

# Indian Libertarian

Price 25 Naye Paise

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Rationalist'  
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINQUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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

Vol. IX No. 6

IN THIS ISSUE

June 15, 1961

## EDITORIAL

The Sentiment of Democracy

by M. A. Venkata Rao

English Alone Can Save Us

by M. N. Tholal

## ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

### PAGE

1 The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country by S. R. Narayana Ayyar

Some Recent Events In Madras

By A. Ranganathan

DELHI LETTER

Book Review

Gleanings from the Press

I-V News & Views

### PAGE

9

11

12

13

14

14

## EDITORIAL

### THE CACHAR FIRINGS

**P**ERHAPS the most serious event of the last month in the country is the unfortunate flare-up of the Bengali-Assamese conflict in Cachar division of Assam. The bulk of the refugees of around fifty thousand who had fled to West Bengal last July on account of the unusually atrocious attacks on the Bengali speaking population that began then are still in Bengal. They have not yet been rehabilitated. They have a mortal fear of going back even where their homes are intact. The Assamese Government and governing groups have done little and shown little sympathy, meanwhile for the victims. They have shown no fellow feeling natural to nationals of the same country and responsible by virtue of the enjoyment of power and political influence for the welfare of their neighbours and fellow countrymen. The hostility to Bengali speaking people in Assam shown by rioters by acts of cruelty in which the ruling groups (PSP and Congressmen and official class are all implicated) joined directly and indirectly during July of last year is still smouldering.

The leaders of the Central Government, Nehru, the late Pandit Pant when he was alive, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Sen and others have been taken aback by the depth of the fissure that divided the contestants. The nation is split visibly before their eyes.

Now the situation has become grave on account of the Satyagraha launched by the Cachar Bengalis

under the name of the Cachar Bhasha Sangram Parishad ('Cachar Language War Council.') The district is largely Bengali-speaking and has risen as one man in support of the satyagraha. Obviously the Cachar district Congress Committee is powerless to stem the tide. Their members have been obliged to resign by the heat of the feelings engendered. They cannot retain face otherwise. At a clash with the police in Silchar eleven persons died of firing and many were wounded grievously. The heavy toll of casualties has intensified feelings in West Bengal and elsewhere. Bengalis in the know of the affairs here are taken aback at the cold blooded and deliberate nature of the authorities' action in seeking to terrorise the Cachar leaders and people. They ask as to where this resolution and promptness to quell disturbance had disappeared during last July when it was the ruling groups that took the offensive against Bengali-speaking families even to the extent of assault, arson, loot, abduction and rape. It was noticed that the rioters were equipped with weapons and came in trucks from Pakistan in many places and that the loot went there after the deplorable events without hindrance by the police!

Muslim rioters had their own objectives beyond loot in forming the backbone of the aggression on the unfortunate Bengali-speaking people. West Bengalis ask why Assamese Hindus should join them in attacking Assamese Bengali residents. Impartial and level-headed observers and investigators who do not



belong to any party have reported that the bulk of the fierce rioters in the July attacks on Assamese Bengalis were Muslims (Assamese Muslims, it may be) but reinforced by Pakistan Muslims as well! The tactics they adopted in the attacks showed remarkable similarities to the notorious Noakhali attacks during the Direct Action days just prior to Independence.

It will not do to reject this theory of Muslim conspiracy to annex Assam by making it a Muslim majority province by hook or crook—by infiltration, by Census falsehoods, by driving the Bengali-speaking residents out by terror and by daily insidious insults and noncooperation and economic pressure. To attribute the theory to mere "communalism" of the majority community is a lazy blanket explanation that will not illuminate all the facts and motives of this tangled affair. The trouble in Assam is not merely one of rivalry in language. Language is the outward symbol of the "living-room" (lebensraum) pressure exerted by the pro-Pakistani elements in Assam and the self-defence of the long resident Bengali population who came over with the British administration about 1820. They have stronger affiliations with Bengal and the rest of India than with the Assamese proper.

The Cachar satyagrahis demand that Bengali should be declared an official language of Assam at least in Cachar. This is a reasonable demand which it is not understandable why the Assamese Government should reject. The Assamese Government passed an Act regarding the official language of their province—State that Assamese was the only official language of all Assam. This is oppression and zulum on the lin-

guistic minorities, for Cachar, Goalpara and other areas speak Bengali for the most part and the North-eastern Hill districts speak their own dialects. The Hill tribals wish to use English or Hindi or both but not Assamese! Also, the Assamese are a one-third minority in Assam! They wish to make the State all Assamese speaking so far as official affairs go. They wish to assimilate all people in their territorial area into an Assamese speaking subnation. But the others resist this process. The Assamese are not loved by the others to such an extent! They look upon them as 'imperialist exploiters.' That is how the Assamese look upon Indians from other parts of India as foreigners! They are now paid in their coin!

The Assamese Government is relentless in refusing to change their Language Act that denies recognition to Bengali and other languages, English or Hindi for official purposes. This is a head-on conflict where no compromise seems to be possible. Hence the suggestion for the constitution of separate States for Cachar and the Hill Regions. The example of Nagaland is too catching to be resisted. And so the process of disintegration goes on in a powerful way while the Congress High Command concentrates on curing "communalism" by banning parties and by offering more jobs to favoured communities.

The problem is too complex to be disposed of in a brief note. What we aim at in these Notes is to draw attention to aspects of the problem usually ignored in current discussion which is dominated by party interests or popular slogans hiding the ugly realities operating behind the veil of other causes.

In despair, Nehru has suggested a Truce for a Year during which both the Government of Assam and the dissident groups like the Cachar satyagrahis should suspend their pressures, whether they be the Officials or the satyagrahis. The satyagraha is all comprehensive and is making administration impossible in Cachar by hartals and picketing of offices and obstructing vehicles and so on.

We shall comment on other aspects in further numbers.

### INFILTRATION FROM EAST PAKISTAN INTO ASSAM

We referred to this menace in last issue. We have further confirmation of the fact of infiltration on a larger scale than we had supposed. Mr. Prem Bhatia formerly special correspondent of *The Statesman* and for some time now Delhi Editor of *The Times of India* has stated over his signature that over six lakhs of East Pakistani Muslims are reliably estimated to have infiltrated into Assam in the last year or two! It is a mass immigration!

