

The Indian Libertarian

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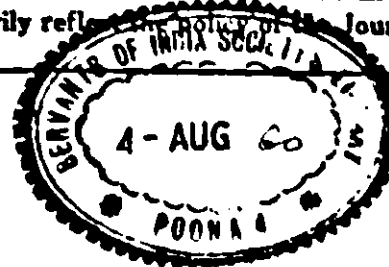
WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

The views expressed in the columns of the 'Indian Libertarian,' do not necessarily reflect the policy of the Journal

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IN THIS ISSUE



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	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL	1	<i>Let Us Not Disturb the Living Voice of Life</i> by Vaman H. Pandit	12
<i>International Situation</i> by M. A. Venkata Rao ..	4	<i>Parkinson's Law with a Vengeance</i> by Waran ..	14
<i>Failure Of Democracy In India</i> by M. N. Tholal	8	DELHI LETTER	15
<i>Free Enterprise—Durable Basis Of A Free Society</i> by Prof. Karot A Joseph ..	10	GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS ..	17
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	NEWS AND VIEWS	17
		LETTER TO THE EDITOR	18

EDITORIAL

THE DEFEAT OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

THE Strike of the Central Government Employees lasted just five days. It was called off by their leaders after intercession by Mr. Guruswamy and other leaders of the workers. The Government was adamant that they would not parley any more and that only an unconditional resumption of work would induce them to reconsider the issue.

It was realised by many leaders and the public that a strike of employees of essential services like the railways and post offices and office work in the defence establishments amounted to a General Strike. A general strike along with *Ca'Canny* (go slow at work), sabotage and other techniques smacks of syndicalism—a violent form of class war intended to bring the Government to a standstill as a preliminary to the seizure of power by the working class! The general strike can therefore be legitimately regarded as an act of war against the government and society at large and treated as such. The public had no sympathy for a strike of this kind intended to paralyse government as such and bring about anarchy with unpredictable repercussions.

Moreover, the striking employees were much better off than the majority of the people who are suffering more from high prices and need relief much more urgently.

The experience has led many to think about the legality and justifiability of the strike as a weapon of pressure on government and employers. Is striking a fundamental right? is a question that arises naturally in this connection. Of course it is undeniable that every citizen should have the right to deny his labour to any employer, government included, if the terms of the contract are not to his liking. But a contract once concluded, it must not be unilaterally terminated either by the employee or by the employer.

But a strike in practice means much more. It includes the practice as if by right of preventing loyal workers from continuing to work after the declaration of strike by a certain proportion of the employees. Strikers do this by picketing at the doors of the establishment and more often than not by violence and intimidation. In the history of trade union conflicts all over the world, these unfair practices have been conceded as legitimate even by law! "Scabs" and strike breakers have been set upon with impunity by strikers and public sympathy has been secured to such practices! It is

this claim to bring the work to a standstill by unfair means that is so objectionable a part of strikes.

In the USA there is a move to declare such practices illegal.

At any rate, general and sympathetic strikes may be declared illegal.

There is a move to have Whitley-like Councils of representatives of Government and employees in every department for considering differences between them. Of course only impartial arbitration by a body independent of Government will have any chance of success. Mere consultative status for the new bodies will have no appeal and will not fill the need.

Another question that has to be settled is whether the old British practice of denying the right to strike to Government servants who enjoy security of service and pension and increments should not be revived. Such privileged employees are in a category decisively different from that of weekly rated wage earners with no security, liable to lay-off at a week's or month's notice and with no pension or other insurance protection.

A civilised society ought to have some means of settling disputes between government and employee without resort to war-like operations, however peaceful.

Another matter that needs consideration is the propriety of outside trade union leaders representing government employees who are all educated persons and well able to make their own representations. If such outsiders are prevented from assum-

ing the leadership of employees and introducing double or divided loyalties, the door to mischief by politicians (more intent on credit for themselves with voters than with the genuine welfare of workers) will be closed.

PROVINCIALISM IN ASSAM

The conflict between Bengali and Assamese has led to a regular war between them—rather to a widespread attack on Bengali lives and property in all areas of the State where the Bengali population exists in strength. It has assumed the dimensions of a mass attack by the general population of the Assamese—illiterates as well as educated.

The Assamese have long nursed a grievance against the better educated Bengalis who occupy a leading position in the official as well as business spheres of life. They have been in Assam for centuries and cannot be regarded as outsiders.

The Assamese want Assamese language to be the State language. They want the Hill tribes and the Bengalis to get assimilated to the Assamese core of the population. They will thus get the position of ruling class in virtue of their birth and language for a time. The language issue is only a mask for the ambition for political supremacy and power. The Assamese want to rule in Assam with minorities adjusting themselves to their language and ways of life.

As the Congress President Mr. Sanjivaiah himself declared after a tour, there has been a failure of leadership" in Assam both on the administrative and Party levels.

It was the duty (and still remains the duty) of the Party to influence the psychology of the Assamese to retain a lively sentiment of ALL-India nationalism and to regard the Bengalis as an integral part of Assam. The Bengalis have a right to special assistance to preserve their language but they should learn Assamese and share in the general public and cultural life of the State which they have opted to live in.

As the Prime Minister remarked, Assam has now created a new kind of refugee—citizens driven from their own homes and needing to be housed in refugee camps in their own homeland! He also rated the local Congressmen for having neglected this festering sore for so long. Rs. 36 lakhs have been sanctioned for rehabilitating some 30,000 refugees! Indian statesmanship is on trial. It remains to be seen whether Congress and Government will succeed in restoring homogeneous All-India national sentiment binding Bengali and Assamese again.

It is only a wave of All-India national sentiment actuating a vast work of rehabilitation shared by volunteers from all States that can heal the wounds in the national mind. There is no such prospect in sight. It is not merely a problem of Bengali and Assamese affecting a corner of the land. It is an All-India problem.

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PUNJABI SUBA

There is a lull in the Sikh or Akali agitation for their Punjabi Suba. Volunteers are becoming scarce for Jathas. But it is clear that Sikhs of all ranks of life—retired officials as well as Congress politicians, business people as well as service personnel share in the emotional attachment to the idea of a Sikh province. What is actuating them is historical memory of political achievement in pre-British days when Ranjit Singh ruled over the Punjab from Lahore with Kabul as a province under his Governor! They were a ruling group before British rule, just like the Mahrattas. And if the Maharashtrians can have a State of their own on grounds of language and territorial homogeneity, the Sikhs under Master Tara Singh demand that they too should be given a region which they can dominate. If it is not homogeneous, the Master says that an exchange of population can be arranged!

The British had recognised the Sikhs as the third political entity in India next to Congress Hindus and Muslims as indicated by the grant of separate electorates to them in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms!

But the whole of the Punjab is evenly occupied by Hindus and Sikhs and even in the region they want as the Sikh State, Hindus will be as much as 45 per cent!

The Akalis hope to obtain their demand by sheer force of agitation—nonviolent mostly but violent if necessary.

They have misused their gurudwaras for harbouring criminals and other wanted men. They have used their gurudwaras as agitational headquarters. The Punjab Government have accordingly issued an Ordinance whereby the officials of Sikh temples who are guilty of these kinds of misuse of holy places will be apprehended and punished. Those who assist wanted men will also come under the ban of the law.

These measures are no doubt necessary, as the Akalis are employing the separatist techniques of M. A. Jinnah and are whipping up the fanaticism of the ignorant rank and file.

But a positive movement of teaching All-India nationalism by precept and example should be initiated in the Punjab. The issue is only nominally local. It has repercussions on the solidarity and unity of All-India nationalism and administration.

People outside the ambit of official power should take a lead in this movement. Emotional integration needs to be planned and preached on a systematic scale to reinforce the effects of administrative unity.

It may be noted that, as things are, the Punjab is already a Punjabi Subah in effect! The Sikhs are having a dominant share in the political and economic life of the province. They do not need any protection. They have pushed the Hindus into the

background in competition. They do not need a special State of their own for any real purpose, except the satisfaction of the inordinate ambition of Master Tara Singh and his followers.

To concede the Punjabi Suba will bring to the fore other separatist movements and demands like the Jharkhand, Nagaland, Dravidasthan, Konkans tan, Moplastan etc. etc. without end!

THE ROLE OF ENGLISH

Madras has ordered the use of Tamil in Colleges for the Arts B. A. Classes. But the Madras Ministers realise that the level of English should not be allowed to suffer deterioration. They have started a special Course for the preservation of English standards among teachers with the assistance of the British Council. Educationists and administrators of standing in the country fear that the switch to regional languages in the colleges will lower standards and destroy the present effective role of English as the great cement and preserver of political unity.

This role essential for generation to come—it is being realised with reluctant tardiness. The stress on regional languages in offices and courts and in literary works and schools will develop separatist attitudes destructive of All-India nationalism with inevitable erosion from day to day. A movement to prevent such disastrous erosion of unity and All-India cohesion is absolutely essential—even more essential than Five Year Plans. Indeed it could be more legitimately included in them than expenditure on Bharat Sevak Camps and organisation.

COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE FOR STUDENTS

In a healthy democracy, the overall sentiment should be in favour of freedom. But today Congress party leaders are full of novel fads to catch the imagination of the public with easy panaceas and nostrums. They have no real grasp of the conditions of free society and are running amuck, as it were with half-baked ideas!

One such is the imposition of a year of compulsory national service on students as a condition of admission to college courses after school final. They will be around 17 years of age.

Even Vice-Chancellors have not dared to express open condemnation of this fantastic idea. It is not clear what the content and substance of this national service is to be! To determine this, a high-placed Secretary has gone to the USA on a study tour! Decision without facts and details comes first and study tours come next—in the present dispensation of Congress rule!

One could understand a year of draft or conscription for full military training after school and college at about the age of 23 or between 23 and 30. This obtains in France and the USA. The draftees
(Continued on page 4)

International Situation

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE international situation has at last three explosive centres at the moment of writing:— RB. 47 bomber plane of the USA shot down in the Arctic borders of Russia, Cuba and its revolutionary leader Castro's anti-US policies and the "teething troubles" of independent Congo. The Indo-Chinese border friction and the Taiwan-Chinese tension now take subordinate places in the international scene as trouble makers in the immediate present.

It is surprising that the USA should have given an opportunity to Russia to shoot down another reconnaissance plane near Soviet borders so soon as after the furore raised by Khrushchev over the pre-summit disaster of the U-2 shot down deep in Soviet territory.

To realise the motive for this, needs a grasp of the military potential of present day weapons possessed by both the parties to the tremendous world rivalry. It appears that a rocket sent from either the USA or the Soviet sites needs only 14 minutes to reach its goal in the target country! This leaves hardly two or three minutes for radar detection of the incoming weapon! It becomes absolutely

(Continued from Page 3)

will be liable to be called to national service in times of emergency. We have our national cadet corps for this purpose. It may be made compulsory for all able bodied persons between 23 and 30 for a year or even two. But this interruption of education after schooling and before college smacks of indoctrination for party loyalty.

Freedom is sacred and is to be sacrificed only for a high purpose such as military service in the defence of the nation and not for disciplining youth in the sense of influencing them for party purposes. It is to be hoped that the idea will be dropped.

