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Editorial

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER

THE results of the General Elections are before the country. The pattern has followed the last General Elections with the Congress Party returned to power at the Centre and in 11 out of the 13 States. But the most disturbing factor is, that despite the flaunting of the "socialist" banner by the Congress, the Congress could not check the growing power of the Communists. In Kerala the Communists have been invited to form the Government and in Bengal they form the main and powerful Opposition to the Congress Ministry. In Maharashtra and in Gujarat the Congress Party has received some of the most severe jolts and its complacency must have been shattered. Gujarat defeated two Bombay Ministers and one Central Minister. In Maharashtra proper the Congress has been buried deep and for ever. Though the issue before the voters in Maharashtra and in Gujarat was only provincial and a parochial one, it shows that in the reorganisation of the bilingual State of Bombay the Congress has not correctly felt the pulse of the people nor has it shown statesmanship or political wisdom. To dismiss the results in Maharashtra and in Gujarat as due to "emotionalism" is to shut one's eyes to the stark realities. The election defeats in both these regions should make the Congress think again and give up its complacency. But the Congress, as at present, constituted, is unable to face the realities of the situation and that is the tragedy of the situation.

Lost Contact With The Population

The Congress, if it is serious, to continue as a live political party, would have to throw off its blinkers of khadi, inject new blood, and give up its doctrinaire attitude—whether of the Gandhian variety or the new-fangled "socialist". The country as well as the people at large are definitely not behind the "socialist" policies of the Government. Equally so are the business community and the industrialists. But judging from Prime Minister's speech before the Federation of the Merchants Chambers, it seems that the Prime Minister is not only doctrinaire but also dogmatic. In one breath he says that the Government would abide by the verdict of the ballot box and in another breath he states that the linguistic controversy would not be allowed to be reopened. If he accepts the verdict of the ballot box in Maharashtra and Gujarat then he must reopen the linguistic question. But that he is not going to do is certain from his speech.

A Dig At Free Enterprisers

Again referring to the propaganda that is carried out in the country on behalf of Free Enterprise, he stated that he has an open mind but in the very next sentence he stated that he has also firm convictions. Only a man of vacillating nature can alone understand

what the Prime Minister meant. If he has an open mind then he should be free for receiving new ideas but then in the very next breath he says that he has firm convictions which mean that he is not open to correction. His dig at the champions of Free Enterprise does not become a democratic Prime Minister. Ridiculing these champions of Free Enterprise the Prime Minister asked do they think that they are running the Government? Surely not, but if we have a democracy it is the business of every section of the community to put forth its views and by propaganda and education, take the people with it. If the supporters of Free Enterprise and opposers of the socialist fads and shams of the Government occasionally criticise the Government, it is not for a democratic Prime Minister to hold them to ridicule. He must try to meet their arguments and convince the intelligent that the socialist policies are right and the supporters of Free Enterprise are in the wrong. But with 80 per cent voters that are composed of villagers and illiterates and with a servile and non-independent Press, the Prime Minister and the Government can pose that they are democratic but in actual practice they are totalitarian and dictatorial.

Congress Monopoly Challenged

In a democratic conception of government the Opposition is taken for granted as the successor to the government in power. But the present Congress rulers imagine that they have the virtual monopoly of power and there are no parties to challenge that monopoly. But the election results should induce some second thoughts amongst the Congressmen that their monopoly has at last been challenged, and if they continue their autocratic regime, without any regard to popular trends, the day will not be far long when the Congress will be a thing of the past.

A Vote Of Censure

Many of the unpleasant surprises that the Elections have given to the Congress Party only underline the moral that the Congress has lost the loyalty and the hold it had with the people. The people have shown their lack of confidence and trust in the candidates that the Congress had put up for the elections and their condemnation of the acts of corruption and nepotism of the Congress administration.

Another notable trend that the elections have shown is that the people, as a whole, are now free from communalism. In Maharashtra the Congress tried to bolster up the old Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy but the people by electing the Samiti candidates have buried the ghost of that British created canker. But curiously enough the Congress, which wrongly prides itself on "secularism", has been responsible for perpetuating Casteism, communalism and provincial loyalties. That is the paradox in the country. Though the Congress has been shaken the High Command remains complacent.

Interim Budget

ON HIGH ROAD TO INSOLVENCY

By M. G. Bailur

TALKING about the prospects for the Second Five Year Plan, the Finance Minister declared with evident aplomb that if the Plan sank, the nation would sink with it. He had no qualms about it. No matter what happened, Government would grimly hang on to the Plan.

It is a heroic gesture, but one centered, not on the well-being of the nation which, one would suppose, is ultimately what matters, but upon the vanity and egotism of the framers of the Plan. It does not matter if the Plan is faulty, Mr. Krishnamachari seems to think, or ill-proportioned, or self-defeating; or, if the nation for whose ultimate good it is ostensibly designed flounders into disaster in consequence. Mr. Krishnamachari, with the Government behind him, has staked everything, including the nation's well-being, on scriptural certitude, on doctrinal infallibility. So did Stalin and his cohorts in the 'thirties. No one, the country's all-vigilant press least of all, appears to see in this purblind infatuation anything remarkable; yet, it is remarkable for one thing, because it is certainly not the language of a democratic forum, but rather redolent of the Nazis in their decrevity, when they were on the run and coldly resolved to drag the Third Reich down with them into a common catastrophe and ruin.

A Portent Of Things To Come

The interim Budget introduced into the lame duck session of Parliament was a retrospect rather than a financial plan for the future. But it was also a portent, because it derived all its essential countenance from the frame of mind of our rulers, of which Mr. Krishnamachari's exordium concerning the Plan is a daring but nonetheless typical illustration.

The nation is reconciled to a diet of continuing sacrifices, and where they are demonstrably in the interests of strengthening the nation's economy and security, few will grudge the cost involved in effort and austerity. But the growing and persistent symptoms of disbalance in the economy of the country show no countervailing features. The expansionist forces set in motion by the Plan have already begun to exert a ramifying inflationary pressure, but the Finance Minister, so cocksure as regards what he will not do, has not one positive remedy which has not already been tried in the past and found wanting.

Typically Bureaucratic

It is reassuring to be told that he will carefully watch the economic trends, and that a strict system of priorities will be introduced into the framework of the Plan. This is the sort of blarney beloved of the bureaucrat to which we have all been long accustomed, but worn rather threadbare in the face of the mounting crisis which confronts the nation right now. The people as a whole, and the creative and enterprising sections most of all, await a surcease from the

harrying insecurities and anxieties of supporting an intolerable burden of taxation, but what is now presaged is more taxes to come and the adjuration that no matter what disastrous follies into which the nation is betrayed, the people shall tighten their belts and stiffen their backs.

An overall deficit of Rs. 216 crores is what they have to live down during the current year, and it is no comfort that an estimated budget deficit of Rs. 18 crores is expected to end with a nominal surplus of Rs. 38 crores. For the fact is that the deficit financing to which we have had recourse in the past year has already drawn off from the nation's economic resilience whatever cushioning it could yield.

Paying A High Price

Defence, that imperious and ineluctable arbiter, on which, whatever our varying politics and ideologies, we dare not let up, must needs be reinforced and buttressed at a cost of something of the order of Rs. 50 crores. But this is a question not merely of finance, but, in modern times chiefly, one bearing intimately upon international relations and upon the pursuit of policies thought out in concert with other likeminded nations. By that token, our record, for all the plaudits doled out for our delectation, has been an unappetising mixture of quixotry, sanctimony and arrogant self-sufficiency. We pay the price, of course, but it is an inordinately excessive price in goodwill and in forfeit of potential assistance from sources who need have no more than a lively sense of the community of interests binding all genuinely democratic nations together. The people who in the end willy nilly pay the price, not knowing they are being wheedled and footing the bill, have a right to know how much of what they pay is unavoidable and how much is a preventable impost.

Alarming Prospects

Under existing taxation, the revised estimate of Rs. 639 crores in revenue still leaves a gap of some Rs. 27 crores on revenue account to bridge, without taking account the enormous leeway of Rs. 338 crores in the capital budget. More alarming still is our payments position which over the whole of the Plan period must sustain an augmentation in the deficit of the order Rs. 400 crores over earlier estimates. This is strictly a problem of finding external resources, as to which, by their policy, in turn permeating and peremptory of incursion into the private sector, Government is doing everything it can at home and abroad, to warn off external aid. The thought that the taxation policy of Government could be so adjusted as to yield a modicum of stimulus to the private sector to daring enterprise, and to the nation as a whole to work harder and more productively, runs so entirely counter to Government's hardened preconceptions, that the only sensible road to solvency is ruled out of court in advance.

AN ECONOMIC PLAN OR. A COMMUNIST PLOT?

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE lines of criticism of the candidates (whether independent or party nominees) in the present election showed that even opposition leaders had not realised the deadly implications of the second Five Year Plan. The Plan retains substantially all the objectionable features pointed out by discerning critics since the original Plan-Frame of Dr. Mahalanobis was published.

