamation in which he was awarded damages. His Lordship the Judge referred to "the freedom and vigour with which he has always expressed his views."—Ed.)

THE new Chief Minister of U.P. said on 10th January that "the expansion of his Cabinet is a continuous process". As a man belonging to no party in our land, I state that the best remedy not only in U.P. but also in all other States is to continue that process till it includes every elected member in the Cabinets of India in every State. They must, of course, have all the privileges of a Minister, such as pay, batta and cars with power to give benefits to every one they want. That is the only final solution to stop this scramble for power by our Politicians. For, all these quarrels about Ministership are mainly due to the desire of the Politicians to serve themselves, their parties, their friends and relatives and not to serve the country at large. It does not matter to me, who is the Minister, provided the country really progresses under his rule.

But after a full thirteen years of Independence, the unfortunate citizens of India, most of whom have no desire to get into power either for public prestige or private profit, look with dismay at the deterioration of even the ordinary public morals, which we had before 1947. The main reason is due to the conduct and character of our Politicians. We have seen "no confidence motions" from the ruling parties themselves, closing of Universities, firing by Police on our own citizens, administration going in the downward grade as the officials are taking more interest in the personalities of our Politicians than doing their duties as mere officials, whoever may be the heads of the State.

(Continued from page 8)

created a gap between the provisions and the enforcements of law. As an instrument, the executive is now so weak and uncertain, being subject to political influence that the public has not only lost faith but acquired contempt for it. In the ranks of the executive itself, there is frustration because posts and allowances go by political favour. Whether we have the Presidential or Parliamentary form of Government, the ministers must be confined only to policies, without opportunities for interference in details of execution and personnel.

The collapse of law and order is not only a strain on the revenues of the country and the resources of the staff but is also a threat to the faith of the people in democracy and independence. If something drastic is not done, something calamitous may happen.

Forgetting all these defects, our Prime Minister continues his interference by word of mouth in the affairs of every other country of this world, while nearer home there are more troubles than we had ever witnessed before. We are already encircled by our enemies. Inside the country, there are innumerable persons, whose visions and ideals are fixed on foreign countries. At a time of crisis, these persons are sure to betray our country. Already a number of officials are alleged to have sold secret information to our enemies. Such is the patriotism in the country after Independence! The world can justly say to India "Physician! Heal thyself"!!

Hindi leadership, under the fallen and corrupt congress, has already created 16 Hindu Pakistans within the divided India, with more in the making. We have further become a beggar Nation, receiving charity and loans from every country of this world. Yet previously all the ferocious and cunning marauders came to our country only attracted by its vast gold and precious metals. I feel that this leadership will only end after completely ruining India's unity and making it a Congo of Asia. What we want now is a patriotic and an incorruptible Hindu Ayub Khan to expose and prick the bubble of the undue prestige, which every Politician has in our Motherland. If such a man arises it would be interesting to find out, how many of the Politicians in power and who were in power before, can escape without voluntarily going into oblivion, as in Pakistan. They have brought this ancient land of ours to its present great disunity and moral fall, merely for the selfish ends of Politicians. Newspapers of prominence are afraid to publish honest criticisms of Politicians as the latter, unlike the Britishers, will hit them below the belt, by using their influence against the papers.

However I put forward certain suggestions to save our Motherland from the Politicians. Let all non-Politicians think on them without caring what the Politicians may do against them.

- (a) Our Constitution should be completely amended modifying the Adult Franchise, which is mainly responsible for all the corruptions in our land in every aspect of the life of the people.
- (b) The red danger of imposing the Hindi language, in which not even 20% of the Hindi speaking people are literate, on the non-Hindi people should be stopped immediately. It is the mania of making Hindi—a language which is not of use to the people for

their higher studies within India and outside it—as the National language of India, which is responsible for all the dangerous linguistic quarrels between State and State and within the State itself about “linguistic minorities.” To stop this trend, the best remedy is to retain the English language for another 25 years at least for educational, administrative, judicial and legislative purposes of India. At the same time, we must encourage all our languages to use Devanagari Script and avoid their own script, as advised by Gandhiji.

