

4497

This Way to Democracy

BY M. R. MASANI

POLITICAL régimes and economic systems have throughout history acted and reacted on one another, and the question has often been raised what sort of economic order is most conducive to the growth of political democracy. A factor which has been considered obstructive to genuine democratic life is Money Power. The argument that inequalities of wealth and income, and the correspondingly unequal control they create over instruments of propaganda, like the Press, make it impossible for the common people to assert themselves effectively in parliamentary democracy has been one of the most effective weapons in the socialist armoury. More recently, awareness of the superficiality of a democracy, under which law courts and other public institutions are, like the Ritz Hotel, open to both rich and poor alike, has spread very wide. Delivering the Convocation Address to the University of Allahabad on December 8, 1945, one of our leading economists and industrialists, Dr. John Matthai, said: "It is curious to think that it has taken us so long to grasp the simple truth that competition must necessarily work unfairly where competing parties are of unequal resources and defensive strength and that a society which permitted might to determine right could neither achieve stability nor realise moral values. In no aspect of economic life has this truth been more evident than in the distribution among the various sections of the community of the wealth which their joint efforts create from time to time Whatever views we may hold about private property as an institution, the removal of the gross inequalities which it creates and perpetuates is a task which calls for urgent action."

The Chasm

The striking contrast between the Indian Maharaja and the coolie has often been referred to, and economic inequalities are perhaps wider in India than in any other country. According to an estimate several years back, if the total national income of India were divided into three roughly equal parts, five Indians out of a hundred would take one part, thirty-three of them would get another part, leaving sixty-two to share the remaining third. Apart from the glaring contrast between privileged sections of the community like the landlords, capitalists and officials on the one hand and the poor masses on the other, the difference between the standard of living in the towns and in the villages is very marked. While the average annual income in urban areas is estimated at Rs. 166 per head, the average in the rural areas is as low as Rs. 51, that is, just over two annas per head per day!

Here, if anywhere, there is room for the plea that, when political democracy has been won in India, it will have to be extended to the social and economic spheres if it is to mean anything for the masses of the Indian people. The socialist in India is therefore on firm ground when he argues that the exploitation of the means of production by private vested interests should be terminated and that the weapon of socialisation should be used to bring industries and services under common control so that their fruits may be more equally and equitably shared. There is no doubt that this would create a better economic background for the functioning of political democracy.

A Vacuum

So far, so good. The question, however, arises whether the masses of the people would be able to maintain democratic control over the socialised economy of the country and prevent the vacuum created by the removal of the present upper strata of society from being filled up by a new ruling class. Until twenty-five years ago, it was not in any one's power to give a conclusive answer to this question. While those opposed to socialisation argued that "socialism means barracks" and that the changes suggested by socialists would lead to the setting up of a servile State of regimented robots, the socialists themselves were equally convinced that Utopian conditions would be brought about by the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

We in our generation have been blessed or cursed with greater knowledge and can no longer plead blissful ignorance. We now have the example of a State where an attempt was made to create a "free and equal society." In Russia, the Communist Party under Lenin seized power and set up a dictatorship with the purpose of liquidating the propertied classes and creating a classless society where all the forces of production should be owned and operated by the State. It was Lenin's hope that once a classless society was created, the necessity for the political dictatorship would cease, democratic life would be restored, and liberty would achieve its highest known level through the process of the State, with its coercive apparatus of police and law courts, slowly withering away.

After twenty-five years of the Russian experiment, it is possible to see that, whatever else the new régime in Russia may have achieved in industrialisation or higher literacy, the society that now exists there can by no stretch of language be described as either free or equal. So far as political democracy or individual liberty is concerned, it is difficult to find a country where the individual is more dominated by the State than in Russia today. The maintenance of the one-party dictatorship reduces the elections, which are periodically held there, to a farce in as much as no Opposition parties or groups of candidates are tolerated. Over the whole scene hangs the spectre of the N.K.V.D., the dreaded secret police which is better known by its earlier name of G.P.U. If democracy does not exist, even that equality for which liberty was sacrificed is absent.

Indeed, in recent years, inequalities have gone on increasing at such a pace that the range of inequalities in Russia today is known to be as wide as that in the most plutocratic countries. On the basis of official statistics, it was estimated that 11 or 12 per cent of the Russian population received in 1939 approximately 50 per cent of the total national income. As against this, in the U.S.A., the upper 10 per cent of the population received approximately 35 per cent of the national income. The political counterpart of this new social stratification is to be found in the composition of the Congress of Soviets which met in December, 1936. According to Eric Strauss : "Among the 2,016 delegates 937 (or 47 per cent) were members of the Central Executive Committee, directors of enterprises and specialists, responsible officials of the Party and the Trade Unions, and higher army officers; 589 delegates (or 29 per cent) were presidents of local soviets, of collective and State farms, etc.; 430 delegates (or 21 per cent) were Stakhanovites; and 60 (or 3 per cent) were simple workers and peasants."

~~The conclusion is irresistible that nationalisation in itself is no guarantee against exploitation or the profit motive. As Mr. Herbert Morrison said recently : "Nationalisation is no magic cure"~~ It may be argued that there were special circumstances in Russia, such as the backwardness of the people and the absence of a democratic tradition, which have impaired the success of the experiment. On the other hand, it is much more likely that, at the present level of human intelligence, the centralisation of the control over the entire nationalised economy in the hands of a small clique of bureaucrats or Party leaders is bound to create totalitarian dictatorship of one kind or another. As has been aptly put : "In a country where the sole employer is the State, opposition means death by slow starvation. The old principle : Who does not work shall not eat, has been replaced by a new one : who does not obey shall not eat." A psychological factor of equal significance is explained by Lord Keynes : "I believe that there is social and psychological justification for significant inequalities of incomes and wealth, but not for such large disparities as exist today. There are valuable human activities which require the motive of money-making and the environment of private wealth ownership for their full fruition. Moreover, dangerous human proclivities can be canalized into comparatively

harmless channels by the existence of opportunities for money-making and private wealth which, if they cannot be satisfied in this way, may find their outlet in cruelty, the reckless pursuit of personal power and authority, and other forms of self-aggrandisement."

We thus find ourselves in our pursuit of democracy on the horns of a cruel dilemma. If we adhere to the doctrine of *laissez faire*, we get inequalities which are not consistent with the fullest democracy. If on the other hand we go in for all-round nationalisation, we get totalitarian dictatorship and forfeit both democracy and equality.

Must We Choose?

Now, must we make a choice between these two evils, as some defeatists on either side would advise? Should those who endeavour to build up a democratic life either travel the road which Russia has already covered, hoping by some chance that they may come to a happier ending or, should they, like Professor Hayek, fall back on *laissez faire* in their anxiety to avoid the totalitarian menace? I for one do not see why we should so readily accept the necessity of being impaled on one or the other horn of the dilemma. Granting on the one hand the need for a drastic reduction of inequalities, democrats must move towards the curbing and limiting of the profit motive and the inequalities it brings. Admitting on the other hand the dangers of an all-round domination by the State, they should move in the direction of socialisation and communal control at a pace compatible with the maintenance of political democracy and the preservation of the fullest freedom of opposition to the government of the day. It should be a process, not of sacrificing political democracy for the possibility of economic equality but rather of rapid extension of democracy from the political to the social and economic spheres.

Such a course would consist largely of a double process of levelling down at the one end and levelling up at the other. The process of levelling down is already under way to some extent in democratic countries in the form of heavy taxation of incomes and inheritance. Functionless ownership, as in the case of absentee landlords, would also have to be eliminated in a country like India where as much as two-third of the land is owned by those who do not cultivate it themselves. The decentralisation of industries and the encouragement of pro-

ducers' co-operatives would help to prevent the growth of new inequalities which are otherwise inherent in the process of industrialisation which our country is likely to undergo. Where State intervention and control are called for, as in the case of public utility services and key industries, what is needed is, as the British socialist writer G. D. H. Cole has stressed, elasticity in the introduction of State ownership or management. Recent experience shows that control by the State can be as effective under democratic leadership as direct ownership or management, and the choice between them is a matter of convenience to be decided on the merits of each case.