The way in which criticisms of responsible and informed experts (academic economists like Prof. Shenoy and industrialists like Mr. A. D. Shroff) have been ignored, does not lend colour to the official claim that the Plan has been adopted democratically. Mere publication of the proposals and tolerance of public discussion of them in the press and on the platform are not enough to support the claim of democratic procedure. Such process demands acceptance of rational criticism and these consequent adoption of changes suggested by critics. But we do not find suggestion in the authorities of the Union Government.

Indifference To Criticism

This indifference to reasonable criticism raises the presumption that the Plan is perhaps in the nature of a plot on somebody's part to force the country into Soviet ways of building "socialism."

The pattern of the plan is modelled on the Soviet pattern, consisting as it does of high targets, of heavy industries, of a policy of freezing machine-industries producing consumer goods under the leadership of commercial and industrial groups, and an encouragement of cottage and village crafts, together with financial outlays far above the reach of normal sources of revenue.

Lange's Admissions

The high targets of heavy industries necessitate the expansion of the public sector, which is the Soviet rationale for them. The expansion of the public sector is deduced as necessary and beneficent from the axioms of socialism and not on the ground of welfare. The public fail to see that this is not proved. On the contrary, the opposite of this is proved by an unbiased examination of the Russian, East European and Chinese economies. Even after five Five Year Plans, the Russian people have not experienced the benefits of welfare in the sense of an abundance of consumer goods. Neither consumer goods nor food production has reached levels satisfactory to the bulk of the people in Russia even after 30 years of planning. No reason is given by Indian authorities as to why India can expect a more satisfactory result, especially as the pattern adopted here is essentially the same.

Prof. Lange, the Polish economist who collaborated with Dr. Mahalanobis in the drafting of the Plan-Frame, now finds it possible after the recent Polish rebellion to set down in writing the basic flaws of the Russian type Plans to which his country was subjected. Our Prime Minister too was moved after the Polish and Hungarian blood-baths to utter the warning that too great a stress on heavy industries and the starving out of consumer goods was to be avoided. But he has done nothing to get the Indian Plan altered accordingly! The fatal pattern continues to be the official policy of the land.

A Disastrous Plan

This Plan may suit communism, but it is disastrous to economies like ours where a private sector is accepted as part of the social order. Persistence in the pattern is explicable only on the supposition that it is the intention of the authorities to exterminate the business class as soon as possible. This can be seen in the innocent-looking phrase *at this stage* in the Industrial Policy Declaration of 1956.

It says: "The State has therefore to assume direct responsibility for the future development of industries over a wider area. Nevertheless, there are limiting factors which make it necessary *at this stage* (italics ours) for the State to define the field in which it will undertake sole responsibility for further development and to make a section of industries in the development of which it will play a dominant role."

What is the compelling urgency of such an expansion of the public sector? The answer is, in the words of the Resolution, "The adoption of the socialistic pattern of society." Then why not proceed at once to socialise all lines of production? The answer is tactics—salami tactics.... *At the present stage*. At the present stage of what? The answer is both *political*, meaning thereby the preparation of public opinion, and *administrative*, meaning thereby the need for a period of preparation of an officialdom capable of taking over the entire economy of the country.

Rack And Ruin

The writing on the wall cannot be plainer. If the business class and the intellectuals do not see it, the responsibility rests squarely on them for letting the country go to rack and ruin without their lifting their finger to prevent it.

The suspicion that it is a Plot is borne out substantially if we scrutinise the utterances of "socialist" economists like Dr. Gadgil who seem to compete with Dr. Mahalanobis in the role of advisers of the

coming socialist regime. Dr. Gadgil pointed out in a memorandum that he submitted to the Committee of the National Development Council last year that Government policies had not yet taken radical measures to eliminate or weaken what he calls monopoly capitalism. He suggests that their continuance in power in the economy impounds too much money in private hands which would be more useful in Government coffers for direct investment. He seems to think that it is better for Government to earn profit directly than obtain resources indirectly through taxing an independent class of producers.

Banking Next

His suggestion of nationalising insurance was carried out dramatically immediately thereafter. Banking is next on the anvil. The elimination through resignation of independent figures from the State Bank shows which way the wind blows. And with banking facilities concentrated in the hands of the State Bank, the blood of industry and commerce will pass into the hands of the State, i.e. the group that holds power. The result is a single party State, for who will dare to assist financially the birth and development of opposing parties when *all* businessmen depend on the State Bank for their working funds?

This situation is already approaching with the recent enactment which obliges joint stock companies to deposit part of their working funds or reserves with the Government. This is clearly an infringement of property right and is *ultra vires* of the Constitution. But who has the nerve to contest it in the Supreme Court when the whole institution of property is under

sentence of death? The abolition of private property is an integral part of the socialistic pattern which the country is supposed to have accepted, because the crowd at Avadi lifted up their hands at the behest of their beloved leader.

That Gap

Another procedure of the authorities that strengthens the impression of a plot is the astonishing tenacity with which the huge gap of Rs. 800 crores and more in the resources is maintained with the legend that it is intended to be filled by foreign aid! It looks as though the Masters of the Plan wish to show that America will refuse to oblige us, and since the Plan needs the money, a Soviet offer of the requisite funds might thereafter be wangled.

The tactics of the Aswan Dam aid adopted by Egypt seem to be in the mind either of the foreign backers of Dr. Mahalanobis or of the Prime Minister himself. And since we commit ourselves to such large loans from Soviet Russia, our political dependence on her will follow as night follows day. Somebody is thus pushing India into the Soviet orbit. Heavy is their responsibility. The country cannot afford to give them the benefit of the doubt. Intellectuals cannot be excused if they do not expose these tactics either through lack of insight or misguided zeal for the Soviet camp.

The greatest danger of the Congress's continued rule is not inefficiency, corruption and undisguised selfishness or materialism, but its blindness to the moves of its chiefs through the camouflage of the Plan.

FIVE QUESTIONS ON THE ELECTIONS

By "Vivek"

1. *Should polling day in Bombay have been declared a holiday?*

The general idea that India is a poor country must be wrong. How could a poor country afford to stop work completely in an industrial area like Bombay for a whole day merely to let voters put their voting papers in ballot boxes, a task which with all its preliminaries does not last beyond ten minutes at the most from the time of entering the polling booth?

Nor does it take particularly long to reach the polling booth, since generally it is within a few furlongs from the voter's residence. With a normal working day, all that would be necessary to enable all the citizens to vote would be to keep the booth open for a couple of hours before and after the hours of work, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. would give ample time. Yet a holiday is declared.

The authorities cannot be unaware that its economic consequences are likely to be grave, well over a

crore being lost in reduced production and services alone. To their ears then, this talk of poverty must seem greatly exaggerated. Perhaps because they are not called upon to bear privations themselves, and on the whole, do very well, they do not realise the situation sufficiently. Perhaps they hold that the voter must be bribed by a day's pay for no work before he will agree to exercise his privilege of voting.

In fact, of course no such inducement is needed. Even the illiterate among the voters have by and large shown themselves anxious to discharge their duty and the percentage of voting would probably bear comparison with that in many more economically advanced countries, even if no holiday were declared.

Who Bore The Cost Of Nehru's Propaganda?

2. *Who bears the cost of the maintenance and use*

of the aeroplane that has been carrying the Prime Minister around on his election tours?

From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the Prime Minister has flown thousands of miles, making election speeches on behalf of his party. It would be interesting to the public to be told from what source the cost of the crew, the aviation fuel, the airport fees, the servicing, and the other incidentals involved in such flights, are being met. Is the Prime Minister meeting them himself? Is the Congress Party meeting them? Or are they a charge on the Government of India? A detailed statement showing the journeys undertaken and the amounts spent under each head would seem to be very desirable.

In any case, why should Indian Air Force personnel man a vessel employed on party purposes? The Air Force belongs to the nation, not to any political party, however, powerful or important. The British custom in this matter is well illustrated by the story of Mrs. Atlee driving the then Prime Minister around his constituency on his election campaign in her own small car.

Menon And His Political Faith

3. Were any of the qualities, large sections of the Press suddenly assumed in Krishna Menon, discernable in his pre-election transactions in Bombay?

Yes, one. Only a person with a great deal of self-assurance could answer that he did not feel called to confess his political faith, when asked what his reaction was to the belief that he was a fellow-traveller. What is Krishna Menon? A candidate for election to political office. To whom is he loath to disclose his political faith. To his electors. But is not a candidate's political faith a matter of the greatest importance. How can he be judged in the absence of knowledge of it?

Clearly it is not a matter a candidate should hesitate to disclose when asked. In fact it is his duty to state it of his own accord. An evasive answer on this subject, deplorable in any case, becomes even more deplorable when the nature of the question is considered.

For what does being a fellow traveller mean? It means serving primarily the interests of the Soviet State apparatus. Faced with such a charge, the first reaction of any unconnected person would be indignant refutation. Krishna Menon prefers to hedge.

Servile Bombay Press

4. Why did so large a part of the Bombay Press not carry at all, or carry in an extremely attenuated form, Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan's short statement on the North Bombay Parliamentary Election contest, while devoting column upon column, day after day, to the activities and statements of one of the candidates, Krishna Menon?