(c) People should honour only the country's flag, and

all party flags must be completely eschewed as every party is for its own flag and not for the National flag. (d) We must really be neutral in foreign affairs of this world and allow the other countries, including Nepal, to get on according to their own desires. In conclusion I should like to say

“Why does India mess about

With countries far away and out?

Think that we can Mother everybody and roam?

Haven't we enough of misfortunes inside our Home?”

(With apologies to a Britisher).

DELHI LETTER

Rajaji Hits Hard

(From Our Correspondent)

I MUST confess I received one of the greatest shocks of my life when I saw a picture in the newspapers of Mr. Clement Attlee being received by one Mr. Inam Rehman of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations at the airport on his arrival in India. Not a single Cabinet Minister or person of any importance was present there, barring the British Deputy High Commissioner. Presumably the Congress mythology regarding the Congress having achieved India's independence has to be maintained, but we need not have gone to the extent of making a public exhibition of what can only be considered melancholy meanness—protocol or no protocol. In Ceylon, on the other hand, all the Cabinet Ministers were present at the airport to receive Mr. Attlee. The story of how we achieved independence—partition would be the correct word—is too recent to need recapitulation. More recent is the blame placed by Maulana Azad squarely on the shoulders of his friend Mr. Nehru for the division of the country. The President at one of Mr. Attlee's lectures referred to the British ex-Premier as the country's “liberator.” He could not have put the truth more succinctly and beautifully, and it was that very liberator who was received on his arrival in India by somebody belonging to the Indian Council of Cultural Relations! Our spiritual values are evidently soaring higher and higher.

At a Press Conference Mr. Attlee blurted out: “You can't be neutral when you are attacked.” But he forgot that one can be neutral if one does not think in terms of the country, like our Prime Minister. I should be pardoned for referring to the saying “great minds think alike” when I remind the reader that I have in these columns already made the point that our Prime Minister is neutral as between India and her invader, China, on the question of the invasion of his country, although he recognises it as “aggression.” He has not even rejected the idea of going to Peking to see the Chinese Premier. This recalls to mind one of his previous visits to China where our Prime Minister, according

to some Press reports, was treated with scant courtesy. Some foreign newspapers went so far as to say that the treatment meted out to him there was offensive and insulting. I could hardly believe it until I saw a photograph in a newspaper in which Mr. Nehru was seated across a very large rectangular table in front of the Chinese Premier and Mao tse-Tung, like a school boy summoned by the headmaster to explain his conduct. If that was not an insult to him and to India I do not know what an insult is. Mr. Nehru would do well to remember that he is the Prime Minister of a great country and to pocket insults is to invite them.

THE QUEEN'S VISIT

The Queen has come and gone. Some one observed that on Republic Day she, as head of the Commonwealth, should have taken precedence over the President. So long as we are in the Commonwealth, it seems obvious that the head of the Commonwealth should take the precedence over the President of India. Any argument to the contrary would appear to smack of inferiority complex, of which there is no dearth in this country, and arrogance therefore is very pleasing to little minds. Another (cynical) observation in this connection was that the precedence was not given because of its possible reaction on Mr. Khrushchev's mind: “What would he have said or thought?” It is to be hoped that the fear of Mr. Khrushchev is not so deeprooted in the powers-that-be in India as always to tip the scales against what is right and proper, though several instances can undoubtedly be cited to prove its hold on the mind of our Prime Minister.

On the other hand, some British correspondents would appear to have made a mountain of a molehill in their reference in their despatches to a few anti-Queen leaflets showered on the entourage and black flags hoisted during one of her drives in Calcutta by some lining the roads. Indeed, having regard to the number of Communists and fellow-travellers in the land, it seems surprising that the Queen's visit passed off without any untoward incident. That

may in part be attributed to the realisation by the people in general that we may soon be in dire need of help from the country whose much-beloved sovereign she is. In any case, we never had greater reason to be thankful for being in the Commonwealth than since the news of the Chinese invasion was euphemistically broken to the country as "Chinese incursion," as if a few square yards of our territory had been encroached upon by the Chinese.