YOUTH FESTIVALS IN UNIVERSITIES

These Youth Festivals in universities for which large funds are granted year after year have been dropped for this year. Last year, they occasioned riots among students resulting in clashes with the police and the death in firing to two students in Mysore and Bangalore and much damage to public property like street lights and much civil commotion holding up normal traffic for days! The orgies of dance and drama and music—of sorts, occasioned by these festivals of co-educational grown-up young people have not had a healthy influence on studies. They have made too heavy a draft on studies. It is time they were dropped finally. They have affected for the worse the atmosphere of study, academic enthusiasm for knowledge and discipline so essential for university life.

essential therefore from a defence point of view to know the exact location of launching sites in the enemy country! This will give more time for meeting it with anti-missiles (—a few more minutes!)

The motive for such surprise attacks on the part of the Soviets is given plainly in the doctrine of world revolution and world conquest for communism to which the Russian Communist State is committed. Khrushchev made no secret of it when he proclaimed that his party will "bury the West" in general and America in particular. In Paris he told pressmen that he was "all the time working for world communism" in and through all his diplomacies and moves on the chequer board of international relations.

The venom of Soviet Statecraft particularly against the USA is plain in the utterances of Soviet statesmen and statements of Soviet papers. They breathe fire and brimstone even in pleas for the relaxation of international tension!

The USA have abundant evidence of the hostility of Soviet Russia as leader of international communism towards her very existence as the principal obstacle in her path of achieving her world goal!

The other day, Mr. Dillon, Assistant Secretary of State revealed that in the recent student demonstrations against the Federal Investigation Bureau in California a number of well-known communists were observed! He made the surprising statement that communists could and did instigate students to demonstrate violently against the American agencies even as Japanese students were instigated by communists against their own government!

Such phenomena are not unknown in India and elsewhere.

Given the motive and the strength on the part of the Soviets, it is not difficult to realise the anxiety of American defence chiefs to forestal another "Pearl Harbour" calamity due to unpreparedness and trust in conventional procedures like declaring war before attack.

The RB. 47 bomber plane shot down by the Soviets near the Russian arctic border is said to have taken off from British bases. The Russians have therefore administered another stern warning to Britain against allowing American planes to use her launching sites and bases for reconnaissance flights over Russia.

The British public and parliament were perturbed. Parliament demanded assurances that such flights should not be allowed to endanger British safety, treaty or no treaty. Mr. MacMillan was hard put to it to explain the incident away. He had to con-

cede that according to the ten year old treaty with the USA, Britain had conceded the right to Americans to engage in routine flights without atomic war-heads. He agreed to obtain a revision of the agreement with the American Ally, especially as at the time of the treaty, rocket developments had not reached the present phenomenal levels of long distance flights of over five thousand miles.

It is clear that the Sputniks and rockets have introduced new factors neutralising the American ring fence of friendly bases around the borders of Soviet Russia and China. The recent debacle in Japan when popular agitation forced the Kishi Government to request cancellation of Eisenhower's visit and the fears expressed by Pakistan and Turkey of Russian attacks on their countries if the Americans used the bases located in them for flights into Russian territories have induced rethinking about the policy of the ring fence of bases in American brass-hats. They are now forced to think of launching their planes from within American territory such as Alaska (and the Pacific Islands) refuelling them while in flight en route!

Even the NATO organisation might be affected by the new fear and may need new strategies. Europeans have become nervous. The Norwegians were warned by Khrushchev and have asked for a revision of their agreement with the Americans. The British now want a similar revision.

In regard to British bases, it appears that each flight carrying nuclear weapons should carry permission of the heads of both the governments of the USA and Britain. To secure this, it is arranged that the Plane can only start if two keys are inserted each of which is entrusted to one British and one American officer. Neither can start the flight without the cooperation of the other! The loading and start take exactly fifteen minutes! Such planes are on the alert and ready all the twenty-four hours!

The latest plan is to have the bulk of such bombers kept flying round the globe all the twenty-four hours to prevent any sudden attack on them on the ground by Russian rockets and consequent wholesale destruction of such phenomenally costly war weapons! Surely Peace has become a nightmare and transcended the wit of man in regard to defence! Offensive power has outrun defence capacity and ingenuity. This is the tragedy of the present machine age.

CUBA

Developments in the US-Cuba conflict are contributing to an enhancement of the sense of crisis already tense enough in all conscience. Cuba nationalised US Oil refineries for refusing to refine Russian oil. Cuba broke off good relations and started accusing the US in the right revolutionary manner of international communism. The US retaliated cautiously with the stoppage of her usual guaranteed purchase of Cuban sugar at above world price levels which added to Cuba's economic trou-

bles started by Castro's revolutionary socialism. Castro confiscated lands above a certain level of holdings and distributed them to poor peasants but they could not make good in the absence of capital. Capital was given to them through voluntary gifts extracted from all wage earners. Those who refused had to explain why they could not be patriotic enough to help their brethren! The capitalist classes were squeezed by excessive taxes and their ventures were made impossible.

Khrushchev offered to buy up the excess sugar refused by the USA. Russia has been offering every help to Castro who, it is now realised, is behaving like a pure communist and not merely a democratic socialist.

He has broken loose from the Organisation of American States which has an agreement with the USA as regards foreign policy and relations with States outside the American hemisphere.

The Americans have had a Monroe Doctrine for over a hundred years whereby they warn off all European States from interfering with Latin American States to the detriment of their freedom or American security.

During the regime of Hitler in Germany, Nazis had penetrated into South American States and honey-combed them, especially Argentina with anti-US conspiracies.

Now Cuba under Castro is favouring Russia—a deadlier enemy of the USA than Hitler.

President Eisenhower has been forced to announce the continued validity of the Monroe Doctrine and has declared roundly that America will not tolerate Cuba becoming a satellite of international communism. The stage is set for a head-on conflict with Khrushchev. Khrushchev threatens full assistance to Cuba defying the Monroe doctrine. He has said that the Monroe doctrine was out of date. It was proclaimed at a time when the USA was the most powerful State in the western hemisphere. But today, the US cannot continue her old policy and habit of "robbery and pillage and exploitation" of the weaker South American Republicans.

He has capped this defiance with the reckless announcement that he would attack America with her rockets if she interfered militarily with Cuba. This is an ultimatum or challenge. Khrushchev has exceeded his limits in threats. From using rocket threats to intimidate the smaller allies, he has now gone the length of trying to intimidate the USA herself! This is a new stage in international tension. This is how Khrushchev is relaxing tensions, while accusing the USA of adding to them!

"The Soviet Union circulated a Tass report at the UNO Headquarters to the effect: "The USSR confident of its strength will give Cuba the necessary support."

The Soviet Government warned the US Govern-

ment "not to harbour any illusions that by invoking the dead Monroe doctrine they could repeat the Guatemala episode in Cuba's case."

The Soviet Union is aided in her diplomatic demarche by Red China's deciding to recognise Cuba and to exchange ambassadors as the beginning of a systematic drive for influence in Latin America.

The Soviet Union has now an opportunity, (thanks to the new dictator Castro's anti-Americanism and communist sympathies) of developing a base in Cuba and repaying the USA in its own coin of having bases near the very border of the opponent!

Khrushchev has repudiated any such intentions and attributed the fear of US diplomats to the suggestion of their own conscience. The mother-in-law, he said, who is herself unfaithful to her own husband naturally suspects the fidelity of her daughter-in-law to her son! The US which has built so many bases around Russia's border in Europe and Asia naturally fears that Russia might copy her own example in Cuba!

The US is now in an awkward dilemma. Formerly she would have used Force Major to bring any recalcitrant Latin State to heel. She could also exercise economic pressure through trade sanctions and by influencing American investors who abound in every South American State. This is now out of the question after the development of new and equal relations after the Hitlerite war. If she uses unfair pressure on Cuba, it may have unfavourable repercussions on other Latin States. An attack on one of them is to be regarded by all as an attack on each of them. Now if the US herself attacks Cuba to prevent her from giving a base to Russia and to pass under her hegemony completely like the East European States, Argentina and Brazil and others may take it as a preface to similar attacks on their own sovereignty too! Persuasion and economic assistance rather than force is indicated as the better policy. Unfortunately dollars have ceased to bring friendship to America. Those who have received most (like Japan) revolt most against partnership in military security with the USA. This is a measure of the fear inspired all over the globe by Russia's military might.

This adds to the intensification of crisis in international relations. The balance of power has passed into a balance of terror, as it is said. And the new balance is ceasing to have the value of the old in stabilising peace!

This is thus a second explosive point in world politics today, for if the USA takes any forceful move to prevent Cuba's passing under Soviet hegemony and offering bases on the island, Khrushchev will have to carry out his threat of attacking the USA with his rocket or eat his words if he values peace. The USA cannot easily swallow her traditional Monroe Doctrine out of fear of Khrushchev.

CONGO INDEPENDENCE

What is happening in Congo today is unprecedented in history. It is symptomatic of the incredibly rapid way in which the old European imperialist nations with vast holdings in Africa are divesting themselves of their imperial responsibilities. There was trouble in Belgian Congo for a couple of years now. It is a vast territory almost the size of India in Central Africa. It has a coast on the Western side and just into Central Africa abutting Northern Rhodesia on the Eastern side which is a Crown Colony of Britain.

There has been some improvement in the colony in recent years but by and large, it is practically virgin territory with its untold mineral, agricultural and human material untapped. The Congolese are divided into many tribes with their tribal organisation yet intact with but an infinitesimal number introduced to modern education. The administration is almost entirely in the hands of the colonial power. The holding Power has the worst reputation next only to the Portuguese for exploitation of the native and cruelty to him in the ordinary relations of life. The colony was administered practically as a private estate of the King of the Belgians which was its legal status till lately.

The present king is a young man with modern ideas. He toured the Colony last year and announced the grant of independence to the Africans. It was conferred on them last month. He was present at the ceremony. Dr. Lumumba became Prime Minister and One Kasavubu a rival from another tribe became President and the new independent Government of Congo was inaugurated. But the country was utterly unprepared for self-government on modern lines and the rank and file of the Belgians in the colony and in Belgium with any connections with the colonial administration, commerce and industry were half-hearted. Lumumba himself let himself go for a moment while reading his speech on inauguration day with the King before him and lashed out at the Belgians for their cruelty and ruthless exploitation and inhuman treatment. "You have bled us white, have treated us like cattle, have kicked us, killed us etc. etc." But he soon recovered and resumed normal speech and civility in the rest of his speech.

On the day of inauguration, the Belgian commander-in-chief of Congo troops revolted and began to attack the Congolese civilians. But his native soldiers deserted him and began to counter attack Belgians wherever they could find them in the capital as well as in provincial towns! Chaos reigned for a few days. Lumumba, the Prime Minister dismissed the Belgian commander and called from UN help to restore order. The Belgians asked their home government to rescue them from African fury. Plane loads of Belgian paratroopers arrived and spread themselves in provincial towns to protect islands of white people—men, women and children who began to be evacuated by air as quickly

as possible. Africans, soldiers as well as laymen, began to attack Belgians everywhere.

The UN acted quickly and passed a resolution authorising the Secretary General Mr. Dag Hammarskold to organise assistance. The Deputy Secretary General Mr. Ralph Bunche was already there.