The best answer is contained in the statement itself. Jaya Prakash Narayan disagrees entirely and wholly with the assertion that has been so emphatically made so often that Menon's defeat in the election would mean India's defeat on Kashmir and be a censure on its foreign policy. Menon's long speeches at the United

Nations contained in his view nothing that had not been said before by India's representatives and he found no contribution by Menon to the solution of the Kashmir problem. On the other hand, 'we have singularly failed either to win world support or to reach a constructive settlement. In spite of the high-powered boosting that he has received, Menon is not a little responsible for this failure.'

Admitting his inability, together with that of a large number of eminent Congressmen, to understand why Menon is such a hot favourite of the Prime Minister, Jaya Prakash feels strongly that India's Foreign policy is not safe in Menon's hands. Non-involvement has, he thinks, been seriously compromised since Menon came actively to the helm of foreign affairs, and he goes on: "The other day the Prime Minister spoke of how India had come to be surrounded by hostile nations. That was perhaps an absentminded admission of serious failure but if there has been one man responsible for this failure more than another, it is Krishna Menon. Not the least factor in this failure has been Krishna Menon's unfortunate manner. A person or a country that suffers from an inferiority complex may find psychological compensation in rudeness and arrogance. But India should have no inferiority complex. Such behaviour makes enemies for us gratuitously."

Jaya Prakash cannot but look with apprehension on Menon's role as policy-maker, and he asks the electors to think for themselves and not to let themselves be stampeded by the dead set that has been made to get Menon returned.

Jaya Prakash is widely respected for his fair-mindedness and personal integrity. There can be little doubt that such a statement from him brought prominently to the notice of the electors would have been a very strong point against Menon. In the circumstances, the best strategy for Menon's supporters was to make sure that it did not get large circulation. They went forward in accordance with it.

Congress And Big Business

5. Is the Congress-Industry alliance which gives Congress very large sums of money making it independent of the ordinary citizen in monetary matters, desirable from the point of view of democracy?

On the contrary. It is the most powerful factor in the prevention of the growth of that real opposition without which democracy can never function as it should. Who can match the Congress crores, obtained from Industry now more than ever since the law actually permits contributions from company resources to party funds? This latest development imposes in effect, an additional tax, the proceeds going not to the State, but to a political party, for hardly any company can, in view of the extensive powers of Government, have the temerity to refuse to contribute when asked, even if it very much wants to. Industry is demoralised, but an even more demoralising effect is produced on Congress itself, for confident of funds, the party leaders and followers alike, begin to regard as much less important the people's true welfare and to concentrate largely on the pleasures of power.

West Pakistan Under the Jack-Boot of Mirza

By "Vigilant"

GOVERNMENTS and political alliances change in Pakistan as quickly as one changes one's clothes. So there is no surprise in the fact that the Dr. Khan Saheb's Government in West Pakistan was arbitrarily suspended by the Pak Dictator, Iskander Mirza, and clamped his own personal rule on West Pakistan. Democracy and stable governments go ill together in Muslim countries, whether they are Iran, Iraq, Indonesia or even Pakistan, proudly proclaimed as the "biggest Islamic state in the world." When Pakistan Government spokesmen and the people are crying hoarse for a plebiscite in Kashmir, they ignore the fact that their own Government is not prepared to have democracy in their own land. The very idea of one unit in West Pakistan, comprising of Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, is as much a political freak as the very existence and formation of the State of Pakistan. The claim that the profession of the religion of the Allah was a sufficient binding force for the existence of a modern State has been proved to be completely wrong as the ten year's history of the chaos and political confusion that are rampant in Pakistan shows. A political State, in the modern sense of the word, requires toleration for many religions there existing but Islam whether in Pakistan, or elsewhere is a fanatic one, and there is no wonder that there is neither political stability nor economic or social progress. Pakistan as long as it is wedded to the theocratic conception of an Islamic State, is bound to be governed by scheming and ambitious maulvis, politicians and dictators.

Mirza, The "Strong Man" Of Pak

It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that President Mirza should have suspended, what was at best a formal democratic government of Dr. Khan Saheb, but in reality his own personal rule. This will continue till he nominates a person of his choice as the next head, of what he terms "ordered democracy" when it suits him. Mr. Mirza is cast in the mould of a military dictator as every Muslim ruler is, and the personal dictatorship of Mirza would continue as long as he is not forcibly removed from his position of vantage. All these ten years, both the Government as well as the people of Pakistan have ploughed the arid sands of fanaticism and communalism, completely oblivious of the social, economic and political needs of the country they were called upon to govern. The only binding force that has, so to say, sustained the people and the government so far, is their artificially created hatred of Hindu India and the equally untenable question of Kashmir. But neither of these two can ever form the basis of any state, much less Pakistan.

India Has To Be Vigilant

But blinded by their Islamic fanaticism, they are dreaming of the conquest of not only Kashmir but also of India, in their false hopes of reviving the

"past glories" of the Moghul days. That they will have to stew in their own juice is a foregone conclusion. But as things are at present, Pakistan and her rulers constitute the only thorn in the side of India. But the present Government of India are still hoping against hope that Pakistan can be won over by appeasement and gestures of friendship. That is a delusion the sooner the Government of India give up the better for India. With all the chaos and confusion in Pakistan the one idea that sustains both the people and the Government of Pakistan is their inborn hatred against Hindu India. It is here that ALL our relations with Pakistan have gone wrong because the Government of India have not cared to understand the meaning of the very foundation of Pakistan and maybe the farsighted diplomacy of the British imperialists, who carved the state of Pakistan to serve their own designs. As such any change in the government of Pakistan, is neither a matter for satisfaction nor of dismay to the Indian people or the Indian Government. As long as Pakistan exists, with its Islamic theocratic foundation, India has to be ever vigilant and watchful of the aggressive designs of her neighbour. Eternal vigilance and military preparedness should be the watchwords with the New Delhi authorities. India cannot afford to rest on her oars.

Parade Of Prime Ministers

There is nothing new or surprising in the way that that President Mirza has acted. Even before that there has been a regular parade of Pakistan Prime Ministers—one displacing the other without any rhyme or reason. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali was assassinated. He was succeeded by two Mahomed Alis, to be succeeded by Suhrawardy. There have been a number of political parties, or rather personal parties, with nothing to distinguish one from the other. They have neither political nor economic programmes to canvass the loyalty or support of the people. Leaders have been continuously changing their alliances from one party to another. Pakistan is a political vacuum and a happy hunting ground of ambitious and scheming politicians and mullahs and further backed by foreign arms aid and foreign money.

The Republican Ministry of Dr. Khan Saheb which has been now suspended by President Mirza, could trace its formation to the house of Mirza himself. The Republican Party was his own creation as a sort of an opposition to the Muslim League, with Dr. Khan Saheb as the nominal head. Dr. Khan Saheb foreswore all his past political career and became the servile tool of President Mirza. It is no wonder that when the need arose, the handy tool in Dr. Khan Saheb had to be discarded and disowned. That is what President Mirza has done.

Constitutional propriety required that the President should have asked the Muslim League and the

National Party to form the government, as between them both, they have a strength of 180 in a House of 304. But then today both the Muslim League and the National Party stand for the liquidation of the One-Unit scheme of the President. And that is why the President had to come down on the people of West Pakistan with his mailed fist. Dr. Khan Saheb goes the way all servile politicians have gone before him in Pakistan. Prior to this action on the part of the President, the Republican ministry would have been defeated when nearly 30 Republicans crossed the floor and walked over to the Opposition. The Budget would have been voted down but Dr. Khan Saheb brazenly threatened to dissolve the Assembly and call for the President's rule. This action of Dr. Khan Saheb showed what scant regard he has for democracy. What Dr. Khan Saheb threatened, the President actually did. Pakistan is a typical example of how rudderless are the ships of state in Islamic countries, where personal rule seems to be the only solution. However, as stated before, these developments in Pakistan should be neither any cause for jubilation or sorrow in India. Whoever rules the Islamic state of Pakistan, a President, a Republican Ministry or a Muslim League Ministry, or any other, there would be no diminution of their animosity towards India. India has to be prepared for any aggression and to keep its powder dry.

PAKISTANI ARMED RAID ON TRIPURA

"Since the establishment of Pakistan a decade ago," writes Dr. N. B. Khare, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, to the "Organiser," "citizens of India are accustomed to hear or read in papers the news of attack by Pakistani citizens on border villages; but the news of an attack at midnight by about 400 armed Pakistanis on the Indian border town of Kamalpur in Tripura State is most distressing and hair-raising.

It is reported that the raiders were fully armed and came in trucks and jeeps and began firing and looting.

The Government of India, failing to give protection to its citizens, will now, as usual, lodge emphatic but ineffective protest with the Pakistan Government and heave a sigh of relief for having done its duty. As usual the Pakistan Government will consign this protest to its waste-paper basket.

It is significant to note that the Government of India appears to be much exercised over the continued dispute between Israel and Egypt in the Gaza strip, and is promptly sending Shri V. K. Krishna Menon to Cairo to take interest in the matter, but it has no interest in the safety and security of its own citizens nearer home. This is the parody of "Pancha-sheela".