Levelling up is much more important than levelling down because, as Bernard Shaw has put it, "Poverty and not wealth is the evil to attack and abolish." The fixing of minimum wages in industries and of suitable and adequate prices for agricultural commodities, the provision of free social services like education and medical relief, and of public utilities like posts, telegraphs, railways and electricity at low cost are the weapons with which to fight poverty and destitution.

No Short Cuts

Indeed, such a process has gone a long way in certain democratic countries where a substantial measure of equality has been achieved. Such are some of the Scandinavian countries in one corner of the world and New Zealand in another. We do not know half as much about them as we should. How many people know, for instance, that in Finland in the years before the war, skilled workers, business employees and civil servants lived in fairly similar circumstances? So widespread and even was the distribution of wealth that one Finnish family in every three owned land; only six persons in Finland owned property worth more than Rs. 20 lakhs; and only twelve had a monthly income exceeding Rs. 8,000.

Economic equality should certainly be the goal of democracy. It cannot, however, be made its precondition because the attempt to do so has so far resulted not only in failure to achieve equality but also in the loss of such democracy as might otherwise have existed. There are no short cuts to Utopia, and it would appear that, with the human material being what it is, for some time to come differential incentives will remain—an evil no doubt, but a very necessary evil—in democratic societies.

Evolution of Indian Nationalism

by ASOKA MEHTA

IT is not always remembered that British conquest of India was spread over a century—the Battle of Plassey was fought in 1757, and the Second Sikh War, that planted the Union Jack on the snowy ranges of the Hindukush, was over in 1848. The sentiment of Nationalism—a feeling of unity and distinctiveness—could arise only after the whole sub-continent had been subjugated.

In the past, conquerors came to India from the North-West; the North has been called upon, again and again, to face the problems of cultural conflicts and of their ultimate integration. The Britishers reversed the route—they came to East and South and travelled up the North-West. Ports became the new Khybar Passes. The cultural centres shifted from the North—Lahore, Delhi, Benares—to the South—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras.

In the early years, when the British had to contend against other Powers for ascendancy in India, there was free intercourse and creative communion between the British and the Indians. Mixed marriages took place even in the highest social circles—Gardner, Hearsey and Skinner were married to the relations of the Mughal Emperor and his Nawab-Vazier; Prince Shekho was married to Susan Gardner and the favourite Begum of the Nawab of Oudh was a fair Eurasian. The British learnt Indian languages and familiarised themselves with Indian life and culture. Warren Hastings' proficiency in Persian was not utilitarian. This is proved by his desire to establish a chair of Persian at Oxford. Halhed, William Jones and other scholars came under the spell of Hindu thought and customs. There was a hopeful response from Indians—they evinced an appreciation of the culture of the West and showed an eagerness to

assimilate it. Tufazzul Husain Khan, Vakil of the Nawab of Oudh at Calcutta (1788-92), spent his spare time in translating Newton's Principia. The Nawab of Murshidabad beguiled his leisure hours in reading English and French poetry; the Raja of Tanjore composed verses in English.

If the Britishers, like the earlier conquerors, had settled in India, there would have been a real flowering of Indo-British culture. Thanks to their decision to rule India from abroad, an ineluctable antagonism developed between the ruler and the ruled.

With the emergence of the British, under Lord Wellesley, as the strongest Power in India, their attitude took a turn for the worse. "I observe with great concern", wrote General Palmer to Warren Hastings, "the system of depressing the natives adopted by the present Government—and imitated in the manners of almost every European. They are excluded from all posts of respectability or emolument, and are treated in society with mortifying hauteur and reserve. In fact they have hardly any intercourse with us". The refusal of the British to settle in India blasted the prospects of cultural integration. Indian Nationalism emerged, not impregnated with British rule, but in antagonism to it.

It was in the North that the opposition took the form of total rejection—rejection of English education, administration, culture. Shah Waliullah, the great Muslim divine, his successors and disciples provided ideological and organisational bases to the opposition. Their movement functioned semi-conspiratorily in occupied India; it was partly their work that made Delhi and Lucknow the storm centres of the Mutiny in 1857.

Such inveterate opponents of British rule often succeeded in developing mass movements and evoking



By HOWIE D. MISTERY

THE STORY of a mysterious Voice from Beyond, believed to be that of the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, intervening in the court's proceedings on the third day of the trial of BLITZ and KARANJIA makes the biggest sensation in the morning's newspapers. Journalists are at a loss to explain the phenomenon of the Voice echoing and re-echoing through the court and throwing the prosecution off balance.

While the presiding judge, Mr. Justice JANATAPRASAD INSAFATULLAH, refuses to comment on this development, one of the thirteen Prime Ministers, MORARJI DESAI, accuses Editor Karanjia and his followers, now thronging the court, of "playing" tricks either with a set of portable tape-recorders or an ingeniously hidden electronic device.

Face of Jawaharlal

There are, however, no two opinions about the Voice, the accent and the diction, all of which undoubtedly were those of the late Panditji — a fact which Editor Karanjia himself confirmed in the open court. The newspapers, also, quoted a few among those who were present in the court, yesterday, as having even seen the face of Jawaharlal in silhouette for a second or two in the flash of lightning that zigzagged through the room before the mysterious Voice broke the silence.

This Voice, booming through History as it were, has violently jolted the Cabinet of 13 Prime Ministers which is fast cracking.

The happiest person in the Cabinet, nevertheless, is the Prosecutor-General, Mr. M. R. Masani, who is seen strutting about the Capital with his ego inflated by what he describes as his personal triumph in getting Editor Karanjia to plead guilty to the charge of Nehruism. This itself has gone a long way in creating fissures in the Cabinet among Masani's colleagues who see this development in a different and darker light.

Meanwhile, reports pour into the Capital of

widespread insurrections, especially in Bengal and Kerala, where martial law has been imposed and Army reinforcements rushed to quell the violent uprisings.

War of posters

The war of posters gathers momentum with more daring and seditious slogans plastered all over the land. On top of this, the Capital and important cities are flooded with thousands of leaflets and pamphlets attacking one Prime Minister after another and exposing them as corrupt, dishonest agents of domestic and foreign vested interests.

A cursory glance at some of the pamphlets suffices to convince a man of average intelligence that they are not the handwork of the national pro-India majority. They, obviously, seem to emanate from some of the Prime Ministers themselves, mainly Raj Narain and his SSP, exposing many skeletons in the ministerial cupboards, with a view to cutting one another's throats. This is confirmed as stories leak of a stormy midnight Cabinet meeting at which some of the Prime Ministers accused each other of divulging information and financing this seditious propaganda.

Intelligence reports from sources close to the ruling junta reveal the emergence of a mini-alliance within the Grand Alliance.

The call by the Free Press Journal, a well-known Bombay daily, for a return to the Nehrus, has been picked up by other newspapers, despite the fact that Prime Minister Morarji in a short statement has threatened to take severe action against all those who dare defy the Ordinance, banning any reference to the Nehru family.

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The Trial of BLITZ...4

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Inspite of dangers from outside and fissiparous tendencies inside, the wheel must turn. Production on all fronts must go unabated. In the fields, factories, schools, laboratories the great wheel of progress must move with determination . . . our targets for prosperity must be achieved. The mansion of peace must rest on sound foundation, on economic strength and social progress. To us Indians now is the time for vision, for patience, for toil and for labour. We have a great role in history. Let us fulfil it as warriors for peace and prosperity.

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NATIONAL LEADERS

The fourth day of the hearing of the trial of LITZ and Editor KARANIA consequently opens on a note of tension and suspense. The security measures in and around the Red Fort are lightened. Ministers arrive at the court accompanied by military escort. Plain-clothesmen and armed guards are posted all around

enterprise economy, advocating the socialistic pattern of society, encouraging the growth of the public sector, attacking the legitimate interests of the private sector and giving land back to the discontented man in the street, in the factory and on the farm with rose promises of socialism and ser-

viewing something with which they were intimately connected. There was no malice in the entire series of interviews, only humour and goodwill.

Leaders maligned

La Bomba!
We are Yankee Double Double.
We don't believe in the South Sea.
And for America's sake give a damn.
-The answer is Page 4 you just say and fall into trap.

are seen occupying the special boxes, while representatives of Big Business have flocked en masse to the court, as the day's charges have a bearing on them.