The Assam Government denied merely the size of the immigration in one district reducing it to 12,000 from 45,000 as alleged by certain newspapers. But even 12,000 is not negligible. Mr. Chaliha as the Chief Minister has to account for this slackness of his administration. India is not the hospitable absorber of all the surplus population of Pakistan seeking land and employment! Contrast this with the

**The Indian Libertarian**  
*Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs*  
 Edited by D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.  
 Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

**Single Copy 25 Naye Paise**  
**Subscription Rates:**  
**Annual Rs. 6/- 3 \$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.)**

**ADVERTISEMENTS RATES**  
 Full Page Rs. 100/- Half Page Rs. 50/- Quarter Page Rs. 25/-  
 One-eighth Page Rs. 15/- One full column of a Page Rs. 50/-

BACK COVER.....Rs. 150/-  
 SECOND COVER.....Rs. 125/-  
 THIRD COVER.....Rs. 125/-

Articles from readers and contributors are accepted  
 Articles meant for publication should be typewritten on one side of the paper only.  
 Publications of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.  
 Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

*Write to the Manager for sample copy and gifts to new subscribers.*

**Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.**



brutal way in which Hindus are expelled from Pakistan by terror and spoliation. Hindus in Pakistan are undergoing untold sufferings at the hands of Pakistanis, official and nonofficial, a fresh spurt of persecution having started after the Jabalpur riots.

Mr. Chaliha seems at last to show some sense of responsibility by enquiring about Central assistance for a wire fence along the border to prevent infiltration! But he must first change the check-post officials and other officials in the border areas who are Muslims from Partition days and who are smuggling their co-religionists into Assam all the year round from 1947-48.

There was even a law passed in 1948 to send these intruders back. But the Muslim-dominated government of Assam suspended the law at the instance of Shri Nehru! The Congress party solved the problem in their own way by giving the Pakistani intruders Congress membership and Indian citizenship! To them it is more important that the Congress party should swell its numbers than that the country should expel dangerous fifth columnists! The numbers thus given Indian citizenship then were stated to be around 8 lakhs! And now some six lakhs are stated to be welcomed by pro-Pakistani Muslims into Assam, relaxing all rules about passports and visas!

The gap left by the fifty thousand or so Assamese Bengalis driven out last July has been more than made up by the incoming Pakistani Muslims! Is it wrong or improbable to suspect a plan in this substitution of Bengali elements by Muslim elements?

Another point in this complex tangle is the significance to be attached to the fact that the Assam Government refuse to publish the reports of the two inquiries instituted by them into Gorepur and another incident during the July disturbances. Why should they seek to suppress these reports?

The interpretation is that the Government and Congress and influential PSP people in Assam have been guilty of complicity in the attacks on their Bengali fellow citizens and do not wish the facts to be known outside!

Also, the Central Government have tamely acquiesced in the refusal of the State Government to permit any judicial inquiry by the Central Government or High or Supreme Court to be held into the whole tangle of the July disturbances. Parliament was assured that an inquiry would be held at an "appropriate time." Now Mr. Sastri the Home Minister has said openly in the Lok Sabha that no inquiry is necessary as the two inquiries instituted by the State Government were sufficient! And the reports of these inquiries have been suppressed! We have here the murder and burial of both nationalism and democracy and of simple justice which is the basis of all good government irrespective of the type of governance. The Congress Party dare not insist for fear of antagonising the Assam Congress and losing the Province for the Party. Thus is national interest sacrificed to Party in a most important matter. Integration is sacrificed at the foundation while tinkering is indulged in at the top. The Congress party hopes to make good any loss of popularity at the polls by putting some opposition parties out of action under the charge of "communalism." The objectives of Muslim

League communalism will be carried out through "nationalist" Muslim bodies like the Jamat-ul-Ulema and nationalist Ministers like Humayun Kabir in the matter of jobs and patronage while the League as such can be banned.

#### KENNEDY-KHRUSHCHEV MEETING

The Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting will have taken place before this number is out. Information or speculation so far is that De Gaulle is satisfied that the American President will remain firm about West Berlin and will not sacrifice it to appease Khrushchev. Eisenhower had relented a bit during the pour parlers at Camp David and seemed to have been led to consider the idea of transferring the West Berliners to West Germany and leaving all East Germany to the Russians without the vexatious window presented by West Berlin.

But De Gaulle and West Germany's Adenauer will not permit any relaxation and concession on this point. To yield on the point is to yield on the whole front of Europe, they feel.

Laos, Congo, Indian Ladakh, will all be discussed and the results will be known by the time this number is out.

The West under American leadership has sustained resounding losses in Laos and Cuba. Laos is as good as lost to the free world—whether formally neutral or independent, for the Pathet Lao faction armed by Russia and China and aided by North Vietnam manpower has acquired more than half the territory of the Kingdom of Laos. The rest is a matter of time. It is within their reach and grasp. Cuba repulsed American aided invasion easily. The Monroe doctrine is in ruins.

The Congo is still precariously hanging in the balance. The West is hoping to build up Kasavubu as the supreme head of the Congo, by helping him to remove his rivals. The arrest of Tsombe is significant in this regard. The retiring statement of Mr. Rajeswar Dayal makes it clear that the West has abandoned the straightforward road of implementing the inaugural constitution forged by the Belgians that had given Congo a unitary government and is now concentrating through tactical means to build up Kasavubu and exclude the Communists. Of course, this is only the implication of his statement and was not stated by him directly.

The new method has been forced on Hammarskjöld by the double standards of the West who did not support the Belgian Constitution on the spot, because it gave power to Lumumba who became persona non grata by his impulsive and precipitate embrace of international Communism. This is cold war. But the stakes are high and it is to be hoped that the West will win out in the end. Kennedy has to counter-act any move that Khrushchev might make in the Congo. The Russian leader is scheduled to visit the Congo shortly and the world awaits the outcome with bated breath. Khrushchev visited Morocco some time ago. There has not been any publicity about it in the world press. But it is to be noted that the USA has many bases in Morocco! Khrushchev's game is apparently to stage Cuba-like revolution in Morocco! We await the results of the first summit meeting of Kennedy and Khrushchev.