The description of this raid shows that it was not merely an adventure by civilian robbers in quest of loot. Such a well-organised raid could not have been carried out but with the knowledge of the Pakistani Government and amounts to the derogation of the sovereignty of India.

SOVIET FICTION

ONE consequence of Moscow's sudden retreat from de-Stalinisation had been that so-called "liberalisation measures have become inextricably intertwined with measures that are uncompromisingly Stalinist—constituting a policy that is a curious admixture of a desire on the one hand to placate east European communist nationalism and on the other to preserve as much of Soviet leadership as can be retrieved from the disaster of de-Stalinisation. This incongruity is evident in the series of "agreements" which Moscow is negotiating with the various east European States to define the status of Soviet troops in these countries. Whereas in Poland, in concession to the unexpected strength of Polish nationalism, arrangements have been made to subordinate Russian forces to Polish law and convenience and a mixed commission has been established to which all disputes relating to the status of Soviet troops will be referred, there is nothing to suggest that elsewhere in east Europe, Moscow intends to justify the very Stalinistic action of stationing troops abroad by "agreements" that are highly de-Stalinised.

Since its leadership was challenged in Hungary and Poland, the Soviet Union—given the promise that this leadership is essential to Russian interests—has had no alternative but to restore by military means its control over the east European satellites. That is perhaps a matter of *realpolitik* but does not justify the polite fiction under which—apparently in deference to a shortlived de-Stalinisation—Moscow is seeking to represent the presence of Russian troops among the satellite States as a matter of "agreement" freely and independently negotiated.

—Times of India

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The Eisenhower Doctrine

By Salvador Madariaga

THE pattern that world events took in that fatidical first week of November has not been altered, it has rather been emphasized by the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine. Outwardly, the chief feature of this pattern was a mistaken appraisal of the true and natural stresses of the situation, which granted the main value to the Egypt-Israel-Middle East conflict and relegated the Hungary-Soviet Union struggle to a neglected second place. This remains the chief feature of the pattern of events three months later. Mr. Hammerskjöld's time, mind and energy are still fully engaged in the many aspects and after-effects of the Suez operation, but meanwhile helpless Hungary has been delivered to the Soviet Union, which is calmly proceeding to quarter and devour it. And as for the United States, their attention is now monopolized by the vacuum of the Middle East to such an extent that they fail to see how vacant their policy has become in Europe through the forsaking of Hungary.

All this belongs to the outward picture. And so do two other facts: the Eisenhower Doctrine itself and the neglect or passivity towards what goes on in Poland. The Eisenhower Doctrine amounts to a displacement of Great Britain from her Middle East positions. When the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drafted, the Americans insisted on having it explicitly said that the Monroe Doctrine was not to be considered as incompatible with the Covenant. The British saw nothing wrong in that and the outcome of this agreement was Art. 21 of the Covenant, which read thus: "Nothing in the Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

What are The Facts?

It mattered little that the Monroe Doctrine was not a regional understanding but a unilateral declaration. The fact remained that Article 21 of the Covenant recognized its validity, and, tacitly but not less definitely, the validity of British interests in the Middle East. Eisenhower has thus completed Monroe's work. He has annexed the British "Monroe" doctrine.

How much does that mean in actual fact? It is here that outward features of the situation have to yield to inner and more important facts. What is happening in Poland? Exactly the same as in Hungary, though at a slower pace. Gomulka is Poland's Nagy. If the nation pushes on, he will have to weigh very carefully whether to put himself at the head of a definitely liberalizing movement (which would inevitably lead to the ultimate defeat of Communism or to war with the Soviet Union) or to stand up against his own people, which would also lead to a war between the Polish nation and the Soviet army.

The Polish situation is essentially unstable. The way it will go depends mostly on the evolution of the Hungarian situation. Now, the evolution of the line Budapest-Warsaw-Moscow is infinitely more important than that of the line Cairo-Tel Aviv-Baghdad—both in itself and in its consequences on this Middle Eastern situation.

In itself, because if Budapest is finally crushed, the chances are that the unstable equilibrium in Poland will end in favour of the Soviet autocracy. This would consolidate a situation within the Soviet Union which is far from steady at present. While if the West, even at this late hour, succeeded in so exposing the barbarous behaviour of the Soviets in Hungary that a change for the better became imperative for the men of Moscow, the evolution of the Polish situation towards a liberal future would be practically assured; and sooner or later, freedom like an epidemic, would spread into Russia itself.

One word about the possibilities that still remain in this respect. The prudent and the pusillanimous are still haunted by the spectre of the H-Bomb war. Between that and nothing (which is the present programme) there is a wide margin. In Hungary itself much could be done with the presence of the United Nations. No one speaks any more about the visit of Mr. Hammerskjöld to Budapest. In the wide sounding box of the world nothing is being done to bring home to the workers that the heirs of Lenin are now crushing the organized workers of Hungary with their tanks. This immense moral force remains untapped for lack of drive to organize and use it in the West.

Moscow And Middle East

Thus far the importance of the Budapest-Warsaw-Moscow line in itself. But it is also important, indeed crucial, insofar as the Middle East line is concerned. For obviously if Moscow finds itself threatened by a liberal fermentation coming from the West, it is not likely to undertake ambitious schemes in the Middle East. Moreover, the psychological effect of the American offer of help and backing for such Middle Eastern nations as might request it is bound to be influenced by the fact that Hungary remains helpless as a bleeding, mauled witness of the kind of help the victims of the red bear may expect from the West. Nor would it do to argue that the West had made no definite promises to Hungary, since in attacking Hungary the Soviet Union has attacked the West and the Charter of the United Nations that binds the West.

The present policy of the United States is unfortunately based on the delusion that dollars and bombs can solve everything even in the absence of principles, ideas and institutions. That the new doctrine may exert a sobering effect on Moscow no one would care to deny.

—THOUGHT

Talking Through The Hat

By K. D. Valicha

NOW that the dust has almost settled down over the elections, I guess it is time we did a bit of the good old weighing the pro's and con's stuff. Although I am a blind worshipper of Pandit Nehru along with so many of my fellow-fools, I am by no means overjoyed to see the grand Pundit reinstated once more at the helm of this Republic's affairs. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that I have known all along that Pandit Nehru cannot be dislodged and, in the second, because I am now a little bored with the fellow.

What I mean is that there comes along a time when you feel like giving way to a real juicy yawn and kicking the bucket. I guess, if I am not much mistaken, I am just in the mood to do a little reckless talking and blowing my top.

A Pathological Case

Though I am not the kind of a chap who goes about trying to justify his every dashed act, I feel called upon to preface my remarks with a kind of genetical rendering of this inclination of mine. The way it strikes me is that the whole thing is shrouded in psychological causes. Me, I am given to pondering and the more I ponder, the more convinced I am that this is a regular pathological case. In the first place, I am now sick and tired of the Gandhi cap. I wonder if you have noticed it yourself but the way this national headwear strikes me is to make me feel kind of inferior. Believe me, there are times when I begin to get the jittery idea in my head that this cap is a sort of symbol of this country's brains and chaps like me who have not the nerve to don it on the rocker are just so much of the way-side dust.

Every morning this cap pops out at me from a newspaper and puts me in such a state of dazed inferiority that I do not even have the guts to look the missus in the eye. To say the least, every time this cap leers at me in a taunting sort of way, beads of perspiration sneak out of the holes and swarm the forehead while the tongue goes a mile out.

Furthermore, the chooldidar pyjamas, the tight-filling trousers that the P.M. wears have started giving me the creeps. He looks to peep from feudal Moghul days—into the 20th century. I have spent more than one night wondering how in hell he gets his feet through the pyjamas. A friend of mine, rather an enlightened chap, tells me that this sort of thing is good in China since the ladies there have got small feet. Indeed, this chap also informs me that this dress would find a good market in China. But to me, it looks as if this pyjama's chief use lies in the fact that it affords a good bit of exercise for the lower limbs because, when I had once let my wife talk me into trying it, I had given the feet the exercise of their young life.

Now I guess the human mind is a peculiar mechanism and, as days beats day out, I am inclined to think that there is a hell of a lot of difference between the

rulers and the ruled, the masses and the bureaucrats. I mean, the very dress emphasises it. Are we not — I begin to wonder at times—going the tried communist way? Are we not trying to evolve a communist society—consisting of the two classes, the politicians and the fools?

Picture my chagrin then when every morning I take a look into the paper, I see the antics of people who give me a pain in the neck. Paralytic Pant, Duped Dhebar, Monkeying Morarji and, at the head of the row, (Naughty) Acrobatic Nehru are enough to give one an eye-sore. In short, the whole national crowd stinks.

And what about Nehru's international henchmen? The whole set ranging from Khrushchev, Chou, Zhukov to small fry like Nasser has the effect of making me feel like a dead fish. To me, the set-up is jarring. And the only reason why I tolerate the gang is because they are pals of Nehru. And, as I said before, I am a blind follower of the Pandit.

In other words, they are no friends of mine. Indeed, to me they are just so much venom. Because, I happen to be a man by nature most peace-loving and tolerant, unquestionably the kind of a chap who wants to live and let live. I look forward to a happy society of the whole human race, to a joint partaking of the joys of life.