At the stroke of eleven, Mr. Justice Janatprasad enters the court, bows, takes his seat and hammers the gavel to silence the rumbling murmur of the assembled throng.

Silence reigning, the Prosecutor-General with a smile of triumph bows to the court and begins his arguments.

MASANI: After our spectacular success yesterday of forcing Comrade Karanjia to plead guilty to the charge of Nehruism, we feel confident, your Lordship, that we will have the defendant cornered as far as the remaining three charges are concerned.

COURT: Very well. Let's proceed with the arguments.

Sedition and defamation

MASANI: Before we begin, your Lordship, we have to request the Court to allow us to make a joinder of Charges No. 4 and No. 5 for the convenience of our witnesses as well as our arguments.

COURT: I appreciate that your arguments, as well as the evidence that you will lead, are likely to overlap as far as charges 4 and 5 are concerned. We have to ascertain, however, whether the defendant has any objection.

KARANJIA: I have no objection, your Lordship.

MASANI: Thank you, Comrade Karanjia. We appreciate your co-operation.

COURT: As the defendant does not object, I hereby give permission to the prosecutor to combine charges No. 4 and 5.

COURT CLERK: CHARGE No. 4: Defaming national leaders, especially those supporting the rightist viewpoints, depriving, disgracing, discrediting public figures, especially those supporting the so-called sectional or communal bodies, attacking our patriotic princes and zamindars and attributing malicious motives to, and preaching hatred against, such national organisations like RSS, Jan Sangh, Muslim League, Shiv Sena and others, thereby committing acts of criminal defamation.

CHARGE No. 5: Waging war against our big business fraternity and the land-owning class under the guise of exposing corruption, sabotaging our free

masters, thereby instigating sedition and anarchy.

Class venom

MASANI: From the very beginning of its career, BLITZ has not spared any national or international leader. Sometimes the attacks have been direct, sometimes indirect, sometimes veiled in the garb of juicy human-angle stories or exposures, sometimes satirical, but behind them all is the class venom in which BLITZ specializes. Sometimes, the evil genius presiding over BLITZ resorts to sensational headlines and pictures, and even sex, apart from the use of double-entendre phrases to defame our national leaders.

COURT: Give us some examples.

MASANI: Your Lordship, BLITZ in its very first issue of February 1, 1941, wanted to attack a politician and a Congress leader of the stature of K. M. Munshi; instead of attacking Munshi, BLITZ interviewed Mrs. Munshi and flashed the story under the heading "Mrs. LILAVATI MUNSHI tells secrets of her courtship and marriage".

COURT: I think, there was nothing wrong in that, Mr. Masani.

MASANI: Your Lordship, the stink is not in the story itself, for it tells how Lilavati met Munshi, as an editor and a newspaper man.

COURT: What is wrong in that?

Imaginary interviews

MASANI: Your Lordship, next to this story, BLITZ quietly publishes a box with the heading "WHY IS A WOMAN LIKE A NEWSPAPER?" and replies "because every man should have one of his own and not run after his neighbours." Your Lordship, this was a very subtle way of hitting at a great man like Munshi and his love affairs. BLITZ then started publishing an insulting series of "Interviews", beginning with an "interview" with Gandhiji's, be-finnah's monologue, Dr. Munje's beard, Hermann's cat, and so on and so on.

KARANJIA: Your Lordship, this was a unique series of imaginary and humorous interviews by a witty journalist, the late U. G. Rao, who wrote this series in a lighter vein. It was a part of BLITZ's plan to expose the fads and foibles of great men by inter-

pattern which was followed by other sections of the press: the maligning of our great national leaders.

BLITZ did not spare even men like Gandhiji and Netaji Bose, Congress stalwarts like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad, Jayaprakash Narain, J. B. Kripalani, Dr. Lohia, Pandit Pant, Babu Purushottamdas Tandon and scores of others. Leave aside political leaders, BLITZ has not spared saintly people like Vinoba Bhave, Swami Ramanand Tirth, Shankar Rao Deo and even Gurji Golewalkar. Great princes like Maharaja Harisingh of Kashmir, the Maharajas of Baroda, Cochin, Gwalior, Mysore and Travancore, the Jam Sahab of Jammagar, the Nawab of Bhopal, Junagadh and Rampur, the Raja of Ramgarh, and even the great Nizam himself, one of the richest men in the world, all have been the targets of BLITZ's vile attacks.

EVEN great captains of industry like Tata, Birlas, Dalmias, Jais, Mundhras, Thackerays, Chinnas, Goenkas, Singhnias, Guphas, Tripatis have been stabbed again and again with BLITZ's poisoned tipped pen. In short, your Lordship will notice that BLITZ has selected only a certain section, and a tiny one at that, of Bharat's teeming millions for its vicious attacks.

KARANJIA: You mean, BLITZKRIEG?

People's enemies

MASANI: BLITZ or no BLITZ, we will show the court that the people you attack belong to a certain class against which you nurse an inborn hatred.

KARANJIA: Yes, Rajas and Maharajas, Nawabs and jagirdars, who fatten on the misery of their people; zamindars and landlords who sucked the blood of their ryots; big business tycoons who exploit the nation's working classes and convert their tears, sweat and blood into profits; communal and paromunites and arouse barbaric instincts in man to spread hate in men's hearts and inflame communal passions, so that they rage like prairie fires, setting the whole nation ablaze, and so-called national leaders deeply floundering in the cesspool of corruption right up to their necks—these are some of the ghosts and ghouls, vultures and vampires, enemies of the common people, from whom BLITZ has never withheld its fire in its battle against the exploiters and looters of our voiceless millions, and in its war against vested interests.

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(Hamdard)



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BLITZ SUFFERS FROM ...

MASANI: We should not mind these attacks, but for the fact that by its continuous vilification of these vital sectors of the nation, BLITZ has done a distinct disservice by lowering these great personalities and institutions of our democratic way of life in the eyes of the common man. And by advocating a socialistic pattern of society, it has inflamed the man in the street, in the factory and on the farm with hatred against his traditional benefactors and incited him to revolt against the established order of society.

Vicious war

KARANJIA: All established societies of the world in this age, or any age in history, have carried within themselves like any human being the germs of their own destruction; the biggest empires of the world have blossomed for a while, reached the zenith of their pomp, power and prosperity, and have then declined and decayed into dust.

MASANI: It is all right to talk philosophically of the common man and his sufferings and project yourself as a self-styled champion of the under-dog and the have-not, but I shall prove to the court that you have declared a vicious war against the most vital sectors of our nation. I will lead only one important witness, for the reason that his versatile personality is an embodiment of all these time-honoured values.

COURT: Who is he? What is his name? We are eager to have such a versatile personality who is the embodiment of all these vital sectors and precious values.

MASANI: Your Lordship, this personality is none other than one of our 13 Prime Ministers, an old and veteran leader, the pride of our past and hope of our future, the Honble Morarji Ranchodji Desai.

(Thunderous clapping of hands greets this announcement. Prime Minister MORARJI DESAI, all smiles, stands up and greets the court with folded hands. Some followers dash towards the box to JINDABADI, but they are stopped by MORARJI Desai's aides. MORARJI DESAI, in a more dignified manner, bows to the court.)



MORARJI PHOBIJA

MORARJI: There was certainly nothing wrong, but your Lordship will allow me to read out the standard caption which BLITZ printed below the picture. "LEFT, RIGHT, LEFT... ABOUT TURN... HALT ATTENTION... SALUTE... AMIDST THIS DISPLAY OF AMMUNITION, EXPLOSIVES, RIFLES, BAYONETS, THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY IS SHRI MORARJI DESAI, HOME MINISTER OF BOMBAY, TAKING IT ALL IN A GRACEFUL STRIDE... Times have certainly changed. Est-while agitators and prisoners are making the Police and the military dance to their tunes, in their steps." Is this the way a paper should honour the State's Home Minister?

KARANJIA: BLITZ was giving only a humorous caption in its typical Blitzy way, paying tribute to the minister in dhoti, sworn to non-violence, taking the salute of the smartly uniformed police and the military amidst all the armoury of violence and war!