# The Sentiment Of Democracy

By M. A. Venkata Rao

EVERY type of Government needs its own system of ideas and feelings animating the people in order to function with ease and effect in the day-to-day affairs of life. Each type of government develops (as a by-product of its successful functioning in the course of time) a system of feelings and ideas and ideals in the minds of its subjects and nationals. These attitudes, ideas and emotions become a permanent disposition in the minds of the citizens and form national character. They spring to life and activity when anything unusually interesting affecting the welfare of society occurs—the unusual event may be an occasion of joy or sorrow or peril and anxiety for the welfare of the nation. A common group or social mind will thus have developed in any historical society and state. The society exhibits what sociologists call a “consciousness of kind” binding their members together in a common climate of emotions which together form a master-sentiment. A sentiment is an organisation of emotions round a central object coming to life and activity on appropriate occasions and existing in intervals as a subconscious disposition (a *sthayibhava*). Such consciousness of kind shows itself in a “We” feeling animating all the members of a particular society and nation that distinguishes itself from other similar groups of mankind whom it regards as “They” or foreigners.

This is the normal outcome of social evolution from family, clan and tribe to national society which registers an expansion of consciousness from caste to nation. In Europe this condition of national statehood and social consciousness assumed its developed form in the sixteenth century. We find it full-fledged in Shakespeare and his contemporaries as exemplified in the famous lines—“This England, this gem set in a silver sea etc.”

The seventeenth century civil war in England between the royal family of the Stuarts and the Burghers and large landowners led by Hampden and Cromwell was in part a struggle between foreign leadership and local people. The Stuarts were Catholics while the bulk of Englishmen had become Protestants of one denomination or other. Catholics had “ultramontane” loyalties towards the Roman Catholic Church with its seat in Rome beyond the Alps. The Roman Church claimed extra-territorial universal loyalty from all which was the strongest reason for the antagonism that it evoked in the new nationalities that had grown up in preceding centuries. The absolute monarchs of Northern States like Elizabeth encouraged national sentiment by and large but those who clung to the extra national Church provoked the suspicion of the people who were rising to political consciousness at the time. This was the fate of the Stuarts. The result was a law passed by Parliament that no Catholic can sit on throne of England. The British monarch came to hold the title—Defender of the Faith.

The intellectual defenders of absolute monarchy appealed to religion and formulated the doctrine of the divine right of kings to counteract the claims of the people for a share in governmental power and sovereignty. Royalty was assisted by aristocracy. Sometimes the ruling power was a group of aristocrats, as in Venice and Florence for centuries. Both monarchy and aristocracy developed their own system of loyalties binding the people to their rule. A scheme of rights and duties emerged defining the role of rulers and ruled in such societies. Loyalty and obedience were the supreme obligations laid on the subjects who had no share in law-making and law-enforcing. They had only to obey and pay the taxes that were imposed. There was government for the people in theory but government by the king and noble in practice. The only sanction against misrule was rebellion by the people, which was not easy.

The nobles, clergy and burghers formed the three estates of standing classes each with its own rights and duties and had parliaments in which their representatives met at long intervals whenever kings thought it fit to call them to assemble. It was mostly when they needed extra funds for their wars which occasion the burghers used to extract privileges such as trading rights or relief from some oppressive regulation or other. In theory the king and nobles had certain duties to fulfil towards the people such as maintenance of law and order and justice between man and man but in practice, the law went against the common man in most cases. There was one law for the common people and another for the aristocrats. The king was above the law: and often even his favourites and minions were above the law and rode rough-shod over the people with impunity. There was no automatic constitutional procedure to check the illegal oppression of the people by the holders of power in the day-to-day affairs of life.

Democracy arose as a reaction against such gross misrule and denial of justice and human rights to the common people. It was a massive protest against the privileges of the ruling, hereditary groups in every society and state.

A new system of ideas, feelings and ideals was developed by the leaders of the people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe to which intellectuals of all ranks of the people contributed. Some of them were fair-minded enlightened aristocrats. Voltaire and Rousseau were popular among the aristocrats as well whose sense of justice was awakened. Many aristocrats took the side of the people in the French Revolution. And so the clergy too contributed their own share of revolutionaries.

In addition to philosophical ideas in favour of the common people that were promulgated in the era before the French Revolution, a new set of emotions



came into vogue. The times were characterised both by ultra-rationalism as evidenced in the work of the remarkable group of men known as the Encyclopaedists led by Diderot (also known as the leaders of the Enlightenment or Aufklärung) and by ultra-emotionalism as typified by Rousseau. Both groups argued their case in terms of reason and were animated by a new enthusiasm for the dignity of the common man as against the man of privilege—king or noble.

Even Voltaire, who may be said to represent the rational half of the Enlightenment (or the Age of Reason), had a consuming enthusiasm and living incandescent feeling for human dignity. He was the champion of the poor and oppressed. The despots of Europe were mortally afraid of his pen. The thinking classes of Europe rose to a new consciousness of human values as they read the new writers of whom Voltaire was the supreme exemplar and leader. The debris of ages of superstition was cleared out by the new flood of reason and criticism that subjected all ancient and time-honoured institutions like the rituals and attitudes of religion and the claims of proud and arrogant kings and aristocrats. Every custom was challenged to justify itself at the bar of reason and experience.

The transcendent was taboo, if it could not make itself look reasonable. The ideas of traditional religion whether Catholic or Protestant, of the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, of the Miracles alleged to have been performed by him and the long line of saints, the claims of mystics to have seen God face to face, of the mystery of the Trinity of Three Divine Persons in One, of the Resurrection of Christ after the seventh day of his crucifixion etc. were all jettisoned with laughter and contempt as irrational.

The new materialism of Hobbes was developed by French thinkers like Holbach into a rounded whole rejecting all spiritual and extra-rational notions from the cultural horizon of the educated person of the new Europe.

Rousseau developed a set of new emotions adumbrating a new consciousness of values inherent in the human person. Both the halves of the intellectual movement did not reject God altogether. They allowed the existence of a Supreme Being who needs no worship at all. He or It does not interfere in the affairs of men or of finite creatures. It is only the symbol of the unity and order of the cosmos which was given a new rational definition in the laws of the universe discovered by Copernicus, Galileo and Newton. Their attitude could be and was described as one of Deism as distinguished from Theism. That is to say, they recognised a Supreme Being but did not permit any personal attributes to be given to it. It only required if at all, the exercise by human beings of the powers they find themselves endowed with, such as reason and conscience or moral sense and love of liberty.

Rousseau exhibited a new and powerful sentiment or set of emotions favouring the dignity of the common man, of man as such. It is not for nothing that in his wanderings he once served as a servant in an aristocrat's establishment and experienced the full

misery and bitterness of such a demeaning position for an educated person. He lived for some time by writing musical scores or copies of the great compositions of famed musicians. He knew poverty and hunger and humiliation at the hands of the top ranks of society—nobles, business magnates and officials.