BOWING TO THE CHAIR

According to one present in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Amjad Ali's observation that Muslim members could not bow to the Chair when leaving or taking their seats, for they bow only to God, "caused a virtual convulsion" in that body. I have seen thousands upon thousands of Muslims and have yet to see who does not bow a little at least when saluting some one or accepting another's salutation. They must all be unaware of their religious tenets, according to Mr. Amjad Ali, or deliberately violating them. Mr. Amjad Ali himself seems to have been unaware until recently of what he said, for he has been a member of the Lok Sabha now for nine years without ever raising any objection to the practice of bowing to the Chair. As a matter of fact Muslims of Northern India are notorious for their courtesy and politeness and it is a pleasure to observe their manners at close quarters. That is something they legitimately take pride in and the educated Hindus of U.P. at least have imbibed not a little of their culture with undoubted benefit to their stature. It looks as if the Madhya Pradesh incidents—which no one need condone or minimise—were responsible for this sudden outburst of fanaticism. Mr. Amjad Ali is a Praja Socialist. One would have thought that Socialism was far removed from religious fanaticism. We live and learn.

RAJAJI IN DELHI.

At a public meeting held in Delhi on March 5 Rajaji made a brilliant speech in English which was translated to the audience sentence by sentence. It was the first time I heard Rajaji speak at a public meeting and I must confess it was the best speech I ever heard in the nearly fifty years that I have been hearing speeches. The level of public speaking has gone down so low that I had for some years ceased going to hear them. It was not a speech. It was a conglomeration of judicial pronouncements and the audience felt it as such. Almost every sentence was literally a sentence on the Government. I had heard a lot of Rajaji's clearheadedness and had often wondered if he was as clearheaded as Motilal Nehru. After hearing his hard-hitting and at the same time humorous speech, I must say that his performance at that public meeting revealed a brain that equals Motilal Nehru's, if indeed it does not excel it. As a speaker he seems to believe in sledge-hammer strokes. How one wished he knew Hindi, i.e., Hindustani, and the Northern India people could hear those humorous sledge-hammer strokes in the language they speak. In the translation, made at the spur of the moment, much of the force of his English words and phrases was lost, though the translator was quite a good one.

A speech like that deserves to be printed and lakhs of copies of it distributed to the public free

of charge. The Swatantra Party should not fail to do so. What the public sorely needs is contempt for the corrupt Congress and its leaders and Rajaji has the brain as well as what is even more necessary—the stature to produce the same convincingly in the public mind. Publicity is what makes the difference between success and failure and it is on publicity that the Swatantra Party should concentrate. In Kalkaji where I live about eight miles from the heart of Delhi and New Delhi there were no posters to announce Rajaji's speech. It was a Sunday and quite a number would have liked to go to hear him. Also, the poster, instead of almost badly announcing the time and place of Rajaji's speech, might have said something to the effect: "Come and hear the conscience-keeper of Mahatma Gandhi." Two world wars were won by publicity. The British spent hundreds of millions of pounds on persuading the American Press to take up their cause. With the Press on their side, the country came round vehemently to their side and ultimately joined the war against Germany.

NEED OF PUBLICITY

In the late twenties when I was on the staff of the British edited Pioneer of Allahabad, an Assistant Editor, an Englishman who had been on the staff for thirty years, one day said of Gandhi, "He has a wonderful Publicity Officer." As I had never heard of his publicity officer, I was taken aback. Surprised that he should know more about Gandhi than I did, I asked him, "Who's that?" And he replied smiling: "You don't know even that. The Loin Cloth." Gandhi had a genius for publicity and his tremendous popularity was the result of the same. The Swatantra Party should have a huge publicity organisation devoted to the sole task of devising ways and means to make the party popular with slogans and songs, alongside the usual hand-outs. They have got Rajaji. They must exploit him and his name for all they are worth. The general comment after the meeting was: "Congress se takkar lenewali party paida ho gayee hai." (A party to combat the Congress has come into existence). The party should now do all in its power to justify the opinion at the next general election.