Thus dawn and twilight have coincided in the advent of freedom to the African Congo people! They seem to pass from savegery to degeneration without the intervening stage of civilisation, as the joke goes!

Lumumba seems to be a short-tempered individual unfit for his new responsibilities as father of his people charged with the mission of stabilising freedom and leading his people to modernism.

He declared hastily that the Belgians had a plot against Congo and severed diplomatic relations with Belgium! The Belgians have however kept their heads cool and have delayed giving effect to such premature decisions.

Lumumba has asked that the Belgian troops should quit before there could be any talks with the Belgian authorities.

But many of his own Ministers have resigned and left him alone to deal with the situation! Lumumba finds his new found authority vanishing into thin air! His capital Leopoldville is still under Belgian troops!

The UN has acted quickly. Mr. Hammarskold has exercised great tact in handling the situation. The Russians have (with their usual percipitancy and recklessness) declared that the Western nations are conspiring as usual to gain imperial advantages out of the Congo turmoil! Moscow has hastened to recognise Congolese independence. The UN has arranged for contingents of troops from African States like Morocco, Tunisia and Ghana who have already arrived by air to the tune of 5,000 at the time of writing. They are commanded by a Swedish General. The Ghanaian troops are commanded by their British General. The African troops are from States that use French and can communicate with the Congolese whose official language is French. The Great Powers have been purposely excluded from this military mission to forestal objections and fears about imperialism.

There are four distinct provinces that make up the Federal Union of the Congo. The eastern-most province is called the Katanga that has a pro-Western chief recently elected president of provincial State. This state is rich in copper and other minerals. The neighbouring British Crown colony under Sir Welensky has been toying with the idea of absorbing Katanga for its rich resources! It is quite in the tradition that divided Africa among European Powers in the last century. But today with Soviet Russia mounting guard over African and Asian dependent nations or peoples, the move is foredoomed to failure. The Katanga has broken

off from Congo and declared independence and has called for UN recognition. If it is not forthcoming, its President threatens to give an invitation to Russian troops!

The UN has also acted to collect a body of administrators for assisting Congo and setting it on its feet! There are hardly a dozen civilian officers in all Congo!

Russia has called this assistance by the wrong name of imperialism! She has offered all support beginning with the despatch of 10,000 tons of wheat. India has been asked for and has given 1,000 tons of wheat. The UAR has offered small arms and any other help she could give. The British have restrained the Rhodesian Governor Welensky from indulging in any annexationist adventure. Thus will the Congo be saved for independence through UN effort and its explosive potentialities controlled.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PLAN

What the planners know very well, but which yet is not allowed to show itself very prominently, is the unavoidable element of error of calculation arising out of rising prices or inflation, whichever name we choose to give to the economic results of the very expenditure that is planned. This element is usually given the name of a vicious circle and left at that with some vague promises of checking it by special devices, which again in other ways go to add to the trials of the public. 1650 crores of additional taxation and 550 crores of deficit financing will not sit passive but will give fresh wings to the up-flying prices.

Direct and indirect taxes and rising prices are not mere arithmetic. They are hard realities that make and mar human happiness and outlook on life. It may be pleasing to read the figures of the various items of promised expenditure but the obverse of the Plan, viz., the open and concealed taxation corresponding to the expenditure is as real as the investment proposed. Borrowing has become so continuous and the accumulated interest charges so heavy that borrowing is as good or, rather, as bad as taxation. The other side of 'Planning for prosperity', unlike that of the Moon, cannot be kept concealed. Even the Moon's other side has begun to be exposed to view! The hard facts of heavy taxation are obvious parts of the Plan. And they affect not merely the feelings of men, but even the arithmetic of expected private investments.

—C. Rajagopalachari
(Swarnajya)

Failure Of Democracy In India

By M. N. Tholal

IF we do not heed the lesson provided by the Assam disturbances, the country will go to pieces within a short period of time. A popular and anti-national cry was raised and the members of a popular Government were found in hiding. That is the naked truth about the situation in Assam, which resulted in the Army taking over before the disturbances were quelled. Some of the leaders of the Party in power in Assam were, indeed, among those fomenting the disorder, like leaders of almost all other parties in the State. When a popular cry is raised and is admittedly anti-national, who is to bear the brunt of raising his voice against it and thus trying to stem the anti-national tide? Not surely those who have the general election in mind. For, those who dare will naturally fear that at election time those who did not dare will find favour with the populace. Thus discretion becomes the better part of valour and the national interest is ignored by those who are decrying communalism day in and day out.

ADULT FRANCHISE

Democracy everywhere encourages a race for popularity, but enlightened opinion acts as a check on and deterrent to anti-national tendencies. The extent to which enlightened opinion asserts itself, both within and outside a particular party, furnishes the extent to which a people deserve democracy. Our constitution provides adult franchise, although every one knows how very ignorant the common voter is regarding matters which he is called upon to decide at election time. Jawaharlal Nehru was the foremost in insisting on adult franchise adorning the Indian constitution, though he has since then, reportedly, admitted the unwisdom of that insistence. One of the lessons furnished by the Assam imbroglio is the necessity of reconsidering the advisability of having adult franchise which, when all is said, is at the bottom of the reluctance of popular leaders to fight anti-national movements, if, indeed, it is not mainly responsible for the encouragement received by such movements at the hands of those who are always willing and anxious to fish in troubled waters.

But for the exemplary restraint exercised by the emotional Bengalis on their day of protest against the Assam happenings, things would have been infinitely worse, and a vicious circle might have started which it might not have been possible for the military even to deal with satisfactorily without great loss of life. But it would be foolish to count on such extraordinary restraint by people of a state when members of their community in an adjoining state are deprived of all they have and have to flee for their life. Nor can Congressmen be expect-

ed to behave otherwise in the face of a movement which, they know for certain, has the backing of the people. Indeed, if the Assam disturbances have proved anything, they have proved the bankruptcy of the Congress Government, both Central and State, as well as the bankruptcy of the Congress organisation. It is no answer for those holding the reins of Government all over the land to say that other parties proved equally bankrupt. Why should other parties do everything to incur popular displeasure when Congressmen are busy ingratiating themselves with the people? To insure for ever the loaves and fishes of office for the Congress Party?

Far from there being any recognition in Congress circles of the shameful role played by Congress Ministers and Congress leaders—negative as well as positive—during the disturbances in Assam, firm adherence to the "party-first" attitude continues. Congress President Reddy's statement issued on his return to New Delhi, after touring some of the affected parts of Assam, differs materially from the one he made earlier in Calcutta and seems to be a clear attempt to exonerate the Assam Ministry from any possible indictment. One can understand the Congress President's difficulty. He is not holding that office to liquidate the Congress. How can he condemn a ministry which presents a united front on a particular problem, for mishandling that problem?

PRIME MINISTER'S PLATTITUDES

Leave aside the Congress President, who may not be expected to take a national view of a situation when that view conflicts with the interests of the party which it is his primary business to uphold. Let us see what that great leader, who has been saying that he is something more than Prime Minister, something more than Congress leader, has to say on the subject. In the course of a speech in English at Shillong, Prime Minister Nehru said, with reference to the role of students in the language agitation, that Assam students had taken such a prominent part in the disturbances that he wondered if they realised the consequences of their actions. He felt concerned at the way young students were "throwing their weight about". Instead of blaming immature students who can everywhere be easily misled, he should have more appropriately been blaming those who were misleading students, including prominent members of his own party. Is it for the young to realise the consequences of their actions, rather than for the old who incite them?

In his desire to play the role of "Danial-come-to-Judgment", Mr. Nehru often makes himself appear

ridiculous. He was not particularly interested, he said, in apportioning blame or condemning a section or group of people. "I am interested in my country having a healthy body and mind; I am interested in Assam having a healthy body and mind," he said. But how can the country or a State have a healthy body and mind, unless Mr. Nehru emphatically and specifically condemns those who seem interested, for their own selfish reasons, in the country and the State developing a diseased mind and a diseased body? In order to root out the malady we must find out its cause. The attacks on the Bengali-speaking population by the Assamese could not have continued for more than three weeks had the Congress Government of Assam taken a firm stand against the rioters, even if, as the Congress President maintains, the rioting broke out unexpectedly. It can be conceded that the Assam Government could not have dealt with the rioters satisfactorily everywhere in the State, but it could have done so in the capital at least. Indeed, by lifting the curfew where it was imposed the Government gave the line-clear signal to rioters.

What we have witnessed in Assam is not the failure of a Congress Government, but the failure of adult franchise, and, if failure of adult franchise is the failure of democracy, the failure of democracy itself. A popular Government cannot be trusted in dealing with popular fury, justified or unjustified, so long as adult franchise is the law of the land. We, who have been making fun of Pakistan for the kind of Government it has under General Ayub Khan, are now reminded that our people are no better. The Pakistanis came to acknowledge that they did not really deserve democracy when the Sunnis massacred the Qadianis in Punjab some years ago, and no responsible leader could come forward to condemn the popular atrocities, because the Koran itself enjoined that Mohammad was the last of the Prophets whereas the Qadianis had a prophet of their own thirteen centuries after the death of the Holy Prophet. The events in Assam prove the blood relationship between Pakistanis and Indians—one touch of nature makes the sub-continent kin!

MR. NEHRU AND HARMONIUM

Personally, I think a man has as much right to lose his temper at the sight of a Bengali or a Sikh as Mr. Nehru has to lose his temper at the sight of a harmonium! After all, it takes all sorts to make the world. But democracy demands forbearance even at the sight of a harmonium and the noise it can legitimately and legally make. Mr. Nehru has, of course, his reasons for preferring the piano and, as a democrat, I shall not question them, even if they are on the snobbish side, but, equally, people of poor India have their reasons for preferring the harmonium, to the piano, if for no other reason than their inability to go in for the latter, to say nothing of development of the taste in music which preference for the piano may or may not indicate. The

point I am trying to drive home is that forbearance is the sine qua non of democracy and without tolerance of each other's vices—including in that category the harmonium and the mother tongue—so as long as they are legal, democracy is impossible. Intolerance of the harmonium may seem a trivial affair, particularly to those on the lookout for Mr. Nehru's favours, but it indicates an undemocratic mentality, and it is this undemocratic mentality, of which there are many other traits in our great Prime Minister, which we Indians have to fight, if democracy is to survive in the country.

Abandonment of adult franchise may seem to some a drastic remedy but a drastic remedy is what is required to deal with a deep-rooted malady. Party considerations may not now allow the leaders of the Congress Party to consider the advisability of an amendment of the Constitution to delete adult franchise, but then so long as national considerations do not outweigh party considerations even in matters of life and death for the Union, we cannot hope to have healthy minds and healthy bodies. It is for those who have been advising the need of having "peace of the mind and heart" and a healthy mind in a healthy body to set the example in the national interest, and show some signs of health in their minds.