He believed in the innate goodness of man as against the official church doctrine of original sin. The corruptions of society, he argued, were man-made i.e. by inequality and injustice. He wrote a thesis on the Origin of Inequality in Society which won a Prize and became a source of modern socialism.

Liberty and Equality were not mere intellectual or copy book maxims for Rousseau. His heart burnt in sympathy with the disinherited. He had an agonising consciousness of the predicament of man in society and a compelling vision of the Man as he can be transformed in a juster and more equal society. The Enlightenment leaders started the new movement that makes an irresistible demand for a radical change in the external conditions of the social order. This movement is still in full force today animating all Leftist doctrines and political programmes and manifestos stressing the Fundamental Rights of Man to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness. If property cannot be assured to all by the individual system of private enterprise and ownership of the means of production called the capitalist system, let us have common or public ownership or property owned in common by the whole of society! Let there be no gulf between an owning and non-owning class! This doctrine may be said to afford the inspiration in one way or another to all forms of current reform and reconstruction in society and state—in law, economy and political constitution. Everything that stands in the way must be swept away as by a broomstick, as Nehru said some time ago using Gandhi's phrase used in a different context.

Democracy in America and France followed by other European countries was ushered in and was motivated and led by these master sentiments. The ideas of reason promulgated by Voltairean rationalism which had said of royalty—*écrasez l'infame!* (i.e. erase the infamy!) cooperated with the emotions of Rousseau to create the new and irresistible river of democracy in the modern world.

The "reason" of these philosophers developed philosophies of the law of nature, (for natural rights), of utilitarianism or the principle of the greatest happiness (compounded of pleasures) of the greatest number and of eudaemonism or of human perfection and of spiritual idealism deriving the principles of political obligation from the presence of an infinite spirit (equivalent to God immanent and transcendent) which are still in vogue in different degrees in intellectual circles in leading countries.

In addition, from the days of the pre-French Revolution era, we have a new philosophy of history with a new vista of human progress. The idea of progress seized the imagination of thinkers. The vision of the renaissance that afforded new horizons



of the universe as infinitely vaster than the Christian parish-like view of the Bible that burst upon an astonished Europe by the work of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton and others, aided by the new view of global geography revealed by the voyages of explorers who discovered America and Australia, created a new hope for European man. The new science and later the new scientific industry that multiplied productive power a thousand-fold and brought a startling improvement in the speed of communications and transport gave a new sense of power to remould the social world nearer the ideal of social justice.

This hope generated a new consciousness of charity that covered the entire human race.

This new sense of power yielded a new and inspiring vision of humanity starting therefrom a new age of progress or a perpetually advancing condition of society. Together with advancing productive power for the satisfaction of human wants, (the wants of all men without any exception thus abolishing poverty altogether), knowledge too would advance generation by generation without any end. Man had at last invented the method of invention by organised teamwork in laboratory and institution, individuals working in contact with their intellectual peers in all parts of the world through publications and conferences and meetings.

The idea of progress became the characteristic faith and doctrine of modern Europe and America. Other countries such as ours enter into the modern mood and harness the modern temper as we adopt the idea of progress for our practical philosophy and social policy in every department of life—art, science, technology, economy and polity. This requires to be supported by a new sentiment. The old world religions bred a static attitude and stressed individual salvation from a hopeless world. The new age requires an emotion of hope-inspiring activity.

Along with this forward looking attitude dominated by the idea of progress, the modern world in its aspect of democracy is dominated by a further emotion that the fruits of progress should be made available to all members of society without exception.

The old world was hierarchical and was characterised by a class structure with the rich and noble at the top, the middle classes in between and the poor at the bottom of the social pyramid. It was a palanquin society i.e., a society where palanquins were available only to the few for the many had to bear it. If all wanted to sit in the palanquin, who was to bear it? This was unanswerable to the thinkers of the old order. Aristotle could not think of society without a slave class, which was born with slavery in its blood and was unfit for self-regulated life, according to the wisdom of this "master of all who know!"

Today the sentiment of (and for) democracy is totally against such a view of the human social order.

The ruling sentiments that inspire modern democracy are Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These are merely ideas no doubt. But they will acquire hands and feet, that is to say, will leave the heaven of theory and books and take hold of human affairs, will descend into market places, offices, workshops

and homes with beneficent power only if they are backed by emotional force in the hearts of men. For it is only passion that can convert idea and hope into practice and reality. Jnana is not sufficient. It will remain empty and barren until appropriate emotions come to attach themselves to ideas and move the hearts or minds of human beings, rulers and ruled, leaders and led, the elite and common man. Together with ideology, we need desperately a sense of dedication capable of producing continuous and effective action towards the realisation: we need bhakti for achieving a social perfection imbued with equality, liberty and fraternity and we may add, justice to mediate their realisation in stages so as to safeguard the rights of man.

The revolutionary leaders in Paris asked indifferent looking crowds in the streets—"what, do you not feel the blood of sovereignty coursing through your veins?"

Mobs danced in the streets and planted Liberty Trees and sang Songs in honour of the Future of Man and of the Supreme Being.

The emotion was released by the idea of liberating mankind as a whole from the curse of ages i.e. the slavery to the holders of power. The People were henceforth Sovereign—Not King or God any more!

It is true that the emotions should be acclimatised and made permanent in the form of sentiments or permanent dispositions like national patriotism which is not satisfied until every single citizen (whatever his ancestry and however poor his parentage and present condition) is assured the means of honourable living. The dignity of Man requires the right to work and social security to be conceded and provided by institutional arrangements—not by charity or trusteeship, which are precarious.

Until this emotional motive comes to animate the leaders of new opposition Parties in India like the Swatantra and Republican Parties, there will be no improvement in our economic and social condition. The example should be set by the elite—those who become leaders inspired by the vision of progress and of a perfect society where poverty is abolished and where every Man is treated with the dignity inherent in his nature as Man. This requires a new Emotion of Democracy, in addition to sound ideas of democracy regarding its nature.