The Central Organising Committee of the Swatantra Party has condemned the budget proposals as "oppressive and ill-conceived" and declared that they would add enormously to the existing burdens on the poorer and middle classes. The Committee went on to predict economic disaster as a result of the reckless spending and borrowing by the Government to implement its "unrealistic and exhibitionist policies." Judging from the manner in which loans are being sought and gained it would seem that there is hardly any idea of ever paying them back. The resolution on Indo-China, however, is very mildly worded, as resolutions on foreign affairs should be, and the Government was criticised for "the continued weakness and hesitation which mark its policy in respect of the Chinese aggression." It is becoming more and more obvious everyday that what the resolution characterises as weakness and hesitation is born of appeasement in which, Mr. Nehru has openly said, he believes. The "positive steps" recommended by the Committee "to build

friendly relations with all neighbouring countries interested in stemming Chinese expansionism" are obviously needed after the Chinese invasion of the country but Mr. Nehru's antagonism to blocs—in personal self-interest—is standing in the way of the

country's and the continent's safety. It is this personal selfishness that needs being exposed before everything else in the interest of the country. Indians should do what they do in Britain and elsewhere according to Mr. Attlee: kick out careerists,

Book Review

★ 'Sidelights On Rajaji'

By A. Ranganathan

In his essay on 'The Culture of the Indian Intellectual' (published in the *Sewanee Review*), Prof. Edward Shils had observed that "the best Indian writers of English prose have risen to a level as austere and as forceful as the best English prose anywhere today". And Prof. Shils explained that Mr. Khasa Subba Rau, the Editor of 'Swarajya' (Madras) had cultivated a style "which for economy, trenchancy and force is not inferior to the best prose written in contemporary English and American journalism". In these wide-ranging, delightful essays on the inner workings of the elder statesman's complex and fascinating mind, Mr. Khasa Subba Rau has revealed that cultured humanist tradition which arises out of a remarkable combination of intellectual honesty and high idealism. And the twenty two articles which constitute this impressive volume may be described as footnotes to recent Indian history.

This volume begins with a clear exposition of Rajaji's speech at Gandhigram. Mr. Subba Rau has not only endorsed the view of Rajaji that "the fear of good opposition is good for democracy" but has also ventured into a detailed analysis of the direct connection between moral and political values. And in a prophetic piece (written as early as 1956) entitled "A Practical Philosopher", Mr. Subba Rau has rightly observed that the "Prime Minister nowadays so dominates the scene that universal subservience to his slightest wish has nearly destroyed the chastening functions for which an opposition exists in the democratic form of government". Indeed, it is the contemplation of this idea which rouses Mr. Subba Rau to new heights of eloquence: "Congress politics has contributed chaos and confusion to the prevailing universal hunt for money by undermining the old standards of honesty and rectitude and substituting in their place new predatory urges with the potency of organised votes to back them. The vote-catcher is the master of the situation and our democracy has started to go ahead on the adventure of manipulating voters for invasion of the rights and properties of the weaker elements in society defective in numerical voting strength".

Mr. Subba Rau has cogently argued the case for the retention of English as the official language of

"SIDELIGHTS ON RAJAJI" by Khasa Subba Rau. Published by Vyasa Publications, 12, Thambu Chetty Street Madras-2. Price Rs. 1.50 nP., 1961. Pages 77

the Indian Union, in his article on "The Passion for Change". He has pointed out that it would be a great folly to discard English in favour of Hindi; and naturally, he has supported Rajaji's logical stand that "the status quo does not call for a change".

In one of his most perceptive essays (written in 1957) entitled "A Modern Socrates", Mr. Subba Rau has remarked that "Rajaji's reputation for acute intelligence has not served him well in politics" since "more meanings are sometimes attributed to what he says than he himself is aware of." Indeed as Mr. Subba Rau has explained, it is this relentless resentment of mediocre men which "pursues him with an endless inquisitorial search for double meaning". It is interesting to recall that Mr. D. B. Dhanapala (a distinguished Ceylonese journalist who had written an article on Rajaji during the forties) had made similar observations: "The notion that Rajaji is too clever by half makes his foes always stay on their guard and attack when his back is turned. But it is really a shrewdness that makes him prod the sack before buying the peas".