Whatever the differences of opinion over details may be, it cannot be disputed that the Assam Government failed to maintain law and order and the Central Government was for weeks indifferent to that failure. Indians being what they are—and the attitudes of almost all parties in Assam is a clear pointer to their undemocratic instincts—there is no reason to suppose that things would have been materially different under some other party's rule. The question then arises, what must immediately be done to avert the catastrophe of the kind which would have overtaken the country had Bengal retaliated and started an offensive against non-Bengalees in Bengal? India has only one citizenship for all its constituent states. All Indians are free to move and settle anywhere within the country and carry on their trade, commerce and profession without let or hindrance, or any discrimination whatsoever on account of their language and culture. But it rests on the State to implement the law with regard to equality of rights. As a correspondent asks in a local daily, where is the guarantee, in the face of vociferous demands raised by politicians throughout the country for linguistic delimitations, that a State Government can conscientiously and honourably discharge the sacred obligations the Constitution provides for linguistic minorities? Even when Government servants and popular leaders alike fail to rise above partisan influences, the Union Government shows reluctance to interfere and makes all sorts of constitutional pleas to defend its helplessness and indifference in the matter of defending the lives and property of citizens of the Union.

(Continued on page 10)

Free Enterprise - Durable Basis Of A Free Society

By Prof. Karot A. Joseph

"Liberty is to the collective body what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleasure can be tasted by man; without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society." —Bolingbroke

ECONOMIC distress and poverty have been great enemies of democracy. Totalitarian tyrannies have sprung from the ruins of free economy and freedom of the individual. Today when India is laying the foundation of a free democracy it is desirable for every thinking citizen to be well-informed about the political implications of our economic policies and planning.

With the Industrial Revolution, Liberalism became a popular creed with intellectuals everywhere. The weakening of the forces of individual enterprise and initiative, particularly since the first World War, has inevitably reacted against democracy and encouraged totalitarianism. Freedom, like poverty

and prosperity, is indivisible. No society is likely to be free for long after surrendering its economic and social freedom. India's progress on right lines depends very much on a revival of liberal traditions, a firm faith in individual's initiative and freedom and conviction that the security and prosperity of a modern state depend on the existence of a class of liberal-minded and enterprising citizens, who know their duties, as well as their rights, and who are prepared to take risks in the noble endeavour of building a free and prosperous India.

What is this inspiring ideal of liberalism that released humanity from feudal slavery and unmitigated drudgery, and created a new civilization based on material prosperity and political freedom? During the golden age of European liberalism this ideal referred to a specific body of doctrines having intellectual, economic, political and international significance. Intellectually, it championed freedom of thought, extolled technology, natural Science and machine civilization, and treated religion as a private affair of individual conscience. In economics, it stood for individualism, for freedom of occupation, and profession, for freedom of trade, for freedom of contract between the individual worker and employer, and for a healthy competition in all economic activities. It was hostile to the economic privileges of classes and communities, the tariffs and protectionism, to guilds, free trade Unions and monopolies and to Governmental interference and control of Commerce and industry.

In politics, liberalism regarded the ideal States as "a passive policeman," not concerning itself with the affairs of its individual citizens, but merely preserving order, protecting private property, fostering some public education and public work. Likewise, it regarded as ideal, a Government which would be constitutionally representative and Parliamentary, in which the propertied middle classes and educated professional classes would predominate, and under which individual liberty would be large, and tax burden light and bearable.

In international affairs, it was generally pacifist and sympathetic to the oppressed people struggling for freedom and political rights. It condemned war as financially burdensome, as injurious to property and profitable trade, as destructive of personal life and liberty, and morally degrading.

Great Britain proved the most congenial home for the growth of liberalism, as it was the firmest believer in free trade and a free political system. The unbroken peace and uninterrupted prosperity

(Continued from page 9)

SPECIAL POWERS FOR GOVERNORS

Under the circumstances, if our federal structure is to be saved, State Governors should be re-invested with special responsibilities which they used to discharge in exercise of their discretion under the 1935 Government of India Act. These special responsibilities could be exercised for (1) prevention of grave menace to peace and tranquillity, (2) safeguarding the interests of minorities, (3) safeguarding the legitimate interests of members of the public services and their dependants, and (4) securing the execution of the orders and directions of the President. If the Governors are empowered to act in their discretion, without seeking the advice of the ministry, there may be hope of salvaging our federal constitution and restoring confidence among the minorities and services.

The States Reorganisation Commission did not quite approve of the suggestion to invest nominated governors with special responsibilities, but did not at the same time suggest any effective method for enforcing minority safeguards. Investing Governors with special powers is the only way of preventing the Constitution from becoming ineffective. That is obvious enough. But whether it is equally obvious to the power politicians of the Congress Party remains to be seen. They will soon be busy proclaiming to the world that nothing went wrong with the Congress Ministry in Assam, that unfortunately the Chief Minister fell ill at an inopportune moment and was not able to keep the Centre fully informed of the happenings in the State, and that (the Congress Ministers' indifference to disorder in the State having ensured the party's re-election to power) everything is for the best in the best of all possible Assams!

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

R. B. Lotvala, a Life Sketch

By S. Ramanathan



R. B. Lotvala

RANCHODDAS BHAVAN LOTVALA is one of the leading Rationalists of India and occupies a prominent place in the financial world of Bombay. He is a self-made man. Although he is to-day an advanced thinker associated with the most progressive movements and organisations in India he was born in a middle-class family which was sunk in religious superstition. How Lotvala overcame this double handicap of material condition and intellectual backwardness of his early surroundings is a fascinating study. The story is told in a graphic manner by Mr. Indulal K. Yagnik, the well-known leader of the peasant movement in India and the man who spear-headed the recent mass upsurge which undid the decision of the ruling Congress party to maintain Bombay alone as a unified state in the midst of a multiplicity of States divided on the linguistic basis and succeeded in achieving the separate state of Gujerat. The book has an introduction by the progressive writer, Mr. Anthony Elenjmittam, and is available with the Libertarian Book House, Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. The book is indispensable to all those who would study the

methods and the possibilities of overcoming adverse circumstances by sheer strength of character.

Lotvala was born in the year 1875 in the Nul Bazaar area of Bombay, which is the most crowded locality in that over-crowded City. His father ran a small flour shop which the son developed into the flourishing flour Mill which adorns the Duncan Road now. The family were devoted followers of the Gosain cult, whose leaders were known as Vallabacharias. All adherents of this cult, whether male or female, were enjoined to submit their minds and bodies to the wishes of the priests even as the Gopis surrendered their bodies and minds to Lord Krishna. This led to obscene practices at the instance of the religious preceptors who, by the promise of spiritual honour and celestial happiness after death, subjected their followers to minister to their corrupt pleasures. Lotvala's grand-father occupied a high rank in the hierarchy of this cult. He was a pucca Marjadi, who was prohibited from drinking water which was not drawn by himself from the well and who should not eat any food which was not cooked by himself. It is from this depth of superstition that Lotvala attained to the heights of free-thought and Rationalism by the sheer effort of his own intellect. He was helped in the achievement of this victory by the assiduousness with which he studied books of modern liberal thought. He had the benefit of higher education but his further studies at College were interrupted by the sudden death of his father obliging him to take charge of the family business. Although his time was fully occupied in looking after his business interests which he gradually expanded to prodigious proportions until he succeeded in building up a flour mill at Duncan Road, he never relaxed his devotion to study and he eagerly devoured all available books on Science, Philosophy, Economics and Politics.

He was enabled in his early age to gradually escape from the demoralising cult into which his ancestors had fallen by the liberalising influence of the Arya Samaj movement in which young Lotvala participated with his wonted enthusiasm. His foreign travels which were regular annual events undertaken to study the latest improvements in flour mill machinery and to purchase them for incorporation in his mill, brought him in contact with several foreign centers of progressive thought. Two such cen-

ters were the Fabian Society and the Rationalist Press Association in London whose publications he eagerly devoured and with whose leaders he cultivated intimate friendship. Thus he got acquainted with the most advanced thought of the world and he gradually disentangled himself from the theocratic set up of the Arya Samaj which though it helped him originally to release himself from the tenacles of the Vallabacharias was yet proving a hindrance to the free development of his mind in consonance with modern enlightenment. He was one of the founders of the Rationalist Association of India which had its head quarters in Bombay.

He helped financially in the publication of their journal "The Reason." After this Association was wound up, he helped in the forming of the Indian Rationalist Association with its head quarters in Madras. He is a Life Member of that Association and when their journal "the Indian Rationalist" ran into difficulties he generously agreed to get it published as a monthly supplement to his "Indian Libertarian" published in Bombay.

It was this intimate association with liberal thought that opened his eyes to a critical appraisal of the movement in India for National liberation from foreign yoke which was conducted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. While the masses were overwhelmed by the emotional appeal made by the Mahatma who rode on the crest of a politico-religious upsurge, Lotvala was able to distinguish the good from the bad in the movement. While he supported the demand for Swaraj he did not encourage and indeed fought against the Mahatma's call for the restoration of the Khilafat which was a politico-religious hegemony of the Turkish sultans and which became obsolete and died a natural death. Lotvala's incisive intellect also fathomed the crude revivalism implicit in the Khadi movement. As an advocate of modern science and technology, he opposed the attempt of Mahatma Gandhi to revive the spinning wheel which symbolised the age of pre-historic barbarism in Indian history. It was therefore a difficult position that Lotvala occupies in Indian politics. He conducted a daily paper which supported the Gandhian movement in all its healthy features but did not flinch from criticising and ridiculing it whenever it went wrong. This critical approach to the national problem was not a money making proposition and hence his paper, though it enjoyed periods of popularity, was nevertheless a financial loss and had to be wound up. But Lotvala has built up his fortune through his business acumen to such an extent that this loss did not deter him from continuing his liberal policy in politics and spending money in active propaganda for the advancement of all progressive thought in economics and social welfare. At one time he sympathised with the Communist movement and indeed was responsible for building up a splendid library of Marxian literature in Bombay to which all young aspirants to leftist politics crowded. Many of the leading leftist politicians in India to-day had their initiation and training in politics in the midst of books so liberally supplied by Lotvala. Lotvala

has an active mind and is ever in search for new ideas and progressive thought. Discovering the totalitarian trend in International Communism he has girded up his loins to fight the same and is now well-known as one of the most formidable opponents of that school of thought. He is now wedded to the propagation of Libertarianism which owes its origin to Bakunin and Kropotkin who represented the anti-Marxian school of Anarchism in the First International. However, this advanced thought though theoretically justifiable has not yet found application in current politics. Hence Lotvala is obliged to conduct pioneering work which has not yet gained vogue in actual practice. This is a difficult task which may deter weaker people. But Lotvala is not afraid of the isolation and the intellectual adventure which has caused him financial loss and whose beneficent results can be repaid only by the future generation.