**Govindjee Madhowjee  
& Co. Pvt. Ltd.**

**COAL MERCHANTS  
16—APOLLO STREET,  
FORT, BOMBAY.**



# English Alone Can Save Us

By M. N. Tholal

**T**HE Prime Minister's suggestion to suspend the agitation over the linguistic controversy in Assam is a confession of failure to solve the problem—at any rate on the eve of the elections. He may be pardoned if, as a party man, he wants to cash in on the partisan solution already reached by his party men in Assam, and has come to the conclusion that to disturb the status quo at this juncture would be to invite defeats during the general elections. The injustice of the Assamese language alone being the official language of Assam is, however, apparent from the fact that the Assamese people constitute only a third of the population of Assam, while the inflammable character of the problem is apparent from the fact, now established, that the Bengali-speaking people of Cachar are not alone. They have the active sympathy of the people of Bengal, who are not noted for their faith in non-violence. Our Prime Minister should have realised that command performances, such as Mr. A. P. Jain's report on Assam, do not end the matter.

The evil of linguism, as it has come to be called, has its roots in the declaration of Hindi as the official language of the country, and of the various languages of the land as national languages which are to supplant the English language in the states. Why should we, it is asked, have the English language for our official language when we have languages of our own? The answer is, to prevent quarrels among them. The difficulty is that we have not one but several languages of "our own." Every one's language is dear to him, and as soon as the question of replacement arises, emotions are stirred, and people naturally want the best of terms for their own languages. Loving one's language is like loving one's child and there is no questioning its beauty without rousing the worst passions and incurring enmity.

Decades ago, when I first visited the Punjab I saw two men talking loudly and aggressively on a railway platform. "What are they quarrelling about?" I asked a fellow passenger, a Punjabi, and to my amazement he replied contemptuously, "The are not quarrelling; they are talking." The reader can well imagine what quarrelling can be like in Punjab.

## HINDUSTANI BROADCASTS

Prime Minister Nehru says, no language can develop at the cost of another. This may be a good dictum to allay apprehensions, but it is simply not true. If a language is suppressed, the language for whose benefit it is suppressed will develop at its cost, not immediately, maybe, but assuredly in course of time. There can be no doubt in any honest mind that attempts have been made to suppress Urdu in certain parts of the country, just as there can be no doubt that attempts were being made to pamper Urdu in the British days.

Such is the fanaticism born of love for one's language that the Hindustani news broadcasts have always been unintelligible to those who have Hindustani for their mother tongue. During the British days they were in Persianised Urdu. Since independence they have been in Sanskritised Hindi. That practically no one understands them does not seem to matter to All-India Radio. The latter seems to be asking the listener to learn Hindi and Sanskrit, if he wants to understand its news broadcasts in Hindustani, and the people retort by switching off when the news in Hindustani commences.

When I was acting as Editor of the National Herald in the late thirties I allowed letters and articles to appear in the paper criticising the language used by AIR in its Hindustani broadcasts. Bokhari, who was then Director-General of AIR, came over to Lucknow and tried to win us over by a few drinks at a party. Failing there, he somehow got hold of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to influence Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter wrote to us strongly condemning the letters and articles in question, without any of the two leaders apparently having read any of them. (It has often struck me that it is not Mr. Nehru's practice to go into a case before taking a decision thereon; he gets so emotionally worked up at the suggestion of communalism—except Kashmiri communalism—that a judicial attitude is out of the question. In contrast his father was justice personified and never listened to any one without bearing in mind that the other fellow might have a case too).

Bokhari could not have produced a single cutting to prove that we were biased against Urdu—for I had insisted on the writers of the articles and letters quoting the words used in the broadcasts and specifying their dates—and I wrote back to Mr. Nehru informing him that I matriculated in Persian and was an Urdu poet of sorts, that my father was an Urdu and Persian poet, and that if I could not understand the difficult Urdu and Persian words used in the language broadcasts of AIR, I refused to believe that an average Muslim listener—let alone a Hindu listener—whose knowledge of Urdu and Persian could not possibly approach mine, would be able to understand them. I asked him to forward my letter to Maulana Azad, but he did not have the courtesy to inform me that he had done so. I do not know whether he did, but he wrote back to say that it was better not to antagonise Muslims in a matter like that. Mr. Nehru can always find a very good reason to be unfair. I suppose he considers it cleverness, but in the long run it is poor political strategy that has no basis in justice or fairplay. The language used then by AIR could only lead one to conclude that it was being used to annoy the Hindu listener.

## FALSE PRIDE

Maulana Azad used to say, "Narrowmindedness is



the root of all trouble." Nothing is so narrowminded as love, which is proverbially blind. Understandably, it hurts our pride to have a foreign language as our official language. (Democracy, we have persuaded ourselves, had its roots in India in the ancient panchayat system.) But is it not better to swallow our pride when we find that the foreign language in question alone makes for national integration, while all the languages of the country are becoming forces of disintegration? India lost her independence as a result of the vanity and false pride of her rulers in face of Muslim invasion from the North-west. Where is the sense in taking pride in something which is making for national disintegration?

My opposition to Hindi and Urdu is ideological. A language plays a very important part in developing a man's character and personality. Hindi can produce hero-worshippers like Hanuman who wants his Ram and nothing else. The same can perhaps be said of the other allied languages of the land. We have had a Gandhi and we have now a Nehru. Both would have been impossible in England or any other democratic country. "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" was born of the familiar Hindu cry, "Bol Sita-pati Ram Chandra ki Jai", heard during Kathas and religious discourses. You cannot criticise a man when you shout his "jai". This shouting of "jai" is only another way of saying, "Do what you damn well please; you know best", and also implicitly, "As for me, I am a damn fool, without any brains to speak of." Hindi does not inculcate a sense of equality which is absolutely necessary to sustain a democratic constitution. This is one of the paradoxes of our Constitution which needs attention. On the one hand, the Constitution proclaims a democratic republic. On the other, it ordains Hindi as the official language of the country, as if to undermine the democratic character of the Constitution.

Urdu is even more unfit, if the purpose is to produce demorcats. It is surcharged with the sentiment of Kufr and hatred of Kafirs (unbelievers). I remember how one of my Muslim (Sunni) classfellows in school used to gnash his teeth and almost foam at the mouth at the sight of another Muslim who was a Shia, and mutter, "Kafir, Kafir." Somehow the Shia was for him a greater Kafir than the Hindus, or, possibly, he had given up the Hindus for lost and thus reconciled himself to them. People whose minds are surcharged with hatred for kufr (disbelief) and Kafirs (unbelievers) cannot claim to be democratic or concede equality to people of other faiths. They cannot be loyal and faithful to a secular state and can only work for its disintegration. The Muslim Convention to be held in Delhi in the near future should address itself to this task of weaning their fellow-religionists from the canker of fanaticism. Only then would it be entitled to claim that it is pursuing secular methods, and that it has the fullest faith in the secular constitution of the land. Even a Congressman of the stature of Dr. Katju once said that only a Hindu country can be a secular country. It is for the Muslims of India to try to disprove his contention and they know best how to go about it.