My Allies

Now, to a man like me, folks like the Americans are just the right size. They are my natural ally because they do not have any aggressive designs on me. I mean, America has no Americanism to impose on the world as Russia has its communism. I do not dispute the fact of the American economy being dominated by the Rockefeller monopoly who has mutual agreement with Soviet bureaucracy. But, what I mean is, while America is partly dominated by a private monopoly, Russia just stinks of state monopoly. Me, I prefer the lesser evil at all times.

Consequently, I am all for being pro-American. Because, in the process, I shall remain Indian and grow in a democratic way, as also remain neutral. I am aware that certain sections think that neutrality is inconsistent with taking sides with any of the two powers. I ask, what two powers? Can any man in his sane senses possibly compare America and Russia as polar opposites? Certainly, it is not anti-neutral to align yourself with other states in order to protect yourself from aggression.

But Nehru, as you know, has different ideas. Because he is the national beloved, I do not mind letting the old boy have his bit of fun. Maybe, you can take it as a hunch this Rockefeller-Soviet agreement has sponsors not much far from home.

I guess I will die of hero-worship.

And now can you wonder why I feel a little bored? I tell you, the whole set-up (the cap, the dress, the foreign policy and the rest) stinks.

Libertarian Calling

D. P. Sharma, Nagpur

Q. Why not bi-lingual state for Punjab instead of the regional formula which is nothing but a surrender to Sikh communalism?

A. *Perhaps because the Punjabi capitalists unlike the Gujarati capitalists did not contribute to the Congress election funds!*

Raja Rao, Puttur

Q. What will Nehru do if Pak. invades India?

A. *He will crush it with his Pancha Shila weapon which according to our Congress leaders is more powerful than atom or hydrogen bombs.*

Arjun Singh, Amritsar

Q. What is the essential qualification for being appointed as a governor?

A. *He must be a Congress leader and must be defeated in the elections!*

B. M. Irani, Bombay

Q. Is Gandhism followed by our Congressmen?

A. *They cremated Gandhiji along with Gandhism at Rajghat!*

Khalikar, Dhond

Q. Are crimes committed in Russia by the people?

A. *Communist Russia has nationalised crimes too, Sir.*

B. Nagraj Rao, Mysore

Q. Will Nehru's grandsons Rajiv and Sanjiv become great?

A. *If Nehru survives for another ten years, they will at least become members of the A.I.C.C. if not ministers or ambassadors.*

R. G. Pilvi, Belgaum

Q. How do you like the idea of appointing Mr. K. M. Munshi as a minister for unemployment?

A. *Very fine idea indeed. If Mr. Munshi is appointed as a minister for unemployment, there will be no unemployment because when he was a food minister, there was no food!*

M. S. Yusuf, Madras

Q. Who is the most pathetic leader of India?

A. *Your Dhebhar Bhai.*

G. M. Nayak, Udipi

Q. Who is the fittest leader to be the president of the P.S.P?

A. *Pathetic Dhebhar would have been the fittest President for the pathetic P.S.P.*

R. N. Sahai, Poona

Q. What is the difference between wrestling and dancing?

A. *The only difference is that some holds are barred in wrestling!*

The Mind Of The Nation

A Terrible Jolt To The Congress

The present elections have produced a highly delectable mixture. While they have not seriously disturbed the general set-up in the country, they have dealt a whacking good jolt to that smugness and snobbery of the powers-that-be which had become so tiresome of late. It is obvious that the Congress will form Governments in all the States barring one or two, and also in the Centre, but they will do so with the terrifying awareness of the giant that is the electorate....

Staggered Nehru

In Maharashtra particularly and in some parts of Saurashtra, the Congress has been virtually written off. The result must have staggered even Nehru, not to speak of the knight-errants of the Congress like S. K. Patil and Morarji Desai.

First the insulting discrimination against Maharashtra in isolation from the general reorganisation picture; then shooting in cold blood. Hundreds of those who rose to resist the insult; stinking propaganda by the henchmen of the Congress, dishonest dialectics even of those at the top, sustained provocation to the self-respect of the people, and lastly a lightning autocratic imposition not only on Maharashtra but also in Gujarat—all these together have found vent in the election result. It must be remarked that essentially the

masses are sound at heart and healthy in mind.... The bilingual formula is essentially good, and the essential goodness of the masses in Maharashtra and Gujarat might have accepted it if the formula had been sponsored with essential goodness. But the leaders have poisoned and corrupted what was intrinsically good.

—Nagpur Times

Congressmen And Freedom Of The Press

That the Mokameh journalists' association has been forced to assert itself publicly against attempts by interested parties to suppress news and to have it written with a slant, throws lurid light on the difficulties of the honest reporter and newspaperman.

At a special meeting last week, the association passed a resolution condemning the local Congressmen's threats and illmannered behaviour. It would seem that these were directed against those press correspondents who were not prepared to send "news from the party's angle." Nothing could be more reprehensible than to undermine the journalist's efforts to gather news without bias and to encroach upon the public's right to know the facts. Small as the Mokameh incident is, this is a matter for serious concern both for the profession and the politicians whose common aim it should be to ensure for the press complete freedom in collecting news and commenting upon it.

—Times of India

What Is Wrong With Our Publicity Services?

What is wrong with our publicity services? Everything. It is wrong at the fount and wrong in the channels through which it is purveyed. Our publicity, particularly on Kashmir should not plead a cause. It should state the case. To plead a cause is to place yourself on the defensive, and when such pleadings emanate from an interested party, it smacks of special pleading which is always unconvincing.

Secondly, a case is best stated pithily and to the point. A safe rule to bear in mind that nothing is convincing which needs to be elaborately explained. Here Pakistan has scored heavily against us.....

India's case, as Mr. Bevan's article (in *The Tribune*) demonstrates is not so complicated as some of our spokesmen make it appear. Mr. Bevan States the basic issues simply and succinctly. They are: (1) Beware of the cry of 'let the people decide' coming from those who never let their own people decide anything. (2) Is democracy's best expression a plebiscite held under conditions which defy the UNCIP rulings that the invader (Pakistan) should first withdraw from the territory he has invaded? (3) For Pakistan to agree to withdraw today, nine years after the offer of conditional plebiscite was first made, and conveniently to ignore the developments since is to offer the field day to aggression, hatred and obscurantism. (4) A plebiscite is not an election for the issue before the voters in plebiscite is a single loaded question, calling for yes or no. With 40 million Muslims in India and 10 million Hindus in Pakistan the communal repercussions that must follow the putting and deciding of such a question will affect the entire sub-continent and the work and achievements of the last nine years. (5) It is fair or equitable for us to allow the aggressor to secure the fruits of a continuing aggression and to turn a deaf ear to the victim's warning that a plebiscite today

would mean a reversal to the holocaust and upheavals of 1957?.....

.....Nothing more clearly exposes the deficiency than the tendency of those who guide our publicity to deprecate the value of personal contact—a matter of knowing the right person in the the right places constitutes publicity which depends largely on the same factors. Here we fail dismally.

—Onlooker in the *Times of India*

A Sample Of Congress 'Secularism'

"Any emphasis on communal differences and divisions is against the very spirit of Indian civilisation and culture." These words appear in Mr. Humayun Kabir's presidential address to the Muslim Convention called in Bombay to extend the Muslim support to the Congress candidates in the General Elections.

That Mr. Kabir was speaking under manifestly communal auspices did not detract from the wisdom of his voice.....

Nevertheless one cannot help feeling struck by the seeming incongruity of Mr. Kabir's advice with the auspices under which he chose to speak. A communal appeal, we are sure, he will agree with us, even for secular purposes, tends to boomerang in the long runAs the largest Party and with the traditions of accommodating people of different faiths, and last but not least as the ruling party, the Congress alone can afford them that sense of security, which they need in this transitional period of India's development. But when leaders of Mr. Kabir's eminence and understanding ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES EVEN FOR SUPPORT TO THE CONGRESS WITH GATHERINGS COMMUNAL IN COMPOSITION AND INSPIRATION THEY ULTIMATELY DO HARM TO THEIR OWN CAUSE.

—Thought

Indian News Parade

NOON THREATENS WAR AGAINST INDIA

LAHORE: Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, said that the alternative to plebiscite in Kashmir was war between India and Pakistan "with India in the Communist camp."

HINDUS SUSPECTED

Mr. Noon opened his speech by accusing the "Hindus" of accepting the partition with mental reservations. He said they still bore illwill towards Pakistan. "I, therefore, wish Pakistanis to be strong and united if they want to survive."

Mr. Noon said arguments that a plebiscite would upset the existing delicate balance between the

Hindus and Muslims in India and that the people of the State did not want a change were "false excuses put forward to avoid a plebiscite."

The Foreign Minister said the United Nations was now so powerful that no nation, big or small, could afford to ignore its verdict. If India did not agree willingly to do what was right, he said, "she will be obliged to do so by the United Nations."

—*Times of India*

PAKISTAN'S BID TO "ISOLATE" INDIA

KARACHI: Pakistan will make a

bold bid at the forthcoming Council meeting of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation in Canberra to isolate "neutral" countries from her Western military allies, well-informed sources said here.