BEWARE, OPPOSITION!

Bombay, April 2, 1949

Charges Morarji

that Morarji had examined the mechanism of a sten-gun and had passed orders to arm the district police with sten-guns. This was certainly a most extraordinary news for Gandhian India; and naturally, BLITZ, which had a reputation for forecasting coming events, was only warning the nation of Morarji's Police Raj-to-come culminating in hundreds of police firings and killings.

MORARJI: This is all false propaganda typical of BLITZ. Let me give another example. When I was invited by the All-India Women's Conference, I was naturally photographed with some of the top women leaders, including the wife of the then Bombay Governor, Rani Maharaj Singh. But how did BLITZ publish the picture? It gave a heading "MORARJI BHAI... A MAN Amongst Women!" MY NEXT What have YOU got Morarji Bhai! That was BAVEN'T got that you should not have given a heading like that!

the suggestion, saying "I have high respect for all democratic institutions and conventions." As a special favour Morarji's one and only son, KANVI DESAI is allowed to share the witness-box if the distinguished witness might, perhaps, need any help. The Judge hammers the gavel, and silence is restored after some time).

Day of destiny

MASANI: It is our privilege to have our senior-most Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, give evidence against BLITZ and KARANJIA....

MORARJI: and blow them up once and for all time.

MASANI: Patience, Morarjibhai. You will have every opportunity to tear BLITZ to pieces.

MORARJI: This is the day I have been looking forward to for the last 25 years.

MASANI: Your Lordship, I, too, have been waiting for this day for the last 25 years.

KARANJIA: And I most of all have been waiting this day, your Lordship, for many, many years. BLITZ and I have exposed this Morarji Wonder for the last 25 years. We have exposed both the Father-and-Son team, and have even offered them a reward of Rupees one lakh to come forward and sue us for defamation if we were wrong; but to this day they have never taken up the challenge.

COURT: This seems to be the day of destiny for all of you, isn't it so.

MASANI: Yes, your Lordship. I shall proceed with the case. Do you Prime Minister Morarji Desai remember when BLITZ first took notice of you as a public figure?

MORARJI: I clearly remember it. After I became the Home Minister of the then Bombay Government, BLITZ printed my picture taking the salute at the Police march-past.

KARANJIA: What was wrong in a paper printing the picture of the Home Minister of the State?

where BLITZ has abused the salinity Morarjibhai day in and day out.

KARANJIA: BLITZ was never in the habit of damning Morarji for nothing. It was equally quick to shower praises on him when he deserved it. For example, when Morarji took action against the chemists who charged black-market prices for penicillin, BLITZ flashed his picture on the front-page and congratulated him, wished more strength to his arm and said, "SHABASH, MORARJI DESAI."

Man amongst women!

MORARJI: Yes, yes, but only a week after this "shabash," BLITZ again hit me by publishing a letter by one Dinkar Patel, forwarding a cutting from *The Times of India* to Mahatma Gandhi on BLITZ. The cutting mentioned the inspection by me of a mock riot in which the Poona police tear-gas squad dispersed dummy rioters with the use of dummy shells.

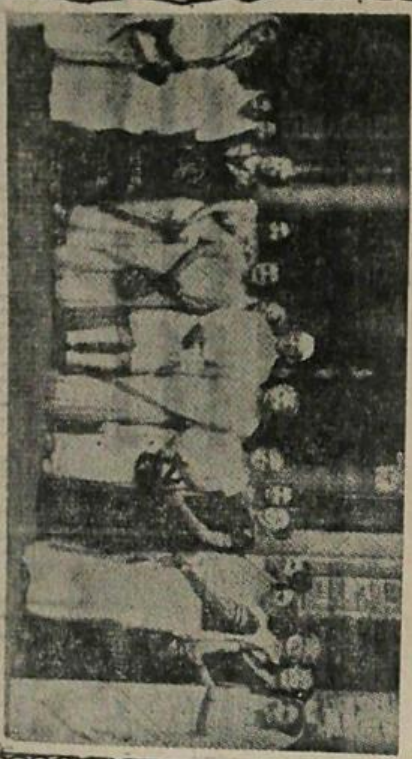
COURT: What was wrong in that, Morarjibhai?

MORARJI: I agree your Lordship, but look at the BLITZ heading, "NON-VIOLENCE, BAPUJI?"

KARANJIA: Your Lordship, Morarji is hiding from the court the full report, for it was further stated

'Morarjibhai! A MAN Amongst Women!'

BLITZ February 21, 1949



Morarji accepts Pugree!

KARANJIA: And pray what was wrong about that?

MORARJI: Whatever I did or didn't do, BLITZ always took a prejudiced view. For example, way back in 1949, when I got photographed driving a newly arrived giant tractor, BLITZ published a picture on the front-page with the caption: "Beware Opposition! Mr. Morarji Desai demonstrates how to level down the opposition under Congress Raj!"

(Loud laughter assails the court).

KARANJIA: That was yet another example of Bilety humour.

MORARJI: Once the Afriki community of Bombay symbolically admitted me into their tribe as "an honorary and distinguished Pathan" at a ceremony in Bombay, BLITZ published a cartoon of me as a Pathan raider and captioned it — please wait a minute — let me refer to my file — here it is — "BLITZ presents Morarji as the Pathan raider of the civil liberties and popular freedom of the people of Bombay." As if this were not enough, BLITZ suggested in its viciously sarcastic column "I don't know, son" — playing upon the word "PUGREE" that I be sent to jail for accepting a "PUGREE" from the Pathans!

(Loud laughter).

What is Cherophobia?

KARANJIA: That was only a joke, Morarjibhai.

MORARJI: You call that a joke? Your Lordship, BLITZ suffers from Morarji-phobia. More, your Lordship, even while publishing what appears to be a harmless article on probias, BLITZ gives a heading — "King's English has a word for Morarji's phobia."

COURT: Really? This is interesting. What is the word, Mr. Desai?

MORARJI: Cherophobia.

COURT: Meaning?

MORARJI: "Hatred or fear of fun of any kind!"

KARANJIA: In other words, KILL-JOY, your Lordship.

(Loud laughter).



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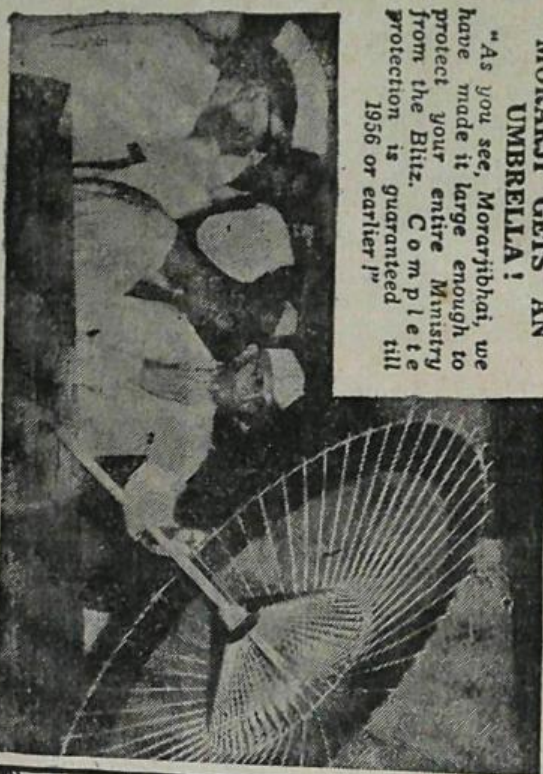
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Karanjia damms me...

MORARI GETS AN UMBRELLA!

"As you see, Morarjibhai, we have made it large enough to protect your entire Ministry from the Blitz. Complete protection is guaranteed till 1956 or earlier!"



MORARI: One of the main reasons for incurring the wrath of this Communist editor of this red or yellow weekly is, that I was a consistent protagonist of Prohibition and most of the attacks on me have their origin in what BLITZ called "BAYTLE FOR THE BOTTLE".

Sher-e-Prohibition!

KARANJIA: This is partially true.