## LANGUAGE OF DEMOCRATS

The English language is the language of democrats and the fact that almost all of them are Christians does not seem to have had much to do with the development of that language. I sometimes wonder if Indians, who have not been intimately associated with Englishmen, really understand what democracy is. When I joined Christ Church College (Kanpur) I found my Principal, the Reverend M. S. Douglas, taking an almost impish delight in being the first to wish his students "Good Morning" or "Good Evening" according to the time of the day. When I first went to see him at his residence, to get a book from his personal library to read—a rare privilege it was—he offered me a cigar and, brushing aside my "I don't smoke, Sir," almost thrust it into my mouth, saying, "High time you began" and then he struck a match to light my first cigar!

"And stop sirring; you are no longer school boys," he used to say, "You are gentlemen." At the age of sixty he used to run like a hare and play football as centre-forward. The captain, while assigning positions in the field, would refrain from assigning the Principal his position, knowing he always played centre-forward, but the Principal would insist upon his place being assigned to him by the Captain. "What about me?" he would ask, "Am I not playing?" "Centre-Forward, Sir," the Captain would reply. "No, no, no," the Principal would say, "That is not the way. You are the Captain here. Say, 'Douglas! Centre-Forward.'" And the Captain would sheepishly imitate what the Principal had asked him to say. Looking upon it after more than forty years, it is quite plain to me that the Principal was only trying to instil the spirit of discipline and democracy in us. On the other hand, there was an Indian Professor in the same College, who was also a sportsman, and who did not like his place being assigned to him in the manner the Principal wanted, and he used to tell us, "Douglas Sahib tum logonka satyanas kar rahen haen. Yeh Hindustan hai, Vilayat nahin." ("Mr. Douglas is spoiling you. This is India, not England.") Yet all that Mr. Douglas was doing was not to take undue advantage of his position on the football field. Can an Indian Principal ever think of behaving like that?

Principals and students apart, did any colleague dare call Gandhi "Gandhi" or even Mr. "Gandhi" to his face? Or can any one call Nehru "Nehru" to his face? Why cannot men even of his own age do that? Why were Jinnah's colleagues addressing him as "Jinnah," without even a Mister before his name, and doing so without incurring his disfavour? That was because, while Jinnah was practising democracy, the Hindu leaders were only exploiting it, some of them even without understanding what it was. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept, it has been said, but here in India practice does not matter at all. You may do what you like so long as you go on condemning your own damnable actions as if they were your adversaries. That is because the people and the Press of the country are cowardly.

(Continued on page 9)



## ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

# Employment In The Third Plan

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

ONE of the most difficult and serious problems that our country faces at present is the problem of unemployment. Though the food problem has been practically solved by the generous offer of 17 million tons of food grain made by U.S.A. under P.L. 480, yet the people in our country are not able to purchase them due to unemployment. Due to unemployment effective demand of our teeming millions is very low. This is the most important problem that the Third Plan has to solve. The First and Second Five Year Plans have miserably failed to tackle this problem successfully. Unemployment is not only a problem of hardship and suffering to those who are unemployed, but it also reduces the capital accumulation which is essential for the economic development of our country. It also causes frustration. At present there is a serious discussion of students' indiscipline but the root cause of that is the unemployment. The students know very well that they have to face the hopeless task of job-hunting at the end of their course.

The Draft of the Third Plan states that one of the major aims is "to utilise to the fullest extent possible the manpower resources of the country and to ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunities." This is mere wishful thinking, because there is no concrete proof in the whole draft to show that the Planning Commission has pondered over this problem. The Second Plan started with a backlog of unemployment of 5.3 millions—2.8 millions in rural areas and 2.5 million in urban areas. But unfortunately Planning Commission had not taken into account the underemployment which is, according to National Sample Surveys, 22 per cent of rural population. The Second Plan also anticipated that there would be an additional force of 10 millions by the end of 1961 on the basis that the total population of our country would increase to 408 millions, but the preliminary census of 1961 has shown that the total population of our country is 438 millions. This indicates that the additional new entrants in the labour market must be more than 10 millions. It was recognised that even to absorb 15.3 million persons was beyond the reach of the Plan. As a matter of fact employment created during the Second Five Year Plan was only 6.5 million in the non-agricultural sector instead of 9.6 million as originally anticipated. This shows that the Third Plan will start with a backlog of unemployment which will be more than that which faced us at the beginning of the Second Plan. An increase in the backlog of the unemployed from Plan to Plan is the net result of our planned economy. In spite of this fact our planners tell us with pride that the planned economy has raised the standard of living of the masses.

As a matter of fact the standard of life has gone down during the last ten years. The main cause is the population explosion. If the Planning Commission had tackled the population problem in the First Plan by adopting a comprehensive policy of family planning, planned economy would have shown better results. Economic planning without population planning would lead to increase in unemployment. It is now estimated that during the Third Five-Year Plan there will be 15 million new entrants to the labour force, but the additional employment that will be created will be 3.5 million in agriculture and 10.5 million outside. This additional employment will not meet the requirements of the new entrants to the labour market. At the most it will reduce underemployment in agriculture and small industries. It means that by the end of 1966 the backlog of unemployment will be greater than what it is now. Can we say with such a tremendous backlog of unemployment that the planned economy has benefitted the masses?