The special value of Lotvala's life is the lesson that it teaches and the example that it provides for the Indian intellectual. It is a common phenomenon in this country that highly educated Indians are leading a double life. They are victims of a certain schizophrenia, a glaring divorce between precept and practice. Graduates in Science, and even Scholars with international reputation, observe the crudest superstitious practices in the name of religion. When confronted by critics, they put up a shame faced justification that they could not withstand the pressure of their families, especially their womenfolk. This kind of duplicity is at the bottom of the strength of the caste system and the persistence with which caste observances are kept up rigidly in the homes of high officials, Judges, Administrators and Businessmen. Leading financiers who control the share markets are not ashamed to prostrate the full lengths of their bodies at the feet of the Acharias, Sadhus and other religious frauds who exploit the masses promising them a pie in the sky. This is where Lotvala, the Rationalist, shines above all others. Although born and bred up in a community of religiously backward Gosains, he is to-day the leading Rationalist of India, not only in his intellectual attainments and understanding of the principles of rationalism but in his meticulous practice of it as evidenced by his discarding every vestige of religious superstition in the private life of himself and his family. Nor is rationalism just a political expedient with Lotvala, as it undoubtedly is in the case of our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, who sports his rationalism when the occasion suits him, but is content to conform and to run with the crowd in religious melas and during festivals just to avoid trouble with the orthodox and to gain more popularity for himself. Nehru walks the primrose path by pretending to be everything to everybody and being devoted to nothing in particular. But Lotvala is made of sterner stuff. He sticks to his guns come what, come may. With his fine intellectual attainments, with his financial strength, with his intimate friendship with Vithal bhai Patel and Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, with

(Continued on page III)

A Message to My Fellow - Rationalists

RATIONALIST'S TASK IN INDIA—A SISYPHUS LABOUR

By R. B. Lotvala

It is often contended that rationalism is fast spreading in India. But I feel doubtful of it when I see the hold that the obscure forces of occultism, mysticism and reaction have today not only on the uneducated masses but even on the intelligentsia of the country. Only a fortnight back it was reported in the newspapers that a group of some sixty persons belonging to the "educated" middle class, having literarily believed the story that the world would come to an end precisely at 7.15 P.M. on the 14th July 1960, as predicted by some mystics, fled Poona to take refuge in the Mahabaleshwar hills in the hope of saving themselves from the cataclysmic flood that was out to destroy the world. After spending several hours in prayer, anxiety and panic there, they found at last that nothing dreadful had happened even after the fateful hour and returned home duly thanking their Gods for the providential mercy. It would be interesting to investigate the number of cases which assumed a similar turn and the number of individuals who solemnly prepared themselves to meet their fate in a similar manner on that day elsewhere in the country. One can observe the growing influence of mysticism and of pseudo-sciences like astrology and palmistry even on the mentally emancipated. The costly rituals and ceremonies on occasions of births, marriages and deaths are observed unabated. The caste-system though its rigidity has somewhat loosened has not lost its sway on the higher echelons of the Hindu society. Taboos of all sorts on eating and drinking though they have adjusted themselves to the demands of modern life continue to be observed. Meanwhile the gods have multiplied as if in sympathy with our rising population and idolatry is still a prominent form of our religiousness. In short, rationalism has received a set-back.

If Rationalism has failed to make much headway in India, it is partly due to the apathy shown by the majority of rationalists towards their own Cause.

R. B. LOTWALA, A LIFE SKETCH

(Continued from page 11)

his personal relationship with Mahatma Gandhi, with the influential position he built up by ownership of a popular daily newspaper, Lotvala could have risen to personal eminence and could have secured anything he wanted if only he conformed to popular trends. But Lotvala scorns success. He is devoted to principles. He worships truth. And votaries of truth lead the hard life, now as always. Success is still in the womb. It benefits the future, the next generation. Lotvala is a pathfinder, a pioneer.

Their inability to continue the "Indian Rationalist" independently for instance is a pointer. There are several other causes responsible for the stunted growth of Rationalism in India, like the deep-seated hold that religion has had on the minds of the Indian masses for thousands of years, the mass illiteracy and their abysmal ignorance, the limited resources at the disposal of the rationalists to carry on their work etc. But here I would confine myself to three factors that tend to neutralise their endeavour and would ask my fellow-rationalists to take cognizance of them.

The primary force that retards the march of rationalist thought in India is Gandhism, which is the very anti-thesis of Rationalism, but which unfortunately still dominates the bulk of the political-minded. Gandhism which arose as a modest doctrine with the limited objective of fighting the British Government by a method of non-violence has come to stay as one of the most powerful ideologies in the post-independent India, keeping alive the worst forms of obscurantism, anti-scientism and reaction as preached by the Mahatma. The unscrupulousness with which Gandhi drew the student-world into political strife to serve his ends has left a deleterious effect on the present student-generation, and is responsible for the large-scale student-indiscipline and the chaotic conditions in the Universities today as exemplified by the numerous incidents of assaults on the professors, burning of question papers and other forms of irrational conduct on the part of the students. What is worse, Gandhism has imported an element of hypocrisy in our national life and has turned its adherents into schizophrenics. By no stretch of imagination the heavy-machine building industries, the gigantic steel plants... "our modern temples"—that our rulers are planning to erect at prohibitive costs can be reconciled with the crude village economy sustained by the primitive charkha and handicrafts as visualised by the high-priest of Indian reaction. Nor the huge, ever-expanding and soul destroying bureaucratic Frankenstein that the apostles of Gandhism have created today would ever fit in with the simple village-centred, primordial decentralised economic ideal envisaged by Gandhi. But this contradiction between their professed faith and action does not worry our rulers... the political heirs of the Mahatma. Obviously, this intellectual feat by which one could accommodate diametrically opposed ideas is possible only for those trained in the subtleties of Gandhian thought. Gandhism is anti-theoretical to honest and scientific thinking. Rationalists therefore, owe it to themselves to counter the claims of Gandhism by exposing its fallacies, its

equivocation and its irrational elements and wean the would-be-adherents away from this reactionary cult. The Charka-oriented mind must be replaced by a scientific frame of mind.

The second major obstruction to rationalistic thinking comes from the proponents of what is called "India's spiritual glory", the political representatives of which are found in the ranks of the Hindu Mahasabha, R.S.S. and Jan Sangh. The more vociferous exponents of our "spiritual culture" idealise the past, rationalise its faults, and glorify our cultural backwardness.

Incidentally, I once wrote to a professor given to revel in the glorification of "our spiritual culture", and asked him whether polyandry, idolatry, widow-burning, and child-marriage constituted our "spiritual culture"; whether the caste-system was a badge of our spiritualism; whether the Sudhras had a place in our spiritual system; and if our spiritual prowess was so superior why we were helpless slaves to foreigners for centuries together. The professor stopped corresponding with me.

The upholders of our spiritual culture assert that there is something eternally valid, something sacred and something mystic in our past wisdom, institutions and scriptures. India has a special message for the rest of the world. This chauvinism has assumed such proportions that the proponents of our "spiritual culture" not only deny everything that is not Indian in character but refuse to concede that the products of Capitalist civilisation could have been known to the West at a time, when in point of fact we were strangers to science. According to them the clue to atomic physics can be found in the Vedas, aeroplanes were used in the Epic period and the answer to Marx can be found in Manu. They do not believe in the devices of modern science and rationalism, which have no use for them. They do not want to have a breach with the past. Soaked in the hoary tradition of religious orthodoxy, the upholders of spiritual atavism keep alive the vision of an elusive ideal future based on the fictitious glorious past. Apart from the Fascist trend that this form of ultra-nationalism can introduce in our body-politic, it is the greatest stumbling block that could shut up the doors of scientific knowledge and experience which the West has accumulated for over a century and which we are yet to borrow from her. Rationalists should forestall the retrogression that would set in our national life if the reactionary apostles of Indian spiritualism had their own way.

Thirdly and paradoxically enough, the cause for the set-back to Rationalism is to be sought in the nature and character of rationalism itself. Unlike religion, Rationalism as an intellectual movement does not offer a ready-made creed to believe in and act upon. The romanticism, hopes and lures, solace and comforts...however imaginative they may be—which religion offers are necessarily lost in the rationalistic mode of thought and existence.

and consequently rationalism is devoid of an emotional appeal. To an average layman it is dry and colourless. Emotion divorced from reason is irrational: but reason without emotion is barren. Rationalist propaganda therefore should charge itself with some more colour and appeal, keeping unimpaired however its devotion to truth and intellectual honesty. The late Mr. M. N. Roy did it well in postulating Man in place of God thus lending a colourful appeal to his Humanist movement and to define its goal as the restoration of Man to himself to enable him to realise his own creative potentials without the aid of supernatural powers. It would be decidedly fruitful for the Rationalists to establish a closer contact with the Radical Humanist movement now gaining momentum in India. It would then be easier for them to achieve their immediate objective of liberating man from political despotism and spiritual authoritarianism.

The task of Rationalists in India however, is a sisyphus-labour. For a long time to come they will have to grapple with the tyranny of superstitions sought to be glorified as our culture. A political revolution has been achieved: but a social revolution which ought to have preceded it has lagged behind. The old reactionary forces are still at work and the dead weight of the feudal past is hanging oppressively on the present. But the Rationalists should march ahead with their mission despite momentary set backs and keep the torch of Reason alive.

IF!

If God Almighty made the trees,
The birds, the buttercups, the bees;
Then all of Nature reaffirms
He made the viruses and germs,
The blight, the fungi and the worms
And every foul disease.

What can a prayer or hymn be worth
If God Almighty made the earth?
Is He not deaf to cries of pain
From babes with tumors on the brain?
How can our pious friends explain
A child deformed at birth?

God moves in a mysterious way
And sends us blessings every day.
Think of a backbone split in two,
Of fingers fused, or skin that's blue
And praise the Lord above that you
Were never born that way!

—Richard I. Briggs (U.S.A.)

that the world witnessed for a century following the battle of Waterloo (1815) was the product of this liberalism. The intellectual revolution associated with the Renaissance and Reformation, the scientific out-look and technological progress leading to the industrial revolution, the parliamentary supremacy, imperial expansion and urbanisation, absence of serious class conflict, co-operation between the landed aristocracy, intellectual middle class and enterprising mercantile community;—above all the British sense of practical realism, fair play and tolerance in politics, a scientific, progressive and hopeful out-look on life—all these made liberalism flourish in Great Britain.

In the nineteenth century liberalism became strong in Western Europe and influenced the whole of Europe. There was a romantic love for novelty everywhere, a desire for freedom from traditional controls that had long enslaved nations, inhibited individual initiative and impeded efficiency and progress. By the middle of the nineteenth Century, all classes in Europe—the intellectual middle class, progressive clergyman, humanitarian landlords, wealthy capitalists, professional men and urban dwellers—all came under the inspiring influence of liberalism. Wherever liberalism penetrated it served as an important leaven on society and Government. It stimulated business enterprise and increased material prosperity; it infused a new spirit of hope and adventure for the common man. As the industrial revolution progressed, the basic concepts of individual initiative and enterprise permeated the whole society. It helped to shape public policies, breaking down traditional barriers, of social and commercial intercourse, and promoting an ever widening extension of public works and popular education. Parliamentary democracy, territorial nationalism, abolition of slavery and the fostering of colonial self-Government were some of its political results. Revolutions in science and knowledge, the wonderful achievement in the field of production, transport and other economic activities, the building up of the modern machine civilization—all were some of its other achievements. The daring and enterprise of the colonial adventurer, the pioneering spirit of the scientist and technician and the inspiring political achievements of Great Britain were the lasting products of liberal individualism.

All the fruits of the Liberal Era, however, were not sweet. While there was phenomenal progress on many fronts, some social injustices also arose. For instance, long working hours and ghastly working conditions; slums; gross inequalities; individual aggrandizement at social cost by some unscrupulous persons were some of the undesirable features of the era which followed Industrial Revolution. As an ethical protest against these ugly features rose the socialist movement. It advocated State ownership of all means of production, exchange and distribution in the hope and certainty that such features would be abolished and the fruits of industrial advance could be fairly shared. Fabian socialism

and subsequent growth of the Labour Party in Great Britain is an example of this ethical protest.