Rajaji had stated in his article on 'The Collapse of Independent Thinking' that slogans like the 'Socialist pattern of Society' and the 'Socialist State' have been accepted "without any known public or private discussions, owing to the parrot culture that has seized the country". And Mr. Subba Rau has endorsed Rajaji's thesis for the need of independent thought which is based on a statement of Burke, who compared the role of responsible publicists with that of the midnight fire-bell. In the words of Burke: "The fire-bell at midnight might disturb your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed". And the translation of this idea in the practical sphere has resulted in the formation of the Swatantra Party.

The Editor of 'Swarajya' has not only dealt with Rajaji's contributions to current political thought, but has also given a few revealing glimpses of Rajaji's sympathy for the people whom he knows and understands in his charming pieces on "A Miracle" and "Unforgettable Things".

Mr. Nehru had recently announced that "Rajaji is a big man, he may speak reasonably or unreasonably, logically or illogically, he (Nehru) will not answer or be drawn into controversies with him". And in his article on 'The Greatest Living Indian'.

(which, according to this reviewer is the most impressively written article in this collection), Subba Rau has observed that "if President Eisenhower were to declare at a press conference that Adlai Stevenson is a big man, he may be reasonable or unreasonable, he will not answer him or be drawn into controversy with him, the Americans, who are sensitive to the requirements of democratic rule, would have been thoroughly nonplussed". And he has concluded his essay with the remark, that despite all the trappings of democracy, we are "no better off than Nepal, except that we have the doubtful privilege of bearing the enormous cost of the huge paraphernalia of representative institutions from which the democratic spirit has been systematically exorcised by the very arch-priest professing to honour them". It is a truly brilliant piece of ironic writing.

While reflecting on the achievements of Mr. Khasa Subba Rau this reviewer is always reminded of Trevelyan's observations on Garibaldi. In his "Garibaldi and the making of Italy", Dr. Trevelyan has remarked that Garibaldi "is perhaps the only case, except Byron for a few weeks in Greece, of the poet as man of action." And Dr. Trevelyan has also observed that "Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world—the love of country and the love of freedom, kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind". Mr. Subba Rau is one of our very few journalists to be cast in a heroic mould. And this fascinating volume of 'Sidelights', has not only illuminated the brilliant facets of Rajaji's many-splendoured personality, but has also revealed Mr. Khasa Subba Rau as a journalist's journalist who has combined in himself the Garibaldian concept of freedom and the intellectual equipment of a scholar.

The value of this excellently got-up volume is enhanced by Mr. Pothan Joseph's wittily written foreword; it is also moderately priced. And the publisher, Mr. V. Kalidas, must be congratulated on this work.

TOLL OF JABALPUR

What has happened in Jabalpur is extremely sad and unfortunate.

The latest figures of the havoc are as follows:-

- | | | |
|---|-----|--------------|
| 1) People who have lost their lives | ... | 55 |
| 2) Persons seriously injured during the rioting | ... | 155 |
| 3) Property destroyed during the rioting | | Rs. 50 lakhs |
| 4) Persons arrested by the Police for rioting | | 2,130 |
| 5) Cases filed in the courts | | 725 |

When the Prime Minister Nehru blames the so-called "communal" elements for the disturbances, he conveniently forgets to mention who were responsible for starting the disturbances. (Vide the Commissioner's report.)

Gleanings from the Press

SWATANTRA PARTY STYLE OF PLANNING

Those like the Swatantra Party who advocate a different style of planned economic progress will therefore have a great opportunity to put their ideas before a receptive public.

Their plan is that India should lessen her dependence on foreign aid by importing mainly plant for the production of consumption goods. This would increase exports and lessen the present strain on the foreign balances; it would absorb purchasing power and so reduce the tendency to inflation; and it would increase employment and thus spread the benefits of economic progress and diminish the feeling of the majority of people that they are paying for the plans but getting nothing out of them.