The main reason why our unemployment is rising at the end of every plan is mainly due to the fact that our Government has miserably failed to reduce the birth rate by adopting the proper policy of family planning. Due to improved medical facilities death rate has gone down, but unless birth rate is reduced very greatly, unemployment problem will not be solved even in the Fifth Plan. So the first thing that the Government should do is to adopt a proper population policy in the Third Five Year Plan. The second thing that the Government can do to increase employment opportunities is to give proper encouragement to small scale industries. The great projects in the public sector have no doubt given employment to large number of workers but it must be remembered that once their construction is complete these workers will be thrown back on the employment market. Small industries during the Second Plan period have provided additional employment to about 300,000 persons but this is a small drop in a big ocean. If small industries are developed in rural areas where the backlog of unemployment is greater than in urban areas the dangerous drift to towns would be greatly reduced. In order to absorb the unskilled labour in rural areas we must first of all know the basic need of rural areas. "There is a crying need for roads, houses, drains, water supply, clearing of land improvement of local irrigation, contour bunding to prevent erosion. On the moral side the villages lack enthusiasm, initiative. On the social side, education medical and nursing are the most urgent needs. We must raise the morale of the people. It is necessary to raise the people out of their state of inertia and apathy and infuse in them



a sense of urgency and realisation of the part that they have to play in the national crisis." Failure in the field of employment will lead to frustration and this may spell a failure to socialist pattern of society to which our leaders are wedded. The ideology is the main cause of the large employment. Expansion of public sector at the cost of private sector has resulted in the diminution of employment. So the only remedy to increase employment is to adopt free economy and not the planned economy. Planned economy has not benefited common man. Unemployment in urban areas is mainly due to the exodus from rural areas. Reduction in the urban unemployment lies in expanding employment opportunities in rural areas on permanent basis by intensifying agricultural operations through the introduction of irrigation and improved practices including mixed farming; by linking village economy with the growing needs of the neighbouring urban areas and thirdly by diversifying the occupational structure through the rapid development of various processing and other industries. But this can be achieved by adopting a free economy. Planned economy will not augment employment in the near future. Mr. G. L. Nanda, Minister for Labour and Employment, said on the problem of unemployment "No Government can tackle the colossal task by itself. The community must come forward and energetically prevent further wastage of human resources." But community can do little on its own initiative. To increase employment there must be organised planning and execution. It is the duty of the Planning Commission to guide the community to "explore the unorthodox ways of enlarging the scope of productive employment." The various suggestions made by the Planning Commission as regards employment read like palliative given by a quack. These suggestions include the electrification of a number of towns and villages so that the people can take to small enterprise, the decentralisation of production in large enterprises, the development of suitable processing industries; restricting the use of machinery in new projects, the use of man power in district development programme, development of cooperatives in different lines which may absorb educated people and the transfer of surplus people of one region where they are not wanted to another where they may be usefully employed. None of these suggestions holds a ray of hope. The situation is really serious and these palliatives will not cure the disease. At present there are number of towns and villages which are electrified but there are no small enterprises. To start enterprises there must be skill and market. If cooperatives develop and they absorb a large number of people that will be in lieu of those who are already in those lines as sole proprietors. The net result will be that no new employment will be created. The problem of transfer of surplus population from one region to another does not arise because surplus is not the problem of one particular region but of all regions. Secondly transfer of population from one region to another on a large scale is not possible because there is a wide difference in the standards and for this reason such a transfer is not an easy task. The Planning Commission has admitted this fact. It states, "The ways described above are no answer to the needs of a number of persons who will still remain unemployed. Channel for employment will have to be opened for them which the normal economic activity of the country cannot at present provide." From this one can easily come to the conclusion that our Government will not be able to solve this serious problem in the immediate future unless the whole problem is tackled on economic grounds free from ideology. Socialist pattern of society and the welfare state are the slogans that will hypnotise the illiterate masses but they will not fill their bellies unless they get jobs and this is the main problem that must be tackled during the third Five Year Plan.

## The Collapse Of Communist Economic Theory

By Lawrence Sullivan

**C**OMMUNISM has failed for forty-three years to produce enough goods to keep abreast of Russia's normal population growth.

The living standards of the great majority of the Russian people today are no more comfortable than were the mass standards of the much smaller Russian population under the Czar in the years 1900-1914.

In food supply, housing, education, transportation, and gross national product, Russian per capita standards today are far and away the poorest in all Europe.

Communism—wholly lacking in the basic drives of individual incentives and saddled by a back-breaking enforcement bureaucracy—simply cannot produce the goods and services required to sustain a flourishing and expanding nation. Inside Russia today, Marxist economic theory is under withering attack, even

by certain sections of the Khrushchev high command. To refer to Russia as a first-class power is to revert subconsciously in our economic thinking to the era of the 1880's in America.

Today's picture of the Russian economy as it is, comes from the current reports of no less than twenty-two U. S. economic survey teams sent to Russia under the State Department's cultural exchange program during the last two years—expert managerial teams of agricultural scientists, industrial engineers, architects, railroad men, real estate developers, aircraft designers, and aviation experts. The essence of all these voluminous reports boils down to three terms to describe the faltering communist economy—shortages of everything, egregious bureaucratic fumbling, and bitter resignation by the masses of the Russian people to a drab life of op-



pressive and hopeless mediocrity.

Khrushchev's personal admonition to the Central Committee and the Presidium in Moscow during the nine-day January round table on food shortages fairly characterizes the general criticism of communist economic achievement in even the topmost Kremlin circles. Chiding several large cities for having built extravagant sports stadia, Khrushchev reminded the bureaucratic planners: "Nobody denies these things are necessary, but is now the proper time to build them? No, we haven't enough dwelling houses in the cities, and some people live in basements."

No incident in contemporary communist history better illustrates the failure of the Marxist economy to supply the basic needs of the people. Given food shortages, housing shortages, and shoddy work clothing offered only at prohibitive prices, what then is left of the Marxist economy as a national productive system?

The tragedy of the Marxist failure in Russia lies not only in the bitter enslavement of 210 million Russian people, but in the unbelievable failure of modern communications to transmit the true picture of this historic failure to the tens of millions of struggling people the world around who still are under Marxist siege in their own new ventures in national independence. Despite the utter collapse of Marxism inside Russia today, much of the world still stands goggle-eyed before the fatuous boasts and flamboyant promises of Kremlin propaganda—"We will bury you!"

#### FAILURES OF MARXIST THEORY

Reduced to man-in-the-street essentials, communism's economic crisis today flows from three basic failures of Marxist theory:

1. Overly intensive urban industrialization has so reduced manpower in the rural areas that there is no longer sufficient food to sustain the bloated cities.
2. The manpower drain to staff the vast planning and compliance bureaus staggers the productive forces under an insupportable burden of consumer demand; the bureaucratic overhead is simply crushing.
3. Ambitious and aggressive communist imperialism has withdrawn so many military and police from the productive labor force that, in many areas of economic activity, only women remain to do the actual work of national supply and maintenance.