MORARI: When the Bombay High Court decided against prohibition in 1950, BLITZ announced with glee that Morarji's outside hands and feet had been cut, that the High Court had given me a dose of castor oil, and even ridiculed me "Sher-e-Prohibition". All because my Government deprived Karanjia and his drunkard friends of their bottle.

KARANJIA: Wrong, Mr. Morarji! Desai. We are as much against drunkenness as you, whether it results from plain alcohol or power-alcohol! The only difference is that we believe in temperance by means of education and constructive propaganda, and not the enforcement of Prohibition by force.

MORARI CLAIMS HE'S A "SAHIB"



THE HOLY FUNBOL

KARANJIA: You do not seem to appreciate that the finest quality of human beings is a sense of humour? How can you when you never had it? It is the only thing that can save the world from the clutches of the devil.

Blackmail and bribery, transforming law-abiding citizens into criminals. What more convincing proof of this can I offer than the fact that today Morarji's own erstwhile Gandhian colleagues are busy removing Prohibition in State after State.

Burra Sahab Morarji!

MORARJI: Playing on my surname "DESAI", BLITZ even invented a word "when it published a poem with the heading "What Morarji DESAIDES That We Do", way back in 1948. It even published my pictures without my head and even without my face and captioned it, "MORARJI LOSES FACE!" Any excuse was good enough for BLITZ to hit at me. Once an old woman came to meet me to complain against her drunkard husband, and mistaking me for a clerk, said she did not want to talk to me. She said, "I want to speak to the Burra Sahab." I told the lady that I was the Burra Sahab and the entire press prominently reported the incident.

KARANJIA: BLITZ too published this very human story.

MORARJI: Yes! yes! BLITZ turned this human story into an inhuman story by getting its cartoonist Ravindren to draw a full-page cartoon showing me in different poses as a typical British Burra Sahab — beginning from breakfast in bed to dance and dames in the night — and gave it the heading: "Morarji claims he's a Sahab." If this is not a perverted sense of humour, I ask you, Comrade Karanjia, what is it?

What Morarji Desaides...

That We Do...

ONCE my misdeeds were troubled. Once we were in doubt — We used to scrub our feet —
Thinking all along —
When we got hungry, And we used to eat, Against our girls, we asked our wife, Deciding for or against.
And when we were such a problem With Sonia, Gita, Ruma and Ali, We used to say, "We didn't get about Deciding date or place."
We had to choose our place — "We didn't know which was right —" "We didn't know which was right —" Not knowing black from white.
Now our double days are over — A benign face provides — We eat and drink, we read and think — What Morarji Desaides!
— TORAYIC
BANDRA, June 22,

Poem on MORARJI written by the late VICTOR HARRI, assistant editor, BLITZ, and published in the issue of June 22, 1948.

Speaking about prohibition, I insisted that the whole of India should go dry. Once when I said, "when a man drinks he becomes an animal", BLITZ wrote a whole editorial on this and came to the conclusion and reported "Morarji alone is MAN — the rest are animals". BLITZ also invented some new words: "MORARGIN" and "MORARJUICE".

MASANI: Personally speaking, your Lordship, I too, was against prohibition, but Morarji was only doing his duty as a Congress Minister wedded to prohibition, whether it was considered a fad or not.

MORARJI: You Masani shut up! What do you know about prohibition? It was not a fad at all. It was an article of faith with us Gandhians.

(Pig-)iron man!

KARANJIA: Why, even your own Sardar Patel did not support prohibition.

MORARJI: Who says so? This is blasphemy.

KARANJIA: Well, while addressing the Hyderabad Congress workers in October 1950, the great Sardar, a more practical and realistic statesman than you, had gone on record saying, "Congressmen should drop such revenue-losing reforms as Prohibition. ... It is going to cost you much. Where will you get money to expend on the many development projects?"

MORARJI: Don't try to interrupt my train of thoughts. I will expose you completely before I leave the box. Again, your Lordship, while I was on my election tour in Bulsar, in 1951, BLITZ called me the "bull from Bulsar" and published a "Defeat Morarji Special", and printed a report saying "Morarji faces his Waterloo".

KARANJIA: Did we not call you, also, the "iron man".

MORARJI: Yes, you called me a (PIG —) Iron Man. When I was hit with a stone at a meeting, BLITZ wrote "Stone hits stone — result — NIL".

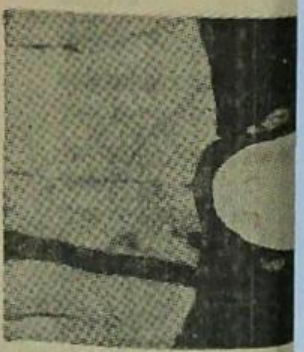
(Prolonged laughter).

KARANJIA: Did not the BLITZ story predicting your rout in the famous Bulsar election become the biggest scoop sensation by BLITZ?

"The holy humbug!"

MORARJI: Yes. You also wrote an editorial "GREAT MORARJI FRAUD" where you called me "the holy humbug" and said "Morarji is dying an undignified death". Well, here I am very much alive and still kicking.

KARANJIA: Wrong, Mr. Morarji—politically you are dead as the dodo. When a defeated and utterly discredited Minister was foisted on India's second



Morarji Loses Face!

MOST APPROPRIATE COMMENT of the Government of Bombay's defeat with the acquittal of Editor Karanjia in the third round of the Bowles Forgive Case was supplied by Chief Minister (Defeated) Morarji Desai, himself, who is reported to have lost his temper with his Prosecutors and said, "You messed up the case. Government has now lost face."



MORARJI DESAI, the Chief Minister (Defeated) of Bombay, as when he was acquitted in the Bowles Forgive Case, said: "You messed up the case. Government has now lost face."

largest State as its Chief Minister, did you expect BLITZ to keep its mouth shut?

MORARJI: Why blame me? When your patron saint Nehru did not accept my resignation and asked me to continue in office, what business did your columnist P. R. Lele have to write "Soul of Gandhiji murdered by our Morarji".

Failed three times...

KARANJIA: Lele was merciful, for, as a man of eminence, Professor J. C. Jain, later revealed, you failed to protect the life of Mahatma Gandhi, and thereby you were instrumental in Gandhiji's murder by your negligence and default of vigilance.

(Cries of "SHAME! SHAME!" greet Morarji).

MORARJI: What role! Certainly you do not want to accuse me of murdering Gandhiji. You seem to mistake me for Godse. Your Lordship, Mr. Prosecutor, I want this Commune to be charged with contempt and insulting and abusing the senior-most of the nation's 13 Prime Ministers.

KARANJIA: It is not I who am pointing an accusing finger at you. Let your Lordship, let the Prosecutor-General, go not only through the files of BLITZ but through the book of Prol. J. C. Jain to convince themselves of BLITZ's accusation that Gandhiji could have been saved but for Morarji.

MORARJI: Then why on earth I failed to save him?



Fate gave three chances to Morarji to save B

KARANJIA: By your criminal negligence and thanks to your super ego, Gandhiji was allowed to be moved down by an assassin's bullet. In fact, fate gave you not ONE, not TWO, but THREE warnings, three chances to save Gandhiji, but you failed to take even elementary precautions to protect the nation's most precious life. More, not only were you guilty of the "crime" and "sin" of pushing Gandhiji into the arms of the gunman, but also you compounded the felony by trotting out lies in defence of your contemptible attitude and blaming your junior police officers.

(Cries of "SHAME! SHAME!" rend the Court).

...To save Gandhiji

MORARJI: Stop going off at a tangent, Commie Karanjia. You shall have to pay dearly for making these baseless charges against an innocent man like me.

KARANJIA: How innocent you have been and how baseless, according to you, are my charges might be proved if one were to glance through the famous book "I COULD NOT SAVE BAPU" by Prof. J. C. Jain, the chief prosecution witness at the Gandhi murder trial, a well-known educationist and professor of Sanskrit. In this book, Jain narrates how he personally went and saw Chief Minister B. G. Kher and Home Minister Morarji full ten days before the murder, and gave them full details about the plot and the conspirators, and yet Morarji failed to save Bapu. And worse, he tried to cover up his default by saying Bapu's murder was the will of God.

MORARJI: Jain was exaggerating.