Under the Swatantra Party style of planning, no attempt is made to conceal the fact that India will for a long period have to buy her means of production from other countries. But she will be able to make an honest effort to buy them, or at worst will take economic aid which is offered in pursuance of a general policy on the part of the industrialised countries of helping the backward ones. She will not use threats, explicit or implicit, to squeeze money out of reluctant benefactors.

In all other respects the advantages are with the Swatantra Party style of planning. It causes less hardship, and it spreads the gains of economic progress more evenly. Most important of all, it avoids the imbalance of a highly concentrated modern industry planted in the midst of a community which is still economically and culturally a community of villagers.

Because, according to the traditional nomenclature, the Swatantra Party style of planning is "right wing," it is often assumed that it would involve the danger of a polarisation of political extremes, ending in a dictatorship of one or the other. The opposite is true: it would avoid the polarisation of Indian society between the favoured minority and the neglected and overtaxed majority which the present unnatural policy is producing.

MYSINDIA

THOUGHTS ON SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

How do I recognise the best State? Just as you recognise the best woman. Just, my friend, because no one speaks of either.

—Schiller.

"Government is the fundamental 'ism' of the soldier, the bigot, and the priest."

—Wendell Phillips.

"Every actual State is corrupt. Good men should not obey the laws too well."

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Society is, in every State, a blessing but Government even in its best State, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we should expect in a country without government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer government like dress, the badge of lost innocence.

—Thomas Paul.

News & Views

SATAN REBUKING SIN

Pakistan's military dictator compares the latest disturbances in the Jabalpur areas to Lumumba's murder and other crimes in Congo. He told pressmen at the Tejgaon airport, Dacca, on February 16, that "innocent Muslims were killed and hounded out." Continuing he said, "Muslims in India had been politically neutralised and economically almost finished. These things occur in India every now and then."

Here is a case of Satan rebuking sin.

—Organiser (27-2-61).

AS A YOUNG CHRISTIAN HISTORIAN SEES THEM

The Pakistani press is angry over a recent television broadcast from London by Donn Moraes, son of Frank Moraes of the "Indian Express." In the course of a television series on India, he was naturally drawn into discussing the ancestors of Muslims in India and Pakistan. As an unbiased narrator of historical facts, Donn described them as "uncivilised perpetrators of pillage, rape, and other forms of barbarism."

Titled—INDIA MYSTICAL AND MIGHTY— young Moraes highly praised Hinduism and described the so-called "Muslim" monuments like the Taj as "evidence of Hindu civilising influence on Islam."

The Karachi Government considers these statements of young Moraes as "defamatory of Islam and Muslims in general." They intend to lodge a protest with the British Government.

VERDICT ON NEHRU

"Nehru is a giant," says Brecher, "both as a man and as a statesman. Almost singlehanded he has endeavoured to lift his people into the twentieth century."

Giving a realistic estimate of the circumstances that made his rise possible, Napoleon once said about himself, "Centuries will pass before this unique combination of circumstances, which made my career, recur in the case of another." The same may be said about Jawaharlal Nehru.....He could have easily become the peer of an Ashoka or an Akbar.....But the tragedy for India is that the greatest of Indians of his time did not rise to the fullest height and has failed her greatly. Even if we overlook his shortcomings, will posterity forgive him?

S. S. Chakraborty in "CARAVAN" (Feb.). CONGRESS RULERS ARE PRACTISING FRAUD ON THE PEOPLE

Bombay: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, founder-leader of the Swatantra Party, speaking here recently, charged the Congress rulers "With misusing the constitutional powers and converting the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed under the Constitution, into an instrument for defrauding the people."

Continuing he stated that the Congress rulers should not have resorted to amending the Constitution. The Swatantra Party stood for the sole objective, the restitution of constitutional guarantees of the Fundamental Rights, fully. He said that today Freedom has lost its meaning. By freedom is meant not freedom of person only, BUT freedom of expression, of occupation and the right to hold what one has

earned legally and legitimately. He exhorted the audience to remember that the Swatantra Party stood for "the revival and survival of Democracy."