The assumption of power by the Labour Party and implementation of its state ownership policy through nationalisation, however, belied earlier hopes. It was found that nationalisation did not lead to socialisation; that bureaucrats who ran state industries were less amenable to control than private enterprise; that the inequalities persisted; that a sense of theoretical ownership was no substitute for incentives to workers. At the same time, freedom of the individual, so much cherished by the socialists, was fast disappearing under bureaucratic expansion. It was easily seen that state ownership led to state capitalism as in Communist countries, where, as Mr. Milovan Djilas, leading Yugoslav communist, pointed out, a "New Class" of bureaucrats and the party elite became the most ruthless controllers of the life and destiny of all citizens.

Results of recent elections in Great Britain have led to second thoughts on nationalisation and state ownership even among socialists. For instance, Mr. Douglas Jay, former Finance Secretary to the Treasury of the Labour Government in U.K., says: "The word 'nationalisation' has become damaging to the Labour Party. This is a fact; and it is no use denying it, even if you, deplore it. We must destroy this myth decisively; otherwise we may never win again...."

Thus we see the failure of socialism and communism to promote social justice. In the meantime, West Germany has demonstrated how by proper state regulation of private enterprise, the evils of 19th century industrial society can be removed and yet freedom and prosperity can be guaranteed to all.

What about the future? Eminent thinkers and intellectuals are of the opinion that the future of a free world Civilization depends on a revival of free enterprise in a free democracy, a restoration of faith in liberal ideals which were mainly responsible for the wonders of the modern industrial community. Liberal individualism as an ideal has still a great future. It nourishes self-reliance, encourages initiative and combats unnecessary Government interference. It urges the recognition of the value of the individual in Society, and it helps to discourage useless laws of petty interference in personal freedom. A free society and a progressive and prosperous community can be fostered on a firm footing only by restoring our faith in liberal individualism.

If only we have a glimpse of what is happening under socialism and regimentation elsewhere, even in great Britain, the strong-hold of liberalism, one could easily realise the political implications of discouraging free enterprise and individual initiative. The picture of Socialistic Britain painted by H. W. Seaman is most revealing. He remarks that "the walls of the prison close in day by day, the area of enterprise shrinks. Day by day the ceiling of opportunity is lowered. The prisoners are charged for the expense of the multiplying jailors—there is no

incentive to hold undertakings except a heartless propaganda which urges all dogs collectively to jump at the Moon keeping them chained. Socialism, as now interpreted, is competition without prizes, business without hope, war without victory, statistics without end and boredom without relief." Socialism means more power for the state and that power whether in the hands of a Minister or a policeman is potential tyranny.

If free India desires to build a free and progressive democratic system, an efficient economic order and a dynamic and virile Social organisation, she has to avoid the "road to Serfdom". This means a revival of liberalism and an assertion of our faith in individual initiative and enterprise. Indian culture and civilisation have been essentially individualistic in character. In this age when liberalism is crumbling down everywhere, is it not a prime duty of India to preserve this precious heritage of individualism and lay firm foundations for a free democracy? Individual initiative, competitive efficiency and intellectual liberty are the basis of a flourishing democratic society.

Our Prime Minister said in one of his addresses: "I am myself a devotee of science and believe that the world will ultimately be saved, if it is to be

saved, by the method and approach of science which value individual thinking and initiative. Any achievement that is based on wide-spread fear can hardly be a desirable one and a social order that has for the basis the coercive apparatus of the State, and cannot exist without it, is more like a military occupation than civil rule."

A free democracy can thrive only in a land fertilised by the refreshing nutrient of free enterprise, and a soil hardened by competitive efficiency. The people of India with all their patient industry, with all their noble literature, with all their cultivated taste, have yet to learn, that they can gain the arts which adorn life, the luxuries which sweeten it, the amenities which embellish it, only when the country secures, by effort and sacrifice, the weightier matters of mental emancipation, civil rights, personal liberty and material prosperity. If in the pursuit of our goal we adopt policies and programme inconsistent with democracy, and abandon the effective safe-guards of liberty—the freedom of competition, enterprise and initiative—that would place humanity in a terrible dilemma. Free Democracy can hardly survive, if its twin sister "free enterprise" is permitted to languish and perish under the oppression and slander of the Socialistic storm raging around us today.

Let Us Not Disturb the Living Voice of Life

By Vaman H. Pandit

QUITE a lot of problems there are facing the men of letters of English language in India. First and foremost is the survival of the English tongue. Secondly its position with our regional languages and, in particular, with our official language—Hindi. Can we do away with the study of English? These are the three points. I would try to answer them briefly here.

I am quite hopeful that English language will live long in India. All attempts to drive it away are bound to fail. The reasons are:—No tongue can die. Neither any of the tongues of the past have died. They are the treasures—the living treasures—from which we are drawing our inspiration. These are immortal springs of humanity.

Take for example Sanskrit. Over several centuries we neglected its study. Hated it as a dead language but again it has taken its due place of honour in our cultural life. It is still living with us—nay we have begun to love it more and more.

English language has been with us for the last two centuries. It shall continue in future too. It is a very precious legacy which the Englishman has given to India. Whatever we have assimilated is ours and it cannot be given up so easily.

OUR EFFORT

During these two centuries we too have contributed in no mean way to the gems of English language. We have also tried to enrich it by our valuable thought. We have produced in that language men of letters who have become the envy of the whole world. The contributions of men like Lok. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Tagore, Sarojini Devi and other equally great men and women in the sphere of arts and sciences cannot be forgotten. All these men spoke and wrote in English.

Lok. Tilak wrote scholarly volumes in English viz. "Orion" and "Arctic Home in the Vedas;" he did so in order to show the greatness of our ancient thought. He hated the Britishers for their unpleasant rule in India but he never hated the English language. He disliked it as a medium of instruction on educational principles in our schools and colleges. But he never boycotted the study of English language. Can you accuse these men as less patriotic than you for their scholarship in that language?

Much of our success in achieving Independence is due to the propaganda done, through English

language. Who will deny this fact? Further if you want to consolidate your position in the comity of nations of the world, you can not do without the English language.

MONUMENT

Rulers in the past in our land have left many memorials and monuments in stones, in the form of temples, mosques, rockcut caves and statues. Have we sent all these to museums? They are there still reminding us of our good and bad deeds. We have not demolished Taj at Agra nor any of the mosques built by muslim rulers though we hated some of them. Why? And now where is the necessity of sending to museums the statues of English Governor Generals? It would be like saying that Delhi was the capital of British rulers, so abandon it and all the buildings built by them and so forth. Will it be wise on our part to do so?

I have noted with wonder, as a teacher of English literature that our boys and girls are studying English more ardently after Independence. It is a good and healthy sign. Nor have our Congress rulers prohibited the use of English; they are hesitating to do so. I ask Lohias what they will do with these living memorials—I mean—thousands of persons who delight to express themselves day in and day out in English language.

What about the Press? There are so many English dailies and weeklies and monthlies so finely edited and serving earnestly the interest of the country—all these should be stopped because they are published in English!

Well, any how, the English language has come to live with our regional languages and with our official Hindi—you can not do without it. We have assimilated it and made it our own. It can not leave our shores now. Let us then, admit plainly, that fact. All these languages shall live in India as sisters and they will try to enrich one another and help to build a glorious India.

CO-EXISTENCE

Let us apply the gospel of co-existence to these languages which are with us. Let our leaders stop imposing their whims and fancies not only in the sphere of languages but in every sphere of human activity.

This is an age of unified culture. Our leaders ought to learn a lesson from the student activities going on elsewhere in Asia. Do not blame the students and younger generation for their indiscipline. But let the leaders examine their own action. They talk so nicely; they act so badly. This is the great defect.

Do you mean to say that the students do not understand this fact? Let our leaders control their tongues first. Remember the student of today possesses more knowledge of information than what

you did as a student. This is due to modern scientific inventions. Let us not restrict this freedom of learning. With the advent of nuclear age and with the advent of Independence the mentality of students has changed—it has changed for the better. Try to appreciate this fact. We do not want to become stay-at-homes. Instead of driving languages from our shores let us try to drive away poverty, misery and hunger.

I am not against Hindi. I want it to be the National language of the country. I do wish that it should be the medium of imparting instruction in our schools and colleges. Nor am I against any of the regional languages but along with all these let us not stop the study of English language. Let our students study it for we are unable to leave it. The advocates of Hindi need not be afraid of any language. One is afraid when one has some weakness. All do not speak English. Only a very small percentage of population studies English which is negligible when compared to those who know Hindi.

Let us, therefore, recognise the merit of the writer in whatever language it might be. Try to see him well off in the world. Society owes him a debt of gratitude for his fine and eternal thoughts. Honour him by appreciating his works. This is what the world has done in the past, this is being done in the present and it will be in the future too.

Names of Kalidas and Shakespeare have become immortal; not the names of politicians and ministers. In the end I do wish to remind you in the words of a great poet of this country viz. Boris Pasternak. "It is in our power to do one thing and that is not to distort the living voice of life."

—(From a talk delivered at Indore)

JAGRITI

Leading Telugu News Weekly
Short Story Competition

Open for Hindi & English writers:
Closing date 25-8-60.

Together with an annual Social Story Competitions (in which 3 prizes worth Ra. 100/- are usually distributed), this year an additional competition is being conducted, which is open for Hindi and English writers also. Under this, the best Historic or Pauranic or any story belonging to the ancient literature of Bharat would be given a cash prize of Ra. 25/-. Winning stories of both the competitions would be published in the

DIVALI SPECIAL

For further details please contact:

Editor,
JAGRITI, P. B. No. 394,
Vijayawada—2.

Parkinson's Law with a Vengeance

By WARAN

ALMOST every year since the attainment of Independence, the Union Finance Minister, at the time of presentation of the budget, announces his intention to effect economy in civil expenditure. But the outlay on administration, far from going down, has been increasing sharply. This is mainly due to the fact that the Government have undertaken an enormous number of functions which require large personnel. The following table shows how, between February 1958 and February 1959, month by month, there has been a steady increase in the employment in Central Government establishments.

It is unfortunate that with the steady increase in staff, there has been no corresponding improvement in efficiency. The public, particularly the business community, are painfully aware of the enormous delay that takes place in the various departments. Indeed, the situation has become so bad that the Union Home Minister, in a recent circular to the departments, expressed concern over the growing tendency of "a negative attitude to work" on the part of Government employees. The Home Minister has pointed out that more ingenuity and time are devoted to finding out how a thing is not to be done rather than to its speedy disposal. This state

TABLE
Employment In Central Government Establishment Excluding Railways

Month		Adminis- trative and Executive	Clerical	Skilled & Semi- Skilled	Un- Skilled	Total
February	1958	68,125	2,34,427	152,347	2,38,835	6,93,734
March	"	69,632	2,33,689	1,50,586	2,40,595	6,94,502
April	"	79,769	2,34,844	1,51,213	2,39,977	6,95,803
May	"	70,365	2,35,810	1,50,124	2,41,338	6,97,637
June	"	70,990	2,36,207	1,52,667	2,43,434	7,43,298
July	"	71,555	2,37,531	1,53,231	2,42,971	7,05,288
August	"	71,734	2,38,110	1,54,097	2,43,180	7,07,121
September	"	72,635	2,38,409	1,56,342	2,42,885	7,10,271
October	"	72,745	2,38,636	1,55,961	2,43,211	7,10,553
November	"	73,061	2,39,193	157,423	2,42,824	7,12,501
December	"	73,801	2,39,577	1,57,410	2,43,471	7,14,259
January	1959	73,851	2,39,743	1,57,812	2,44,253	7,15,659
February	"	73,749	2,40,519	1,58,225	2,44,452	7,16,945

Source: Directorate General of Resettlement & Employment.