KARANJIA: If Jain was exaggerating, what about your failure to arrest Godse weeks before Gandhiji's murder even though his arrest was recommended by the Poona Police for the crime of writing fiery and seditious writings against Gandhiji?

MORARJI: Anyway, Godse would have killed Gandhiji after his release. It was so fated.

KARANJIA: What a defeatist thought! Then what about the massive evidence gathered, first by the Pathak and then by the Kapur Commissions. Read between lines, both hold you guilty of murder-by-neglect of the Mahatma.

MASANI: Poppycock and nonsense. Anyway,



LET MORARJI EXPLAIN...

LATE on Friday evening, Reuters' Teletypewriter tickled out the tasteless, treasured message that Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead. He was shot at four times while he was walking to the prayer ground, shortly after 5:30 p.m. He was hit on his chest and collapsed. A man fired four shots from a .38 Smith & Wesson revolver. A man who was in the crowd at the time of the shooting was killed. The man who was killed was a member of the Congress party.



Gandhiji Was Killed By Morarji's Default?

why worry about Gandhiji now, Morarji? Let us go to other subjects. Let us talk about your selfless service to the nation, your patriotism, idealism and incorruptibility.

KARANJIA: Come, come, Morarji. Everybody knows, and past issues of BLITZ bear solid testimony to this paradox, how genuine a nationalist, staunch a patriot, selfless a Gandhian, honest a politician, true a democrat and efficient and incorruptible an administrator you have been!

MORARJI: You mean to say you have doubts about my patriotism and a lifetime devoted to the welfare of the masses.

KARANJIA: The roots of your patriotism go only skin deep to the days when you were an out and out

British lackey with the rank of a deputy commissioner. It was only after you had been caught tampering with the dying count and after an official inquiry had

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deputy collectors, that you decided to resign from service under the British and joined the Congress for purely selfish and personal motives.

Service and sacrifice !?

MORARI: You dare to say that my going to jail for the sake of the country, the sacrifice of my life for the good of the common man was for purely selfish motives!

KARANJIA: Yes, a thousand times yes, Mr. Morari Desai. There have been a countless number of memoranda, chargesheets, petitions, allegations and impeachments against you, many of them authored, authorised and circulated by your own Congressmen. These publications throw a lurid light on your life. Born in a leap year, you improved your prospects by leaps and bounds and rose rapidly in the firmament of Indian politics and big business. These documents expose how ruthlessly you have exploited your own colleagues, suppressed opposition, pursued a vendetta against your opponent, hounded them out one by one, tried to break the trade union movement, scuttled the unity of the working class, ruined those journals which opposed you and launched prosecutions against them. BLITZ itself has faced many a raid by your police and many a court case filed by your legal department on your orders.

MORARI: There is a section of the press which is nothing but what can be called the "yellow press". This believes in giving sensational news and views without caring for facts or general ideologies and indulging in mean and unwarranted personal attacks. You and your BLITZ belong to this category.

Trigger - happy Morari

KARANJIA: You may dub my paper yellow, red, blue or green. That will not make me give up my fight against what Morari or Morarijipana stand for; Morari, trigger-happy Morari, who has time and again given "shoot to kill" orders, resulting in hundreds of poor men, women and babies being mowed down in cold blood for the crime of demanding their rights or a decent way of life?

MORARI: Your allegation is wholly erroneous. There has been nothing, even remotely, like the Jalian-wala Bagh killings since we achieved independence. **KARANJIA:** Your thirst for blood does not seem to be satiated yet, nor your thirst for power. Like a sawdust Caesar, you have ridden roughshod over multitudes sticking to your fad of prohibition, you have turned the first city in India into a squalid underworld of bootleggers and illicit hooch traders. **MORARI:** A person with strong convictions is often

who head many big business houses of foreign firms suddenly disappeared for reasons best known to them. It is not our desire, however, to hold up the court proceedings.

Ah! What a patriot!

MASANI: Your Lordship, I am prepared for any even-
tuality. And since the former Finance Minister
Morarji has agreed to act as my key witness, I will
proceed with the case. Now, Mr. Karanjia, will you
tell the Court what business you had to wage a
continuous war against the kings and capitalists of
the nation's commerce. Under the guise of exposing
corruption, you have only sabotaged our economy
of free enterprise.

KARANJIA: In an impoverished, almost starving
country like India,

- ❑ WHERE 90 per cent of the people eke out a poor miserable living.
 - ❑ WHERE no less than 69 per cent of the people earn less than Rs. 19 per month.
 - ❑ WHERE 10 families control among themselves as many as 619 company directorships,
 - ❑ WHERE 119 companies control as much as 45 per cent of the total paid up capital,
 - ❑ WHERE seven families control 35 per cent of the total corporate assets,
 - ❑ WHERE only one per cent of our population enjoys 10 per cent of our national income,
- WHAT in the world do you expect BLITZ to do? To sing psalms of praise for our big business tycoons who loot the poor, exploit the masses and work hand-in-glove with our corrupt bureaucracy to barter our precious freedom to foreign powers?
- MASANI:** Ah, what a patriot! Well, you have, to give only one example, insulted the Nation's banking industry as well as the Finance Ministry by your story entitled "Reserve Bank or Private Preserve Bank", in your issue of September 24, 1966.

I accuse you, Morarji...

MORARJI: Have you any defence for this calculated calumny of the nation's fortress of finance?

KARANJIA: Defence! I would rather impeach you, Morarji Desai, for not only this but dozens of other economic scandals which were exposed by the chief of my Delhi Bureau, A. Raghavan.

❑ I ACCUSE YOU, Morarji Desai, of conveying the fact that more than Rs. 100 crores per year were kept hidden abroad by the big business fraternity out of the export earnings.

BLITZ - Gandhi team

MASANI: What have you to say about the stunt of yours, "Dalmia-Jain 420-Megaton Bomb?"

KARANJIA: This also was a scoop by Raghavan, concerning the shocking report regarding Dalmia-Jain concerns robbing the nation of a few crores.

MORARJI: Did you have any proof to support your story?

KARANJIA: The story is based on the official Vivian Bose Commission report which probed 10 Dalmia-Jain concerns. But for the vigilance of BLITZ and its Delhi Bureau Chief, many a shocker like this would never have seen the light of day.

MASANI: What business had you to attack an astute Finance Minister like Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari?

KARANJIA: BLITZ was not alone in exposing the TTK-Mundhra scandal. We collaborated with the late Mr. Feroze Gandhi, son-in-law of the late Prime Minister Nehru. He broke his five-year silence during his career as Parliamentarian with the dramatic words: "Sir, silence becomes a crime when huge amounts of public funds are spent on questionable transactions...." and then proceeded to blast TTK and Mundhra.

MORARJI: What have we to do with Mr. Gandhi?

KARANJIA: BLITZ and Feroze Gandhi had teamed up to bring to light this scandal which rocked the nation way back in 1957. In fact, Raghavan had ripped open the scandal three months before it was discussed in Parliament, with his story about the investment of one and half crores of LIC funds in Mundhra concerns. The Government was forced to appoint the Chagla Commission to investigate the Mundhra affair. BLITZ and Raghavan kept up the fireworks for week after week, plunging headlong into the battle on behalf of the swindled policy-holders.

MASANI: What business had you to poke your nose into somebody's affairs? Were you a policy-holder?

KARANJIA: I filed an application before the Chagla Commission, declaring, "I am an ordinary policy-holder, the man in the street. It is my money which these men have played ducks and drakes with. If there is a prosecutor at this enquiry, I represent that Prosecutor. I must, therefore, be allowed to be represented here."

COURT: What happened thereafter?

KARANJIA: Your Lordship, as was feared, the Attorney-General Setalvad objected vehemently, and Mr. Justice Chagla had to reject our application with great reluctance.

MORARJI: It was a typical BLITZ stunt.

KARANJIA: Certainly not, for the first time in the history of the nation, a newspaper intervened on behalf of the common people to fight their battles.

MORARJI: You should have blamed your patron Nehru for the Mundhra mess.

RESERVE BANK
OR PRIVATE
PRESERVE BANK?

THE VIVIAN BOSE COMMISSION has now the shock of the Indian people.

INDIAN'S GREY

VIVIAN BOSE
COMMISSION
EXPLODES...