MAHARANI OF JAIPUR JOINS SWATANTRA PARTY

Jaipur: Maharani Gayatri Devi's entry into the Swatantra Party has enlivened the political atmosphere here. The Swatantra Party expects, not without reason, that the Maharaja will follow suit.

The Maharani has decided to contest a Parliamentary seat from Jaipur during the next elections.

The Maha Rawar of Doongarpur, the President of the S.P. State unit, is working actively to canvass support for the S. Party in Rajasthan.

The Maharaj of Bikaner, an Independent M.P., though not willing to join the S. Party, has promised his full support for the programme of the Party. Signs are that the Congress will have great hurdles to surmount during the next General Elections in Rajasthan.

FACTS AND FANCIES

President Rajendra Prasad, after testing the categories of Chinese aggression,.....expresses his hope that the Peking authorities on reflection will still vacate the aggression. China, in its expansionist policy, is likely to regard the pious expectations with silent scorn.....The following is the tally of Chinese advance:—

Ladakh region 12,000 miles.

Middle sector 500 square miles.

Eastern sector 500 square miles.

Region west of Karakoram 5,000 square miles.

Subsequent to this admitted encroachment, the study group of the Congress Parliamentary Party discovered that China is moving forward and has made a demand of 300 square miles near Bara Hoti. Further news from Gangtok reveal that China wants direct negotiations with Sikkim.....

Far from China repenting past acquisitions, it is clear that the Peking authorities are resolved to be on the march.

Poethan Joseph in "MYSINDIA" (26-2-61).

NEW FETTERS FOR GERMAN WORKERS IN SOVIET ZONE

A new legislation in the Soviet Zone of East Germany provides for the whittling down the rights of the German workers and also provides for penalties for "fall in production for no fault on the part of the workers."

In fixing the norms of the work the new legislation has a clause which reduces the workers in East Germany to the level of serfs and slaves. It lays down, amongst other conditions, a clause that states as under:—

"In the case of any reduction in quality for which the worker is to be blamed, wages shall be differentiated by the grade of the usefulness of the article... ..Any one found guilty, due to negligence or premeditation, of having caused any waste of production, WILL NOT BE PAID HIS WAGES."

A communist regime is indeed a Workers' Paradise!

INDIAN ARMY SAVED JABALPUR

Though no coherent or detailed news of what happened at Jabalpur are available, the fact that the Indian Army had to be called shows that the civil ad-

ministration was unable to cope with the dangerous situation there.....The reasons for the requisition of the Indian Army was the discovery of a big arms and ammunition dump in one of the mosques of the city by Pakistani agents, and the facilities that were over-erred by arms and ammunition dealers, who were all Muslims, to the "goondas" to loot their shops. This made it possible for the Muslim rioters to fire from the protection of the mosque, both on the Police and the Hindu people, who had assembled there. The local Police were unable to cope with this dangerous situation, in the face of armed and riotous rabble of the Muslims. The Police were demoralised. The Indian Army had to be called to take over the situation, and they have been successful in their effort. This is a clear warning, both to the Hindus as well as the authorities, as to what steps are necessary in future to deal with a similar situation in any part of the country. Both the Hindus and the Muslims have suffered equally in Jabalpur. But the (disarmed) Hindus were no match to the well-armed Muslims. Under the Congress regime and the Gandhian imbecile era, the Hindu discontent finds its only expression in protests, morchas and satyagraha.

HINDU (Bombay).

RED ARMY THREATENS TO REVOLT

Hongkong: The Red Chinese Army, stationed in the southern parts of Tibet, has threatened to revolt, if the quota of their food rations are cut by the authorities. The Chinese Army of occupation is not getting its full quota of rations due to the food crisis in the mainland of China.