Pakistan, according to these sources, sees danger of encouragement to neutralism in Western Nations' economic aid and sale of arms to uncommitted nations inasmuch as these uncommitted nations stand to lose nothing even though they refrain from joining the anti-communist military pacts.

On the other hand, they are in a position to receive aid and equipments from communist countries in addition to those of the West.

Keeping India at the back of her mind, Pakistan would argue, these sources said, that sale of arms, bombers and warships to uncommitted countries and giving of aid for their

economic development would place these countries on par with the pact countries both in the sphere of defensive strength and economic development.

United States economic aid and sale of French and British bombers, arms and warships to India would be cited as examples "of encouragement to neutralism" these sources said.

Pakistan would also argue that India, for example, had not suffered either in her defensive strength or in her economic developments by remaining out of the Western military blocs, on the contrary in Pakistani view India has gained because apart from Western aid she was in a position to receive help from Communist countries also.

Likewise, Pakistan might argue that differentiating between Communist and non-Communist attacks by Pact Powers to go to the aid of member countries would also render these military pacts ineffective.

—P.T.I.

"EXTREME OPPRESSION" IN PAK-HELD KASHMIR

Rebel Leader Shot Dead

SRINAGAR: People were living under conditions of "extreme oppression and thralldom" in the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir, Khwaja Sana Ullah, editor of "Haf-troza Kashmir," a paper published from the area, said here.

Khwaja Sana Ullah, who was deported to the Indian part of Kashmir by Pakistani authorities recently, said that people were being arrested daily and clamped in prisons under the "Azad Kashmir" Safety Act.

Prisons in West Pakistan and those at Pallandri and Muzaffarbad overflow with innocent victims of the Pakistani Government's vindictive policies," he said.

Khwaja Sana Ullah said that the Punjab Armed Constabulary and Pakistan Army had committed "gruesome atrocities" against the people of Poonch.

"Several houses were bombed, one of the leaders of the armed rebellion in Poonch, Capt. Khan Mohammad, was put to death and a rumour was set afloat that he had crossed into Indian territory."

Khwaja Sana Ullah said that he was certain that if the Pakistani

army withdrawn from the Pakistani-held area of Kashmir, the people there would "immediately forge reunion with their brethren across the ceasefire line."

—P.T.I.

FOOD CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN

DACCA: Maulana Bhashani will go on fast from May 2 for "finding a solution to the present food crisis," according to a message received by the Associated Press of Pakistan.

From the same date last year the Maulana had fasted for 16 days on the issue of food. He broke the fast with food given to him by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who was then the Leader of Opposition in the Pakistan Central Assembly.

The message said that Maulana Bhashani had denied that he had resigned from the presidency of the Provincial Awami League on the instigation of some persons. "I do not do anything on instigation from any quarter," the Maulana said, according to the message.

—Times of India

BRITISH SPIES IN NAGA LAND ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF LADY MOUNTBATTEN

(From A Political Correspondent)

NEW DELHI: How the security of India is threatened not only by her dependence for the supply of modern arms and equipment but also by her relations with the British Commonwealth are disclosed from the latest news that are current in New Delhi.

It is a known fact that Lady Mountbatten constitutes a living link between India and the British Commonwealth. In addition she is a personal friend of Mr. Nehru. Lady Mountbatten had recommended that three Britishers should be allowed to visit Naga land.

It is a well-known fact that some of the Nagas are in revolt against India. This revolt is inspired by some American and British missionaries is also a fact. Today Naga land is under Indian military control. It is understood that on the recommendation of Lady Mountbatten Mr. Nehru personally granted permission to these three Britishers to enter Naga land on the ground that they were botanists

ALARMING EXODUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

NEW DELHI: Migration of Hindus from East Pakistan to India assumed "an alarming proportions" during 1956 319,726 persons having crossed into India during the year, according to the report on the activities of the Ministry of External Affairs for 1956-57. The corresponding figure for 1955 was 239,031.

The report says that the matter was discussed at a conference of Ministers of the two countries held at Dacca in May, 1956. The Government of India assured all possible co-operation to the Pakistan Government in the matter and the Pakistan's representatives reiterated their determination to safeguard the rights of minorities fully and effectively.

At Pakistani's request certain administrative measures have been taken by the Government of India to prevent laxity in the issue of migration certificates. India has taken up with Pakistan certain cases of harassment of members of the minority community.

—F. P. Journal

and interested in the flora and fauna of the land.

But the doings and mysterious behaviour of these Britishers made the Indian military authorities suspicious of their conduct. The military authorities also discovered that these Britishers carried secret transmitters, and they were keen on getting news of military importance in their talks with Indian military officials. It was also discovered that their claim that they were botanists was also false. In the meanwhile these Britishers gathered a lot of valuable material regarding the Indian disposal of military forces, their equipment and their strength. Being granted a special permit by Mr. Nehru they could not be searched but the military authorities informed the External Affairs Ministry about their suspicions. It was only on the strength of these Indian military suspicions that they were then asked to leave the territory.

—Maratha

LEAGUERS, U.F.P. REBELS WALK OUT OF PAKISTAN ASSEMBLY

KARACHI: Muslim League and United Front Party opposition members today walked out of the National Assembly in protest against Government attempts at "stifling" opposition views on finance bill.

Soon after question hour, the speaker announced that since under rules of the Assembly, he had to call upon the Finance Minister to reply to the debate at 5 p.m. he was constrained to fix a time-limit to other speakers—five to six minutes each.

Opposition members objected and the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Amir Azam Khan, said yesterday there were no speakers while today there was a rush. The opposition objected to this statement and there were shouts

and counter-shouts, followed by the walk-out.
—F. P. Journal

PAK PRESSURE TACTICS AGAINST INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER

KARACHI: Karachi's "Morning News" today published a report credited to the Pakistan Press Association (P.P.A.) saying that the activities of India's High Commissioner in Pakistan Shri C. C. Desai, "were viewed with grave concern in political circles in the capital."

The report quotes an East Pakistan member of Parliament, Mr. Farid Ahmad, as demanding that Shri Desai should be declared persona non grata if allegations against him were found correct.

The Morning News said, "Shri Desai was responsible for the propaganda that people in East Pakistan were opposed to the foreign policy of the Government."

—P.T.I

MOSCOW GOES "LIBERAL" WITH NATIONALITIES

Moscow Radio reported on February 11 that the Council of the Union, one of the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet, unanimously adopted a draft Bill to give individual republics of the Soviet Union more control over legislation, judiciary and adoption of civil and criminal codes.

The Radio said that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has examined the question of the position of the Balkar, Chechen, Ingush, Kalmuk and other peoples, and having taken into account their justified aspirations and petitions, and decided to repair the injustices committed towards these peoples by restoring their national autonomy, and thus ensure the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the economic life and culture of these nationalities.

"It has also decided to abolish the existing prohibitions for citizens of these nationalities to return to their former places of habitations. All these autonomous republics were liquidated in 1944, and their population deported to Siberia and Central Asia, for their alleged co-operation with the Germans.

On February 12 the Soviet Parliament approved a new law which clips the power of Russia's Supreme Court and bestows greater authority to the high courts to each of the Soviet Union's 15 republics.
—Radical Humanist.

A "BEAU GESTEE OR....?"

Sam M. Jones writes in the "National Review" from Washington as follows of the Eisenhower Plan for the Middle East:—

Only the Congress of the United States has the power to "declare war.....to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the Law of Nations"—U.S. Constitution Section 8.

The President's desire for standby powers to engage the country in what could be shooting war in the Middle East... will meet with considerable resistance but the Congress set a fateful precedent when it renounced its power and responsibility, last year, by the pas-

WORLD NEWS

DARKEST CRIME DURING STALIN ERA

There is seemingly no end to the hideous roster of Russia's crimes during the Stalin era, which is getting unfolded little by little to a dumbfounded world. The latest to see the light of the day and the one that is the most shocking in terms of its callous violation of accepted standards of international morality and diplomatic etiquette, concerns the fate of the Swedish diplomat, Mr. Raoul Warrenburg who was kidnapped in Budapest in 1944, while on a mercy mission, by the Russians. Mr. Warrenburg had gone to that city as a neutral with diplomatic immunity and under the auspices of the International Red Cross. His mission was to assist in the transfer of Sweden —and freedom — of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. It was perhaps the extraordinary success of his self-assumed mission — he is reported to have rescued 20,000 Jews within a short time — that led to his subsequent arrest and kidnapping by the advancing Red Army.

Repeated Swedish enquiries about Warrenburg's fate drew invariable hot denials; one Soviet

reply actually accused the Swedish Foreign Ministry of trying to use the Warrenburg case "in the most shameless manner for purposes inimical to Soviet relations."

Where precisely the "shamelessness" — and something infinitely worse lay — has NOW been revealed by the Russians themselves. Their latest reply, forced by the persistent enquiries by the Swedes, and more particularly by the personal appeal of the Swedish Premier, Tage Erlander, made during his visit to Moscow March last ADMITS THAT WARRENBURG HAS INDEED BEEN TAKEN PRISONER; THAT HE HAD DIED OF HEART ATTACK, "the Kremlin had every reason to believe" in the notorious Lubyka prison on July 14, 1947." All that the Kremlin find it necessary to say in explanation of this atrocity is that their own corrupt security police, under Victor Abakumov, former Minister of State Security, alone, "were to blame" and that Abakumov had already been tried and executed "for grave crimes against the Soviet Laws".