The expenditure on civil administration in 1948-49 was only Rs. 35.50 crores. By 1951-52, the first year of the First Five Year Plan, the expenditure on civil administration had gone up to Rs. 53.67 crores. In 1959-60 the estimate is nearly Rs. 223 crores. The following table shows the trend in expenditure on civil administration of the Government of India.

(Year)	(In lakhs of Rs.)
1948-49	35.50
1949-50	39.30
1950-51	48.80
1951-52	53.67
1952-53	51.71
1953-54	64.17
1954-55	75.11
1955-56	94.08
1956-57	1,22.29
1957-58	1,68.00
1958-59 (Budget)	2,00.44
1958-59 (Revised)	1,97.72
1959-60 (Budget)	2,22.73

of affairs should be a cause for considerable anxiety to all thinking people.

It may be claimed that by recruiting more people the Government are solving the unemployment problem. But this claim cannot be accepted. Most of the functions which are now undertaken by the Government are those which were formerly carried on under private auspices. For example, much of the present work of the State Trading Corporation was done by the private trade in the past. The entry of the Government into the trading sphere has deprived several thousands of people of their regular employment and it cannot be argued that by socialisation, the total employment in the country is being increased.

The truth is that so long as the Government are wedded to the policy of Socialism, it is difficult to enforce economy in administrative expenditure. Unless the Government follow the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State, we are bound to have all the disadvantages arising from an ever increasing bureaucracy.

—Swarajya

Power Politics In Full Swing

(From Our Correspondent)

THE strike is over. It would be truer to say that it has fizzled out and that Mr. Asoka Mehta has been lending his services to make the fizzling out look like a withdrawal. It is, indeed, amazing that a strike like this should have taken place, for the differences had been so narrowed down as to make their abridgment quite probable after some more negotiation in good faith. Both the sides seem to have been standing on prestige which demanded a show of force. The labour leaders could have gained what they wanted—or almost that much—if they had made the right approach. Their *modus operandi*, in the circumstances obtaining in New Delhi, was wrong. The approach was faulty. For instance, the first question that arises in regard to it is: Did they touch Pandit Pant's venerable feet? If so, how many times a day? If they did not, how could they expect Pandit Pant to approach their demands sympathetically? Likewise with the Prime Minister. Did the leaders of the strikers show the necessary humility in the matter of their approach to that august "Power in the Land?" Obviously not, in both cases. And the result was that their demands, as they boiled down before the zero hour, were rejected, although the Government had really almost accepted them.

Mr. Nehru does not like any one touching his feet. Indeed, it so annoys him that he is reported to have given a tight slap to a man who touched Mahatma Gandhi's feet when he was going somewhere with Mr. Nehru. That is, of course, the result of his having been in England for a number of years for his education. But that is not to say that he dislikes the feet-touching mentality. Far from it. The more there is of it in a man, the more he likes him. In fact, that is his sole criterion for likes and dislikes.

So far, however, as the recent strike is concerned, it may be conceded that Mr. Nehru had little to do with it, one way or the other. The reason for it is not far to seek. As a result of the powerful support he has received from Pandit Pant in his foreign policy imbroglio, he has conceded to Pandit Pant powers which naturally belong to him as Home Minister, but which were not the Home Minister's since the death of Sardar Patel. It is being said that Pandit Pant has traded his support for Nehru's foolish foreign policy to obtain greater powers for himself. In the quest of power politics, the country, of course, does not count, particularly as there is no one to expose the power politics that has

been the bane of the country since Gandhi gained ascendancy in the Congress in 1920. So that is how we witness the end of the strike which, with a little tactful handling, would not have occurred at all. To say that is not to overlook the suggestion that the Government wanted to strengthen the hands of the Congress-sponsored labour organisations and was therefore playing the game of party politics, which is the same thing as power politics in the last resort. That may also serve to explain why Mr. Nehru did something which was almost unprecedented for him—he refused to see the strike leaders!

THE ASSAM IMBROGLIO

The trouble in Assam, springing up out of nowhere, as it were, should be an eye-opener to those who still think in terms of the country, rather than in terms of Hindi or their respective languages. We cannot get down to brass tacks in the matter of linguistic troubles unless we begin to call a spade a spade. All these troubles owe their origin to the linguistic enthusiasm of the Mahatma which was really born of his enthusiasm for the cause of his own supremacy in the country. His only test for any proposition was: Will it promote the cry of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai?" And by that test everything was judged, whether it was the loin cloth or the Khilafat or the replacement of English by Hindi. Mr. Nehru has pleaded again for emotional integration, but emotional integration has to be born of something. In the days of British rule, emotional integration of Indians was born of resistance to a foreign nation and of the English language. British rule has gone, thanks to Attlee and Company, and, let us hope, no one really wants it, or any of its substitutes, back. The English language still remains but is slowly disappearing. With the English language will disappear what remains of emotional integration in the land. That is what the trouble in Assam proves. The extent of the disappearance of the English language is the measure of the extent of the disappearance of nationalism in the country.

There is still time to cry a halt to the linguistic madness started by Mahatma Gandhi. From the cynic's point of view, Gandhi's own weak English—he acquired some mastery over it during his years in prison—was enough reason for him to decry English. No one can maintain honestly that we, as a nation, can ever attain the same proficiency in the English language as Britons. But that really becomes irrelevant to the issue, in the face of the

truth that it is now the only factor making for emotional integration among Indians, without which we shall soon begin—indeed have already begun—disintegrating as a nation. Here is an integrating force bequeathed to us by the British—willingly or unwillingly is entirely beside the point—and we are, in our vote-catching mania, trying to deal it a death-blow. Can there be anything more unpatriotic than that? It was Tilak who once observed that our struggle for freedom was itself the result of English education, but, with the beginning of the era of truth and nonviolence, the greatest truth of modern times was forgotten and the Gandhian struggle of freedom began with cries which could only divide the country *ad infinitum*.

Any one who forewarns the country against the impending danger is doing a real service to the land. That is why an opinion given expression to by Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar—which is being boxed by Hindi and pro-Hindi journals—deserves to be pondered over by patriots all over the Union. Writing in support of the anti-Hindi agitation of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the Tamil weekly, *Kalki*, Rajaji says: "Unless there is an agitation, the North Indian leaders will not understand even home-truths. Please do not waver or withhold support to this agitation simply because the initiative is in the hands of the DMK. Whoever takes up a good cause deserves to be supported." I am inclined to add that it is not only a good cause, but, in the circumstances obtaining in the country, the best cause.

It is indeed high time for a leader of the stature of Rajaji to take up the anti-Hindi cause, to put it bluntly. Hindi is at the root of all linguistic trouble in the country. In Canada both French and English are official languages enjoying equal status, although the French constitute only about 20 per cent of the population. But one cannot have equal status for sixteen languages in the country, while supremacy for one of them will entail injustice for others. Our hatred of English, because it is foreign or because it is the language of those who ruled over us for a century, is silly in the light of the fact that it is the only integrating force in the land. That foolish Socialist leader, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, has unwillingly rendered a great service to the country by asking his followers to insist on Rajaji speaking in Hindi in Northern India. When he went on a tour of South India, South Indians naturally wanted him to speak in Tamil and stoned him when he was unable to do so. "Served the fellow right," as Englishmen would say. And now the fat is in the fire. Hindi maniacs have themselves sounded the death-knell of Hindi as the official language of India. Jan Sangh leaders are prepared for another partition on the issue of Hindi, but they should realise that it is not one other partition that they will bring about in their attempt to force Hindi on others, but many more partitions, for power politics will soon create leaders demanding the replacement of Hindi by the lan-

guage of the soil, and since the Central Government (by whichever power run) would need votes at the time of the general elections, it would have to bow to linguistic maniacs. The Assam Government has already bowed to them, with the connivance of the Central Government.

A correspondent of *The Statesman* says that in nine cases out of ten the police remained silent spectators and allowed the hooligans to have their way in Assam. He asks, "Would any Government think of initiating a judicial inquiry into the circumstances in which firing was resorted to by a section of the police when mob frenzy was at its height?" According to a special correspondent of the same paper, Assam has seen the worst rioting in its history, and no arrests were made from May 27 to July 3 when stray cases of assault with knives were reported, shops were looted, Calcutta newspapers were seized and burnt, and hawkers assaulted. A dawn-to-dusk curfew was imposed on June 30 but within 24 hours it was withdrawn at the behest of the State Government. This was hailed as a victory by the hooligans and houses in the heart of Gauhati were burnt. Students were worked up by leaders of all political parties—these things are bound to happen in the race for popularity—and a Deputy Minister took part in a meeting where the resignation of the Ministry was demanded. Only the (Muslim) Finance Minister had the courage to visit riot-torn places. No other minister or Congress leader went to the disturbed area till July 6 or 7. According to the *Statesman's* Special Correspondent the Centre was kept duly informed. It must therefore share the blame for what happened. In the light of these facts it is apparent that it was considered expedient that measures against hooligans if they were to be taken, should be taken by the Army and the Governor rather than by Congressmen, who will soon have to appeal to the people for votes!

The Chief Minister of Assam, no wonder, fell ill at the psychological moment. According to knowledgeable circles here, he fell ill at the instance of the Central Government, and his illness is likely to save many a vote for the Congress. Look at the facts. The Chief Minister fell ill and powers were transferred to the Governor. The inference: there was no other minister capable of handling the situation—which is absurd. The fact is no Congress Minister wanted to handle the situation which was, in part at least, the creation of Congressmen themselves. The proof is provided by the fact that the Chief Minister was mobbed when, after an equally tactful recovery, he dared go out in the open!

THE SUHRAWARDY CASE

Mr. Suhrawardy has been found guilty of misconduct in Pakistan. The matters on which the Tribunal found against him related to import licences and tenders for supplying rice, two subjects that in this age of shortages provide fountain sources of corruption in Pakistan as in India. The

Tribunal says that, as Prime Minister, he showed favour to a particular firm and two particular individuals and refers to his "frequent interventions and orders passed.....in consideration of illegal gratification." Since the last point is not clearly proved by the published evidence, it is surmised that favouritism shown, resulting in gain to those whom it is shown, is enough to prove misconduct in Pakistan. Judged by that criterion, almost every minister in India would be held guilty by a tribunal such as the one which tried Mr. Subrawardy.