STATE-MANAGEMENT SPELLS SQUANDER-MANIA AND CORRUPTION

It is a common experience that State-owned concerns are invariably mismanaged, and are notorious for corruption, wasteful expenditure, and favouritism. The Nizam Sugar Factory, taken over by the Andhra Government in 1957, is no exception to this general rule. This should prove one more warning to the advocates of State management that private enterprise and private management are far superior.

The Factory owns 36,000 acres of sugar cane fields. They used to yield 45 tons of sugar cane per acre. Today the yield has dropped down to 36 tons. This is after FOUR years of State management. Against this decreasing yield of 36, the yield in the fields privately owned has jumped up to 60 tons per acre.

Our doctrinaire Planners had expected a 6 per cent increase in the yield of State-owned farms. Actually the yield has decreased, while the fields owned in the private sector, show a good increase in the yield.

If the glaring "performance" was not sufficient proof for the condemnation of State-management, here are some more examples of corruption, wasteful expenditure and rank mismanagement.

A HUGE FRAUD

The waste of public money can be seen when one notices that Rs. 70,000 have been spent on the "repairs" of each tractor, totalling seven, when the cost of a latest model of a tractor is only Rs. 30,000. And even after the so-called repairs the seven tractors are lying idle as they are unusable. And what is worse, that an official who is looking after these seven tractors, which are lying idle, has ordered some spare parts for them costing Rs. 6 lakhs.

FROM FRAUD TO FRAUD

Despite the low yields of the farms under State management and the low output of the Factory, the brown "burra sahebs" who manage the concern, have ordered the expansion of the Factory. A sum of Rs. 50 lakhs have been advanced to private farmers for the supply of sugar cane, and another Rs. 45 lakhs are sanctioned for the purchase of spare parts and more machinery. And yet after FOUR years, there is no expansion of the Factory in sight.

In spite of the fact that the Factory has not been a paying concern, the officials concerned have ordered a new building for the Head Office of the Factory costing Rs. 13 lakhs, though the first estimates were only for Rs. 8 lakhs.

This is the way how public money and taxes are wasted, and wasted criminally, by the officials of any State-owned concern. And yet a poor country like India is burdened, more and more, with State-managed industries and State-owned concerns.

TARZAN CALL GETS A REPLY IN MALAYA JUNGLE EVENING

Kluang: "AAAHYAHYAHAAAA." The Tarzan call echoed through the jungle evening and then came a sound to freeze the blood—a reply from someone or something.

The reply was a long, guttural, booming sound—but what made it?

That is now the question confronting the men who have gone into the jungle near here in search of whatever it is that made the giant "Abominable Snowman" footprints.

'HAIRY GIANT

The Deputy State Games Warden, Inche Jilil bin Ahmad, 45, now believes that a pair of giants are wandering about in the hills and valleys near where the prints were found.

A sceptical Inche Jilil went into the jungle with an aborigine, Inche Yusof Kuntun.

He was sceptical about a claim by the aborigine that for 25 years off and on he had been making contact with a hairy giant which he had actually seen.

So Inche Yusof let go his Tarzan calls then in one early evening. The cries were answered.

Inche Jilil's party left the jungle without seeing anything of the creature, but he is planning to ask the State Government to declare the area a prohibited area to prevent hunters from shooting the giants if they come across them.

'JARANG GIGI'

As to Inche Yusof's meeting with the giant 25 years ago—he said he was cutting rattan in the area when he felt someone or something watching him.

"I looked up—and there to my horror was The Thing, only a few yards away."

It was 10 ft. tall, covered in black hair and its teeth were far apart—recalling stories he had heard about something called "Jarang Gigi" meaning "teeth apart." That was all he saw.

Then he fled. But over the years he had heard "Tarzan call." He repeated them—and got replies, presumably from the "Jarang Gigi."

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.
Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker
God and the State by Bakunin.
General Idea of the Revolution by Proudhon.
What is Mutualism by Swartz.
Causes of Business Depression by Hugo Bilgram.
Challenge of Asia by Ralph Borsodi.
Education and Living (2 vols.) by Ralph Borsodi.
Socialism by Von Mises.
Human Action by Von Mises.
The Conquest of China by Sitaram Goel.

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