FROM A RAGHAVAN
BLITZ'S
NEW DELHI
BUREAU

DALMIA-JAIN
420-MEGATON
BOMB!

THE VIVIAN BOSE COMMISSION has now the shock of the Indian people.

INDIAN'S GREY

SPOTLIGHT ON THE NAME OF HIS WIFE...
MUNDHRA HOLDS
ONE MILLION
STERLING ABROAD

COLLUSION OF
CORRUPTION



BLITZ

STORYS

FEDERAL

THE
INDIAN
STATES
PEOPLES
FRONT

ETERNAL SPIRIT OF THE CHAINLESS MIND...
BRIGHTEST IN DUNGEONS, LIBERTY, THOU ART!



BRASTILLES

KARANJIA: Yes, in an editorial, "NEHRU AND THE MUNDHURAGON," we told the late Prime Minister that "Mundhura represented not an isolated case of an individual thug, but a predatory class with an anti-social creed. He is Mundhura that Prime Minister Nehru, like St. George of old, shall have to fight and slay if only to prevent the monster from swallowing up our economy and destroying our socialist development."

MORARJI: So was your St. Nehru able to slay the dragon or not?

KARANJIA: In a way, yes, for after BLITZ's Delhi Chief Raghavan and Calcutta correspondent Vidya Munsli continued the campaign, the government was forced to appoint the Vishan Bose Commission to further probe the affair.

MASANI: And what did it find?
KARANJIA: The former Minister, as well as you, Mr. Morarji.

those concerned with the publication of the report under a virtual sword of Damocles; the Order cannot be sustained... MR. TARKUNDE HAVING HELD A PUBLIC TRIAL COULD NOT CURTAIL THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS BY SUPPRESSING THE PUBLICATION OF THE REPORTS."

Setalvad plays Judges

Setalvad, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, has to say about the

had to suffer, BLITZ still not only survives but is flourishing.

MORARJI: I don't care for the opinion of a counsel. I take into consideration the opinion of the judiciary.

MASANI: Thank you, Prime Minister Shri Morarji-
dinal, for your justice and fairness.
KARANJIA: Thank you, Morarji, for giving me a chance to describe you in public office as in

other scandal.
(Chies of "Shame, Shame! Morari Murdabad" send the air.)

Supreme Court's tribute

MASANI: I put it to you, Mr. Karanjia, that your ultimate aim behind these exposures was to attack the Private sector and boost the Public sector.

KARANJIA: It was, indeed, a gigantic indictment of the nation's big business; for we followed this up with further exposures of scandals of the Dalai Lama group....

MORARI: ... and eventually sent poor Seth Dal-mia to jail.

KARANJIA: Likewise, we did not spare the late Chief Minister Kaifon. The Government was forced to appoint the Das Commission to probe the corruption and illegal amassing of wealth by the Kaifon family. The Supreme Court Bench, consisting of Judges Das, Subba Rao and Ayyangar, paid tribute to BLITZ for its work in exposing these scandals.

MASANI: So were you satisfied with the certificate?

KARANJIA: We continued to expose further scandals, one of the most important relating to you—MORARI—granting a loan of Rs. 16 crores to a firm with a capital of Rs. 200 belonging to Teja.

Fight against Thackersey

MORARI: But one industrialist, Krishnaraj Thackersey had the guts to challenge you for publishing the article entitled "Scandal Bigger than Mundhra", and you should have stopped your scandalmongering after this severe beating.

KARANJIA: We faced the consequences by publishing the story and fought the case right up to the appeal court, and got the damages halved. We even went to the Supreme Court to challenge the court's (Justice Tarkunde's) oral order banning a member of editorial staff, N. S. Mirajkar, from reporting on the evidence given by Bhattachand Goda, one of the witnesses.

MASANI: There, too, you got a beating. Isn't it?

KARANJIA: On a technical point of course; but in this context I hope the court will allow me to quote from the dissenting judgment given by one of the nine judges, Justice Mr. M. Hidayatullah:

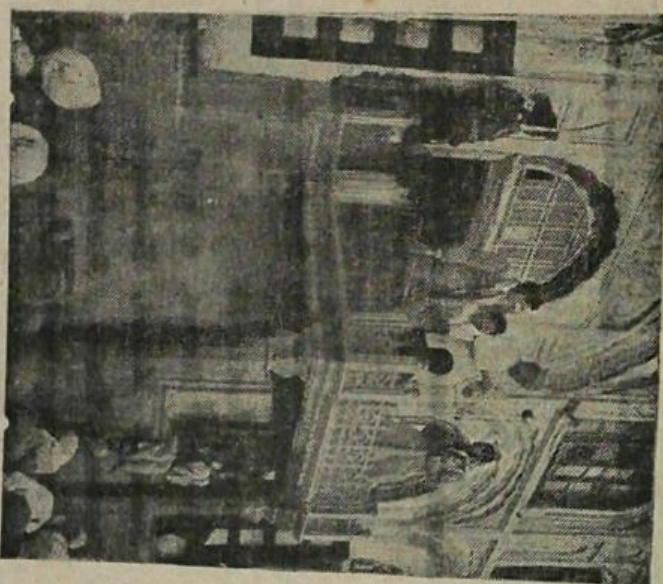
"I am of the opinion that the order of Justice Tarkunde imposing suppression of the reporting of the deposition of Goda was illegal and without jurisdiction. IT WAS NOT IN HIS POWER TO MAKE SUCH AN ORDER... placing



AND OTHER THINGS...
COURT: Yes, proceed Mr. Karanjia.

Asserting that "the Chief Justice Gajendragadkar sitting in a Bench of nine judges was called upon to deal with important questions of freedom of speech and freedom of the press," Setalvad takes Mr. Justice Tarkunde to task: "The procedure adopted by the Judge (Mr. Tarkunde) was undoubtedly novel and, as far as I know, unprecedented.... It would appear that his refusal to make a recorded order (asking Mirajkar not to publish the proceedings) in spite of the request of counsel for Karanjia, showed that he was not certain about his competence to make it and was not prepared to face the consequence of an appeal against that order. The view taken by the majority that the order was a judicial order, made with jurisdiction in the interests of the cause which he was trying, seems to be OPEN TO GRAVE DOUBT."

IN spite of the heavy damages and cost that BLITZ



Mr. & Mrs. KARANJIA were guests of honour at a special function held at the famous Hazratbal Mosque in Kashmir in 1949. Pic shows Mrs. AILEEN KARANJIA (right) — the first woman to be admitted to the sacred precincts — presenting to SHEIKH ABDULLAH a cheque for Rs. 30,000 and a sword of victory, captured by the JAWANS from Pak raiders.

THE WEST... COMMUNIST...
MASANI: I will now show the court how BLITZ has attacked our patriotic princes and the maharajas and has not spared any effort to ridicule our princely order. As far back as April 1942, BLITZ published a comic picture taken at the Delhi session of the Princes Chamber, with a sarcastic poem entitled: "BEGINNERS' GUIDE TO SOCIALISM". May I have the court's permission to read out the same?

COURT: Go ahead.

MASANI: The poem is:

"Some are large,
Some are short;
Some are fat;
Some are tall;
Some are thin,
Some are fat;
We must change all of them."

KARANJIA: Even in those distant days it was not always that BLITZ used to run down the princes. For example, when the question of succession to the gadi of Kollapur cropped up in August 1941, BLITZ editorially backed the Maharani's right to adopt her own heir to the old gadi of Shivaji.

In another case, when the ruler of Bhajji State, Rana Bhimraj Singh, had been declared insane owing to palace intrigues with the full knowledge and blessings of the British Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, BLITZ rushed to the rescue of the poor Rana who had been deposed and confined to a lunatic asylum. BLITZ fought his battle and saw to it that he was set at liberty.

BLITZ and Kashmir

MASANI: These two kind acts of yours have been tarnished by your monstrous attack on more than 500-odd rajas and maharajas during the last three decades. Take, for example, your venomous attack on the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh. If BLITZ had not backed an upstart like Abdullah, the history of the Himalayan State would have been different.