Here in Delhi every one wants somebody with a pull and many are willing to pay even huge amounts for that "pull". That reminds me of a multi-millionaire who was supposed to be a great "chela" of Mahatma Gandhi. Before he became the Mahatma's "chela," he was a disciple of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. I often wondered why that shrewd man had changed his master, until I learnt that the businessman had come to know from Gandhiji himself of his intention to start a movement a day earlier than it was announced and had made millions on the Stock Exchange. Out of every million he made as a result of his "discipleship" of the Mahatma, he set aside a few thousand for the Mahatma, and the latter was so well-pleased with him that he asked him to suggest a name for the Finance Ministership. That is how Shanmukham Chetty became our first Finance Minister. No wonder that, later, this multi-millionaire was found boasting that he could get anything done in India.

As for import licences, they constitute a source of living for many in close touch with ministers, including journalists. In the latter category there are some who should have been better known as import-licence-securers. A General Manager of a newspaper gave up his job in U.P. and became General Manager of a newspaper in Delhi at a higher salary—one might almost say, a fabulous salary. As the paper had been running at a loss and his appointment did not result in any remarkable increase in advertisements, I asked a journalist working on that paper: "Where is the justification for keeping that white elephant?" "Justification?" he asked, "Why, he gets import licences for the proprietor worth seventy or eighty lakhs every year!"

Gleanings from the Press

THE THIRD PLAN AND POPULATION

The draft Third Five Year Plan contains a small paragraph of ominous import. It states that by 1966 the population of India will be 480 millions. This implies that it is now increasing by at least 2 per cent per year.

This is a tribute to the medical profession. It is only a few years ago that the rate of increase was

under 1.5 per cent. One or two years ago it was officially estimated at 1.7 per cent. Are the doctors working miracles, or are the statisticians letting the country down?

Whatever the explanation, the fact is alarming. The take off, which national planning is supposed to work up to, will certainly be postponed, and the misery of primary accumulation which the public are now suffering will be prolonged beyond all previous estimates.

The authorities have been fully converted to the view that something must be done about this, and fairly large sums are appropriated. But it is clear that whatever they are doing is getting them nowhere.

Some months ago we printed a discussion of the matter by a foreign observer which suggested that official action has been taking quite a wrong direction. He concluded from conversations with villagers that they do not need to be told how to cut down the number of births in the family: that they know quite well. What they need is to be persuaded that it will benefit them to do so.

We do not know, and nobody else knows, how typical this investigator's villagers are. But the matter is surely worth looking into.

—Mysindin

News And Views

NEED FOR FAMILY PLANNING

Mr. Homi Taleyarkhan, Bombay's Minister for Public Health revealed in the Legislative Council that there was a growing consciousness among the public about the priority of attention that family planning required. He said that no fewer than 15,000 persons both male and female had undergone sterilisation during the past year. He said that more family-planning-vans would be put in use for intensified propaganda for family-planning.

ROCKFELLER FOUNDATION GRANT FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

The Rockefeller Foundation have granted a sum of \$30,500 to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences for the support of a fellowship programme for post-graduate students at the Institute during four years beginning in July 1960. We hope that the Institute will discriminately use the aid that it has received for fruitful research in medical science in which field India lags far behind the European countries.

FORCED COLLECTIVES IN EAST GERMANY LEAD TO FOOD SHORTAGES

Bonn: Severe food shortages resulting from forced collectivisation of farms have spread throughout East Germany.

The East German Communist Press reports long queues in front of bakeries, butchers' and greengrocers' shops. The supply of beef, pork, milk and eggs is diminishing weekly.

The party-controlled "Free Farmer" accuses the farmers of holding back their delivery quotas. It says in one month some collectives have only delivered seven eggs or less. The others have sold to the Government only a third of their milk production. Half-a-million small landowners who were dragooned into collectives earlier this year are putting up a silent resistance. The newly appointed First Secretary of Dresden area, Mr. Krolikowski, frankly admits it.

CHINESE REMOVE BOUNDARY PILLAR OF NEPALESE VILLAGE

KATHMANDU.—A Nepalese village on the Sino-Nepalese frontier, north-west of Kathmandu, has received closest Chinese attention in recent weeks. According to reports here, Chinese troops removed the boundary pillar located north of the village and placed it instead at a point south of it, thereby making it known that the village lies in Tibet to the north of the traditional frontier.

200,000 CHINESE MASSED ON NEPAL BORDER

KATHMANDU, July 21.—The Chinese have concentrated nearly 200,000 soldiers along the 500-mile long Sino-Nepalese frontier. This was disclosed to newsmen by Mr. Hishi Londup, former Deputy Governor of Nyalam Dzong, who escaped into Nepal this week.

SUICIDE RATE IN EAST BERLIN HIGHEST IN THE WORLD

GENEVA: Suicide rate in East Berlin is highest in the World, with 43.2 men and 27 women for 100,000, according to survey of the WHO. Among male suicides, the survey says in its report, Finns were the runners-up with 37 cases per 100,000 followed by Australians, 32.4 and Swiss 31.4. Among females, Japanese women were runners up with 19.4 followed by Danish women, 14.9 and Austrian women 14.5. Groups whose members least felt the urge of self-destruction were the Irish with 14.4 males and 0.7 females per 100,000, North American Negroes with 6.1 male and 1.6 females.

'HANDS OFF U.S. ALLIES' LODGE WARNS RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

The American delegate, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, has told the Soviet Union not to touch countries with whom the United States was linked.

He was speaking when the Security Council debate on Cuba reopened on the decision of the Council chairman.

The U. S. delegate asked the Soviet Union not to seek to extend its imperialism.

He accused the Soviets of despising the small countries, and pointed to the bloody repression of the Hungarian revolution.

Mr. Lodge said the U. S. S. R. infested Eastern Europe at the present time while she shed crocodile tears over Cuba; she sees the mote in her neighbour's eye and not the beam in her own.

Her hands are not clean, Mr. Lodge declared.

U. N. ASKS BELGIUM TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM CONGO

The anxiety which had been building up in the U. N. Security Council gave way to unusual amity early when the Soviet Union and Poland voted on July 22 with the United States in support of an Afro-Asian resolution on the Congo.

The resolution passed by the Council "calls upon the Government of Belgium to implement speedily the Security Council resolution of July 14 on the withdrawal of their troops."

The successful resolution also requested "all States to refrain from any action which might tend to impede the restoration of law and order and exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority and also to refrain from any action which might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo Republic."

Letter to the Editor

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

To,

The President of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi.

Sir,

I am sure that I am voicing in this letter the inward thoughts of those vast number of thinking people and non-party people, who have absolutely no desire to get into power, either for public-prestige or private-gain. They all want to express a slogan imitating Cardinal Wolsey "put not your trust in Politicians"!

The main difficulty in our Motherland is that the Politicians in power think that they can do no wrong, that they are the wisest, the most patriotic section of India and that they need not therefore give ear to the views of other citizens on whose taxes alone, they are maintained. I may say that many people are worried about the various happenings in our country. They look on with dismay at the deterioration in patriotism and moral fervour in our country. They bitterly realise that they and their progeny will be the sufferers for the blunders of our Politicians.

The recent strike of the Central Government Servants, who are all middle class people, has clearly proved that the ruling party has become out of touch

with those people, who run and work the various administrations in the country. I may say that I had not only disapproved the strike by personally talking to various "servants", but I also wrote to the papers—getting into the bad books of these officials—quoting the late President Calvin Coolidge that "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time" and that people should start Gandhian social boycott of the strikers.

We are all startled that so many had gone on strike, in spite of the fact that they had realised that the people at large were against such a strike at a time when China is planning a major attack on our country. What is more strange is that Peking radio was able to give practically a correct position of the strike in our land, contradicting our radio news. This shows that there are a number of traitors in our country, who have been despatching news to that country from secret places, with unlicensed wireless. I do not know whether our Government has directed its attention to this danger to our Motherland from the modern Mir Jaffars. Further our Governments are reluctant to take action against Communists. For instance, I drew the attention of the Andhra Government to the traitorous statement of Mr. P. Sundaraiya, a Communist Leader, who had stated that China "has not committed aggression on India and that the area occupied by China belongs to that country". I told that Government that the man has committed sedition against our government but it has neither acknowledged my letter nor has it prosecuted him. I had even stated that if it was risky for its Cabinet to prosecute him, then at least a severe boycott of him could be arranged. They have done nothing of that kind. Yet the Legislators have been wasting their precious time and the taxes of the people by discussing about some remarks made by Rajaji in Distant Punjab. This is quixotism in excelcis. It is just like the man who wanted to light his cigar, when his house was burning.

Our Government forgets that all these strikers will be wooed by the Communists in the next election, unless some steps are taken to instil patriotism and loyalty in them for our Motherland in the meantime. They feel that Government have not done anything to bring down the prices. I may say that after independence, economical prosperity has fallen very well on the merchants, who deal in essential articles, the Politicians and their circle and on certain classes of Government servants only. Others suffer. This is one picture in the country.

Another picture of a more deplorable condition is revealed by the happenings in Assam recently, where has come up exactly the conditions, which had happened during the partition days. Here also the Assam people and the Officials have behaved just as those in West Pakistan had done. A number of us feel that similar occurrences will soon appear in other States also, where persons, speaking a different language to that of the particular State,

live. Recently a Tamil paper has already hinted into leader that similar happenings will occur in Madras against the Malayalees.

What one great leader had uttered, before independence about communism, comes to my mind. I may state in his own words that the linguistic "frenzy is awful to contemplate. We have been caught in a whirlpool of mutual hatred and we go round and round and down and down in this abyss." This position is so visible in the country that no thinking man can miss it. Yet our Politicians of the Congress and non-congress variety are behaving "like quarrelling sailors on a sinking ship—so intent on their dispute that they can not break if off to take refuge in a lifeboat" to borrow the words of a great English Author.

It is a pity that our Politicians do not seem to realise the reasons for this tragic position after independence. One of the main reasons is the Hindi speaking people's mania for spreading their language on the rest of India, which has only introduced the language mania in other States. This Frankenstein Monster of linguism is growing in length like the tail of Sri Hanuman, threatening to burn the whole of India.

The simple remedy to crush this monster is to boldly announce that for another 25 years, the English language will be used for administrative, legislative, judicial, educational and for all communications between State and State and with the Central Government. This need not make us neglect the State languages; but steps should be taken to have one common and uniform script for all our languages. The latter suggestion was given by Gandhiji, who wanted all languages should be written in Devanagari.

Then a number of Assamese officials should be transferred to Bengal and an equal number from the latter to Assam. In the same way in other States also such mutual transfers should be enforced. Within 12 years, our Politicians have completely ruined the all-India feeling, which we had before independence and which our great ancestors had emphasised by various superb methods. Congress will be known in the future history of India as the monster, which had ruined the unity of this land.

I hope, you at least will devote some thoughts to this danger, even though your Congress colleagues will not do so. By writing this, I may be wounding you but believe me I have no axe to grind in writing this. I am entering my 67th year to-day and the only consolation I have is that I will not live to see this Motherland of mine being converted into a country like that of Europe, with many States quarrelling with one another and inviting foreign countries to enter into this sacred land to help one or the other disputant.

Devinilayam, Conoor.

19-7-1960

S. R. Narayana Iyer

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