—Thought

sage of the Formosa Resolution. The situation in the Middle East is in no way comparable to Red China's threat to the Nationalists on Formosa, with whom this nation has a mutual defence pact. But the Administration's preparatory publicity has tried to draw the parallel.....the Administration's argument that the stand-by power will, in addition to protecting our national and economic interests, have a great psychological value as a *gesture* of warning to Russia and of assurance to France and Britain. Some Senators are wondering whether a gesture will suffice.

—*National Review*

CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

The impending Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the first time it was constituted at the twentieth congress last February, is bound to develop into the first grand inquest on the crisis of the satellite empire and the threatening disintegration of international communism. The crucial question is whether the Soviet leaders will now attempt to restore the authority of international communism by full-scale return to Stalinism. It would require continued total repression in Hungary, the eventual use of force against the Polish "deviationists", and another open breach with Yugoslavia. They may, however, decide that the cost of such a policy is too prohibitive and the outcome too uncertain, and that it would be wise for the time being to stand on the defensive and hold together as much of their empire as they can by a mixture of arguments and concessions.

While until recently the swelling chorus of condemnation in the Soviet press and that of the loyal satellites engaged in serious trends towards what might be called "re-Stalinisation" the latest indications now point to second thoughts favouring caution.

The East German press campaign against the Polish communist leaders has been abruptly stopped following a "friendly" visit to Warsaw by an East German delegation. The Poles have not changed in their determination to reject

the Stalinist past. But the orthodox communists are now wooing the Poles rather than attacking them.
—A Commentator in the *Observer*

CUT IN AID TO NEUTRALIST NATIONS

CANBERRA: Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, told the Council of the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation that the United States was prepared to give economic aid to countries not in SEATO, but they might get less aid and at a slower pace.

An American delegation spokesman said this at a press briefing at the end of the second day of the three-day secret talks by Treaty Ministers on combating military and subversive threats by Communists to South-East Asia.

Mr. Dulles had told the Council that bilateral arrangements would continue to be the principal channel for United States aid to countries of the Treaty area.

NEUTRALIST COUNTRIES

The spokesman said that today's secret session included wide discussions on the question of neutralist countries and SEATO's attitude to them.

He said some members felt it would be wrong to cut off aid to neutralist countries if by doing so it gave the Communists an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with those countries.

SEATO's role in this was to assist them in the field of identifying and exposing the threat of international Communism.

Mr. Dulles had told the meeting that it was of the utmost importance to prevent Communists from succeeding in their efforts to gain control of labour organisations in the SEATO area, the spokesman said.

—*Times of India*

USA TO DO IT ALONE IN MIDDLE EAST

According to a *Reuter* report Foster Dulles, USA Secretary of State, told Congress that in his view an American soldier called upon to fight in the Middle East would "feel a lot safer" if he did not have British and French troops along side him.

Mr. Dulles was beginning a fourth day of testifying on Presi-

dent's request for standby authority to use US troops in the Middle East to repel communist aggression.

Senator Wayne Morse asked Mr. Dulles what he thought the attitude of Britain and France would be if asked to join the new US policy.

Mr. Dulles replied: "I do not know what it would be. I do know that Britain is cutting down military commitments and military strength throughout the world. I doubt very much if they would be willing to consider in extending their commitments at the the present time.

Mr. Dulles said that he did not think that it would either be in the interests of USA or of Britain and France for the Atlantic area to be weakened in order "to plug up" a gap elsewhere.

He added: "They (Britain and France) do not have the kind of capacity which we have."

Senator Morse emphasized that he wanted a guarantee in the Government's aid resolution that USA would not find itself "doing it alone" in the Middle East while European countries heavily dependent on Middle East oil stood by.

—*Reuter*

BRITAIN SHOCKED BY USA PLAN FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. Duncan Sandys, British Minister for Defence, on arriving in New York, told reporters that Britain has been "shocked" by US attitude in the Middle East.

Mr. Sandys asked to comment on the statement made by Mr. Dulles (reproduced above) replied: "I am here to discuss future collaboration rather than past differences, but since you asked me about that, I will say that in Britain, America's attitude towards us, in recent months, has come as a great shock, perhaps most of all to your best friends in our country.

—*Reuter*

NEW THREAT TO COMMUNISM

An article in the Yugoslav paper, *Borba* said that the socialist world freed from the Stalinist personality cult was now faced with a new danger in the dogmatism of Leninism.

The article written by Mr. Punisa Perovic, a Central Committee member of the Yugoslav League of Communists, said that it would be asked whether Lenin's discoveries were sufficient today.

It would be asked, Mr. Perovic said, whether further research and discoveries should not be made. The article said there was something in Marxism and in Leninism that was "eternal". There was also something that was "momentary, fleeting, something that coincides with the requirements of the immediate practical work", it said.

He continued: "Consequently we should be extremely naive if we were to gasp after Lenin's every phrase, after every appraisal of cur-

rent moment which was justified at the time but whose application today upon quite different conditions is not appropriate.

"One of the principal tasks of the progressive socialist forces at the present stage is to struggle against dogmatism, doctrinairianism and sectarianism, as a fundamental condition for strengthening and furthering the 'victories of socialism'".

"NATIONAL" COMMUNISM

According to a Reuter report a joint declaration by the French and Czechoslovak communists published in the French party newspaper "Humanite" denounced the

idea of a so-called national communism.

The declaration was issued after talks in Prague between French party delegation and a Czechoslovak party delegation. The two parties declared that the Soviet Union "remained the world Centre of Socialism" and hailed the "historic" merit of the Soviet Union in aiding the best forces in Hungarian people to defeat the counter-revolution and save the system of "popular democracy".

The joint declaration added: "The idea of a so-called national communism, advocated by reaction, has the evident aim of making the working-class renounce its experience and lessons.

Book Reviews

"LIBERTARIAN" WELCOMED IN MADRAS

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN.
(Fort-nightly) published at Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Annual subscription Rs. 3-8-0.

WHAT THE "LIBERTARIAN" STANDS FOR

"As the name signifies, we stand for libertarianism as against totalitarianism and authoritarianism of any kind, whether from the Right or from the Left. Libertarianism relates to the whole field of human actions and relations and implies a definite general attitude to all social relations and all aspects of individual action.

"Politically it implies opposition to all authoritarian regimes whether of the so-called 'benevolent' or 'welfare' types of States, socialist, communist or fascist, which in the long run mean the end of individual liberty and mean the complete encroachment of Government into fields of trade, commerce and industry and into spheres of private and individual life. As libertarians we stand for a very limited form of Government, restricted to the defence from external danger, the maintenance of law and justice in the country. In other words, the function of Government should be the protection of the country from external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace. We oppose the doctrine that the Government is above Law and above Public Opinion. In a

way, we are running counter to the present fashionable slogans of 'social justice in the name of socialism or collectivism, even the so-called 'welfare' State. We oppose any and every form of authoritarianism as it leads ultimately to the end of democracy and individual freedom.

"We believe that the collectivist state cannot arrogate to itself the rights to over-ride the rights and happiness of individual citizens. The State is not the Society. The State has emerged in human history as a necessary evil, to defend society and to enforce justice between man and man. For this dual object, the State is entrusted with the right to use force but the force must be used in accordance with the laws that are enacted by democratic legislation. The monopoly of force that a State enjoys should not be used for the enthronement of an irresponsible bureaucracy and a hierarchy of ambitious politicians at the top....."

NOT A LOST CAUSE

"It may appear to some readers that the *Indian Libertarian* is championing a 'lost cause', especially as the world trends are towards 'Socialism' or 'collectivism' in some form or other. That is true only to a superficial observer. Thirty years of socialism in Soviet Russia and ten years of socialist experiments in East European countries tell more loudly than all the distortions

WE are happy to learn that the *Indian Libertarian* will hereafter be published as a fortnightly instead of as a monthly. This is the only journal in India devoted to the cause of free economy and its editor Miss Kusum R. Lotwalla deserves our congratulations for the courage with which she has raised her lone voice of protest against the prevalent mad rush towards totalitarianism under multifarious banners of varying brands of socialism. There is an urgent need for an organised effort to restrain the mass hysteria which has infested our people and is slowly dragging them towards the abyss on the other side of the iron curtain. We are glad that the *Indian Libertarian* is blazing a new trail and is sounding a clarion call to the people of India to take to a new method of political action and to follow a new economic ideology. The editorial in the first number of the fortnightly defines its policy thus:

of the marxists that socialism and communism are discarded doctrines. They are not only the negation of democracy but they are also negation of human nature. It is at such a time that the Indian Government have adopted the discarded principles of socialism and communism in the face of the failure of such experiments in Europe. It is a national tragedy and that is what the *Indian Libertarian*, in its own way, is fighting against. It is NOT AS YET A LOST CAUSE. IT IS A LIVE CAUSE. In fact the experience of Russia, East European nations, and recently of Red China are sufficient danger signals for the Indian people to take the warning. But the national press is unfortunately servile and it toes the Government line. It is here that the *Indian Libertarian* means to serve the people—to educate them on the true aspects of socialism, to warn them in time, and see that the Government retraces its steps from the socialist way to that of a liberal democracy and free enterprise."

NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

Commenting on Nehru's foreign policy, the journal says that the Pandit has done harm to the country by ignoring live dangers.

"The cold, grim, inescapable fact is that our foreign policy (of which our Prime Minister is so proud is endorsed by so many pliant and ill-informed people in Parliament and outside) is in ruins and has revealed itself to be the disaster of which we had forebodings.

"The Egyptian adventure cost Sir Anthony Eden his Prime Ministership. The British people led by the opposition party expressed their disapproval of their Government's policy, not on the ground of invasion but on the ground of invasion without UN and USA support, in a series of mass meetings in London and elsewhere and in the press and on the platform. The intelligentsia on the whole gave the right lead to the people in defiance of Government's policy. Such opposition was not denounced as treachery by the Government of Britain, in strong contrast to the vociferous and emotional condemnations of opposition parties and groups and individuals in India as making for national disruption.

Indian authorities denounce patriotic opposition of criticism as disloyal and disruptionist, communal, reactionary tactics. This is a clear totalitarian trend manifesting itself in the attitude of the Prime Minister and of his Party.

"Mr. Menon and Prime Minister Nehru have revealed that the Pakistani Army has been equipped with the latest atomic weapons and the latest bomber fighters and tanks. They revealed that the airfields within a few miles of our border in Kashmir and in the Punjab have been reconditioned and extended to receive jet planes. They let out the fact that even radar equipment has been given to Pakistani Forces. It was announced that sufficient training has been given to Pakistani pilots and other technical soldiers to enable them to use these latest weapons of war effectively unlike Egypt's forces which were unable to use Russian planes, when the Anglo-French forces attacked their country at Port Said. The present crisis has proved that Pandit Nehru has lulled the country into a false sense of security by his ostrich policy of ignoring live dangers.

Once we alienate the free world decisively, we are thrown on the mercies of the cold blooded imperialists of Soviet Russia. Soviet imperialism is far more ruthless and totalitarian than that of the West."

The journal is bright and readable and contains many interesting articles in a light vein. There is a thought-provoking article by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao who has traced the root cause of the Marxist debacle in political thinking to the Hegelian error which exaggerated the importance of society and decried the value of the individual. We wish the journal a bright and useful career. It is indispensable reading to every thinking person in India.

—Swatantra.

SOME PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL PLANNING by Raghuvir Giri published by Priti Rani, Tutipur, Morar, Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh) price Rs. 1/8.

THE present book is a collection of articles written, from time to time, by the author in the newspapers of the State, under one cover. They cover a wide range, from Unemployment to spheres of

Large-scale and Small Industries to Does India Have A Population Problem? and the Preparation of Agricultural Price Statistic. The book is informative, in one sense, in that some of the important facets of Planning in the country are brought together.

The author, who is a Government employee in the Madhya Pradesh, either through his association with the bureaucratic machinery or because he has no opinion of his own, has very little to offer to the readers, by way of original suggestions or bold ideas of planning. However he deserves credit for having thought of producing the book while he was convalescing in hospital. The book deserves a place on the shelf of any student of public affairs as a ready reference. The one defect from which the book suffers is that the sources from which the figures are reproduced are not given in many cases. It may be that he takes for granted that the readers are as well acquainted with them as the author himself.

The two main chapters that can be said to contain some useful suggestions are Farmers and Farm Statistics and Agricultural Price Statistics. Here the author has the added authority of his experience in the Statistics Department of Madhya Pradesh. His suggestions for improvement in both these branches of keeping statistics should receive the serious attention of the Government. His recommendation that in computing the price of periodical crop forecasts, prices from two or three representative villages or village assembling centres from every tehsil deserves consideration. In the chapters Farmers and Farm Statistics some valuable suggestions are made how to get reliable and trustworthy information about agriculture and the progress of farming if the farmers were prevailed upon to keep some four types of records. But the difficulty as the author himself knows is that the farmers, as a class, are illiterate, and that various cause have gone to make agriculture in India a non-profitable avocation.

The chapter, Spheres of Large-scale and Small Industries, is a classic example of the visionary expectations of all planners to order

the development of industries and commerce, under the orders of the bureaucracy, and well-meaning but economically ignorant "do-gooders". They completely ignore that free market economy is the best and the natural foundation of progress, that no plan, however meticulously designed, can foster industrialisation and progress, and that ALL plans result in the end in "planned chaos" than in planned progress. The author, being a bureaucrat, succumbs to the delusion so common amongst the khadi-clad politicians and statesmen, that the outmoded hand-production of cloth and hand-pounded rice and ghani oil can co-exist along with modern textile mills and scientific progress. The usual arguments that these outmoded types of handicrafts afford occupation to the unemployed and under-employed in the villages, is once again trotted out by the author.

But a little thought should make him realise that the wages for handloom or handweaving are anything but living wages, and cannot compare with the wages that are offered by modern technical industries. To expect that handloom cloth can compete in price or in durability with millmade cloth is to live in a fool's paradise. Yet men, like the author, go on repeating the hackneyed arguments, that is the pity. The very fact that the Central Government have to heavily subsidize khadi production to

the tune of Rs. 200 crores from the taxpayers money, is an eloquent admission that the khadi industry cannot hold itself against the textile industry. The real answer to the unemployment problem is to allow the free development of modern industries which can absorb a large number of the population give them something like living wages, and what is more important, relieve the pressure on land and make agriculture also a paying proposition. But years of Gandhian "economics" and his fanatic adherence to khadi and villages have made many people unable to see the simple truth that the progress of any country, including India, lies in large-scale industrialisation, with modern machinery and modern technique. Not to keep pace with mechanical and scientific progress is to perish.

SOME "MUST" READING FOR LIBERTARIANS

THE MODERN IDOLATRY* by Jeffrey Mark. pp.230, price Rs. 12.

It is an analysis of usury in the form of a tirade against the usurious trinity that is the banking system. Though the solution offered by the author by no means lends itself to a balanced practice, the book may be read for its profundity of thought and even more for the exposition of the main evil that so rules the economy of today. Jeffrey Mark is a species of Christian writers who derive their main inspiration and fire from the principles of Christianity.

LIBERTARIAN ANTHOLOGY* A Miscellany. pp. 67. price Re. 1/-

Consists of thoughts on Government, Religion, Justice, etc. Some of the better selections of Nietzsche, Benjamin Tucker, Proudhon and Emerson. The essay on Organised Vengeance Called Justice by Kropotkin is worth it. We recommend wholeheartedly the collections from Benjamin Tucker. There are a few poems also for the muse. A good introduction to some of the aspects of Libertairianism.

SOCIAL RELATION AND FREEDOM* A Symposium. pp. 76. price Re. 1/-

The first essay is a resume of the masterly book by Thomas Robertson, "Human Ecology". It is a plea for the natural order of society

against the invasion of the communists and socialists. The natural order of society is open-mindedness and individual freedom. Abolish, in the first place, the two usurious trinities, the monopolies over land money and you can pave the way to the open society. This is a very good introduction to the monumental work of Thomas Robertson. Follows a lecture by Benjamin Tucker on "The Relation of the State to the Individual". This is an illuminating analysis of a fundamental facet of libertarian philosophy. The remaining two essays are on State Socialism and Anarchism and The Paradox of Anarchism. Though somewhat outdated, they make interesting reading.

ECONOMICS OF LIBERTY* by John Beverley Robinson. pp. 94 (including 3 statistical tables). price Re. 1/-

A momentous book! Contains a strikingly original analysis of the economic system with stress on the two evils—the monopoly over money and the monopoly over land. This book stands as a masterly *expose* of the present economic pattern. It offers the midway between communism and laissez faire economy. A masterpiece of exposition of Libertarian economy.

K. D. VALICHA

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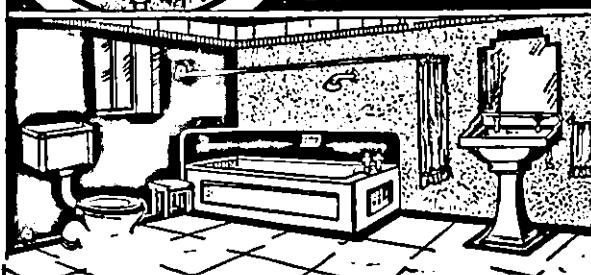
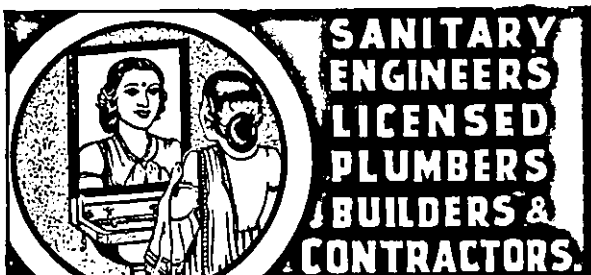
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