KARANJIA: Agreed. Let not the prosecution forget that BLITZ not only gave its full support to the popular movement led by the Kashmir National Conference, but it was BLITZ alone which exposed the Pak-sponsored Azad Kashmir Government, under whose name Pakistan and her Western allies staged the most shameful invasion.

MASANI: Are you taking credit for the so-called exposure by G. K. Reddy?



CONVERTS GOES

COMMUNAL

KARANJIA: Of course, G. K. Redd was an eye-witness to Pak complicity in the invasion of Kashmir. And when Redd escaped to India and sought our assistance, BLITZ not only revealed the shocking exposures by bringing out a special edition followed by a pamphlet which was later used as one of our most important exhibits before the United Nations.

Medieval relics

BLITZ followed this up with a sensational exposure leading the raiders against India.

On top of it, BLITZ's ace cameraman, P. N. Sharma, whose plane was shot down over enemy territory and who was officially declared "dead", corroborated Redd's disclosures.

All this enabled the "Gazetteer", 90, p. 41, where the veteran Krishna Menon, by the force of his

Call for drastic action on RSS on Fascist games

BLITZ
S GREATEST WEEKLY

CHARGE OF THE SADHU BRIGADE

RSS are on the RUN!



CONGRESS TOUCH-ME-NOT-ISM
If Golwalkar Could Meet Sardar, Why Couldn't Jawahar Receive Jayaprakash?

The Terror Over Our Land



BLACK IS WHITE & WHITE IS BLACK

With the election of Babu Parthasarthy Pandey as President of Congress, the latter's membership with RSS-Communist has acquired the legitimacy of proper procedure. No longer may Congress live in one with Communist-Brahmins.



COMMUNALISM

MASANI: Will you be surprised if I tell you that after the assassination of Gandhi, you wrote in an editorial, "The Spirit of Gandhi bids us to avenge not, neither mourn; it bids us to atone for the Great Guilt and atone in the way the Mahatma bricks hurled at Savitarkars and Mukherjees. Not even through the forceful dissolution of the Hindu Mahasabha."

murdered again

THEREAFTER, BLITZ did everything to help Kashmir. We not only lent our popular and powerful support but collected funds and fought Kashmir's battles in Delhi's political dovecotes.

MASANI: In fact, since 1945 you have been writing articles on the Indian states painting the princes and the maharajas as nothing short of criminals and vagabonds.

KARANJIA: When ten crores of Indians were in fetters and leading the life of slaves in more than five hundred medieval relics called the Indian States it was the bounden duty of BLITZ, not only to expose the princes but also to help the people to overthrow their slavery. In this, we were greatly helped by Giridhar.

BLITZ shielded Nehru

MASANI: Who is this Giridhar? A Communist? Or a ghost writer? Or a disgruntled employee of a prince?

KARANJIA: Giridhar was none other than Dwaraknath Kachru, one of Nehru's top confidants, confidant of the Indian States People's Conference, who fought many a battle for the freedom of the states and later became BLITZ's special correspondent. It was he who, with the full blessings of Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders, led the people's movement in the states. When Nehru stormed the state of Faridkot to shake that bastion of reaction to its very foundation, and when the rice soldiers directed by the tin gods of the British political department attacked him with a bayonet, it was Kachru who shielded India's future Premier with his own body. When Travancore was under the heels of Hitler's like Sir C. P. Ramaswami, it was BLITZ which spearheaded the people's movement to overthrow the fascists.

Operation Hyderabad

MASANI: After Kashmir, which still remains an apple of discord between India and Pakistan, you switched your attention to the princely state of Hyderabad.

KARANJIA: We fired the first shot by sending a correspondent to tour Hyderabad and report on this deceitful feudal state. After an extensive tour, this BLITZ correspondent predicted that "the people of Hyderabad are soon to open the most vital front of India's freedom movement."



DROPTHEATQUILL... WIELD THE SWORD!
(An Hyderabad Prince is Right the Wizard ...)

COURT: Please reply to the counsel's question, Mr. Karanjia, who was the correspondent of BLITZ who toured Hyderabad?

KARANJIA: No other than one of our Prime Ministers, who was then contributing a weekly column to BLITZ, Asoka Mehta.

COURT: Is that so? How time and human beings change!

KARANJIA: After "Operation Hyderabad," Congress rightists tried to absolve the Nizam of all responsibility and put all the blame on the Razakhar chief, Razvi. It was BLITZ which front-paged an article under the heading "THE GREAT BETRAYAL: Is One Razvi Prize of Hyderabad Freedom?"

MASANI: You mean to say that the Government of India should follow your advice and not the advice of their State experts? Anyhow what did you gain from your war against princely India?

KARANJIA: Whether it was Kashmir or Hyderabad, Junagadh or Faridkot, Baroda or Bhopal, Gwalior or Travancore, BLITZ paid the penalty by being banned, burnt and even bayoneted, but we had the satisfaction of leading ten crores of our people from the night of serfdom to the dawn of freedom. We had made an article of faith of Pandit Nehru's clarion call to raise the banner of revolt against India's feudal fortresses, raise them to the ground and free one-fourth of India from the dark dungeons of slavery.

War on communalists

MASANI: After waging war against our big business, princes and our national leaders, BLITZ started preaching hymns of hate against such national and patriotic organisations like the RSS, the Jan Sangh, the Muslim League and other communal organisations.

KARANJIA: Ever since the cry of Pakistan was raised, BLITZ tore Mr. Jinnah as well as his pet dream to shreds. When Dr. Ambedkar published his book "Thoughts on Pakistan," BLITZ attacked him in an editorial, way back in March 1941.

MASANI: In March 1941, please do not forget, you had given prominent space to a life sketch of Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan.

KARANJIA: So what? The article in question was nothing but a pen portrait in a series of articles on Leaders of Modern India. On the other hand, we called Jinnah's Pakistan "a grand illusion," and wrote that "in a free India there is no place for Jinnahs and Savarkars" and called upon the leaders to dissolve communal bodies like the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

with sorrow in our hearts in the week following Gandhi's dastardly murder by a communalist. May I request the prosecution to do full justice to the editorial in question by not tearing it out of context, for we wrote further, in the same editorial, that the Congress should be cleansed in mind, body and soul so that "it ceases to be the rotten borough of Gandhi's last definitions and becomes truly a servant of the common people, a Gandhian Congress."

This will show that if the Congress leaders had cared to see the writing on the wall, which BLITZ prophetically pointed out to them way back in 1948, the sorry fate of a house divided against itself would not have overtaken the Congress today. How Gandhi's soul must be tortured to see his own followers like Gappaji, Moraji, Patilji, Ghosh, your Prime Ministers, all of them and others not only willing to throw their lot with communal corpses like the Jan Sangh and Shiv Sena, and reactionaries like Swatantra and vested interests like the princes and big biz but ready to murder Gandhi once again in spirit, if not in body, by embracing their ideology of communalism and sectarianism, the very principles for which Gandhi sacrificed his life.

Sardar and the RSS

(Cries of "SHAME, SHAME" rend the Court).

MASANI: What made you suspect that the Congress was going communal after Gandhi's death?

KARANJIA: Way back in 1948, after Gandhi's murder, BLITZ was the first and only paper to expose how the RSS had planned a coup d'etat. Write BLITZ: "The plan of the alleged conspirators appeared to have been to assassinate Gandhi first and in the confusion and demoralisation that would have inevitably set in, to finish off Pandit Nehru and Azad. . . . This would have been climaxed by a coup d'etat in which the reactionary Hindu Mahasabha, assisted by the RSS would have triumphed and assumed power."

MORAJI: So, you think by writing this editorial you saved not only the lives of Nehru and Azad, but saved the Congress from the RSS and the Hindu Sabha?

KARANJIA: In a way, yes.

MORAJI: How come then that the Home Minister, Sardar Patel, lifted the ban on the RSS?

KARANJIA: The whole thing was done behind Nehru's back. Hardly had Nehru left India to attend the Commonwealth Conference in London, than Guraji Golewalkar met Sardar twice, assured him that the RSS was concerned with cultural activities only and persuaded with cut-lift the ban. Hardly had the Sardar lifted the ban than Golewalkar and his cohorts started baring their fangs. In a speech, Guraji attacked linguistic provinces, declared that Hindi should be the