Out of these dislocations over a period of 43 years, Russia's planned economy now is dominated by a new class of experts, administrators, and enforcers, sustained by an army of court jesters in press, radio, TV, and the cultural arts. This new class of elite law-givers and inspectors comprises at least 8 million people, or less than 4 per cent of the total population. The rest of the Russians (roughly 202 million of them) are mere lambs being led to slaughter in the toils of an archaic and discredited Marxist economy already abandoned in ruins in the Kremlin cellars.

#### NO SOAP!

The production and distribution of soap attracted

one distinguished U.S. economist during his Russian survey. He discovered that all soap is produced by an autonomous Moscow trust. It is delivered to the retail outlets and sold at a price fixed by the Ministry of Trade. Nowhere in the entire process is the consumer ever consulted, directly or indirectly. He simply takes what the trust delivers—and no questions asked.

When this trust happened upon a new type of soap which could be produced cheaper, the Ministry of Trade rejected it because it called for new stock shelves in the retail outlets. So the consumer never got so much as even a look at the cheaper and better soap. Russian soap, it appears, is produced and distributed at the convenience and pleasure of the Gosplan bureaucrats.

In every item of trade, the state planners systematically maintain a strong sellers' market. In any commodity, therefore, anything goes! Thus, all life in Russia is everlastingly dull, drab, tasteless, graceless, bitter, and boring. Incentive is dead, and hope no more. As one member of an American survey team summarized his journey behind the Iron Curtain: "I was impressed by the disregard of the consumers' sector of the Soviet economy." And consumer, of course, means everybody.

In the heavy industries, another American observer found, there are no established channels for the consideration and testing of new ideas and new techniques. When a factory manager does, by chance, hit upon a new idea, he sends it off to Moscow for approval. It may not be applied even experimentally until approved by the top planners. As a result, all Russian industry is tooled largely by 1930 equipment commandeered from the occupied areas of Europe in the era 1945-49.

Another U. S. survey team examined personal incentives in communist production, as inaugurated in 1924 by Lenin's NEP, and expanded in 1957 by Khrushchev's decrees authorizing unequal compensation for superior production in selected industries. One American economist described the incentive system as "rather bookish and sentimental, as if it had been devised by a progressive first-grade teacher who really didn't like anyone to get very much ahead of anyone else; and who was uncertain whether to reward effort or performance." In short, the natural incentives of freedom never are permitted to find play in Russia; the very limit is a planned incentive decreed by the remote Gosplan in Moscow.

Russian factories are "uniformly dirty and overcrowded, with internal safety mechanisms virtually unknown."

With a total population of 210 million, against 180 million for the U.S.A., Russia produced in 1959 barely one-third our total electric energy; barely one-third our petroleum; only two-thirds our total steel tonnage. In the same year Russia turned out 125,000 passenger automobiles, against 5,591,000 in the U.S.

Factory managers in Russia are examined once a year on political theory. To hold his job, a manager must qualify anew every year in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," and in "The History of the



Communist Party." His compulsory reading list includes 64 official text books, plus 93 selections from Lenin, 11 from Engels, 24 from Marx, 13 from Stalin, 14 from Khrushchev, and one from Mao Tse-tung. It is easy to imagine what happens to Russian production when every factory manager is occupied with these predetermined studies as the prime vehicle of his bureaucratic advancement.

Every factory manager has but one aim in life—to make this month's production quota. His entire career, and all his incentive bonuses, are based on annual quota accomplishment. On this score, another reputable American economist reported:

"The incentive system also encourages falsification of records, the hoarding of labor and supplies, and numerous unusual activities such as working employees on a Sunday and giving them a day off in the following month. . ."

This general pattern of phony quota-making has resulted in a broad panorama of totally unreliable production statistics from every sector of the Bolshevik economy.

### MANPOWER SHORTAGE

Russian labor is regimented in a measure which kills all striving for excellence. Trained workers are in short supply in every line of production, and in-plant incentives often are discouraged by meticulously designed production norms delivered by Gosplan, Moscow, for every factory operation.

"The urgent need to provide better rewards to labor in order to elicit a higher level of worker productivity presents the Soviet economic planners with a serious challenge," one visiting U.S. expert reported.

As a measure to expand the labor force, the primary school program was modified beginning in 1958, to bring the youngsters through the eighth grade at 15 years of age—ready to go to work in the factories. Through various other revisions of the school program, roughly 5 million youngsters were added to the labor force under 18 years of age. Still the 1960 labor force—mainly because of war losses during the years 1940-45—was 3.5 million short of the number already assigned to the national production schedules for 1961 by Gosplan. Radio Moscow will blare to all the world in the coming months the fabulous production quotas to "catch up to the U.S.A." The fact is that these quotas, whatever they may be, will not be accomplished. They will be short by the production of 3,500,000 man years!

On the other hand, if labor is to be found for the production schedules of the madcap designers of the current Seven Year Plan, the workers must come from slaves impressed from the new African satellites, from further curtailment of agricultural manpower inside Russia, or from the present 5-million-man standing army throughout Iron Curtain Europe. For all its presently planned chores, Gosplan needs now roughly 2.5 million industrial workers and 1 million additional farm workers.

Over all Russian industry, man-hour production per worker measures about one-third that of U.S. factories. These figures mean that, over all, Russia at present would need to expand her labor force at least six times to achieve total U.S. production volume. Such is the real muscle of the "industrial

giant" which so many free men fear throughout the world. This, in fact, is the papier mache bear which Khrushchev says will cause our grandchildren to live under communism.

### TROUBLE EVERYWHERE

In housing, Russia hopes to give every city dweller 80 square feet of living space by 1965. The minimum standard, fixed by Marxist doctrine some thirty years ago, was 90 square feet per person. New housing is coming along so slowly in Russia's cities that more than 55 per cent of each year's construction is swallowed up by population growth.

Throughout Moscow today, there are almost exactly the same number of grocery stores—in relation to the city's population—as in 1930, and none of the retail grocery stores in Russia boasts refrigeration for meats, fruits, vegetables, or dairy products.

By all of these 22 reports, Russia is distinctly a backward, second-rate economic power, hopelessly bogged down in Marxist theory.

In all her industrial plant, in all her agriculture, in all her military establishment, communist Russia today is dependent entirely on machinery and equipment stolen or copied from the U.S.A. or Western Europe. The same applies to everything in the realm of Russian scientific achievement—from atomic energy to radar guidance systems and rocket thrust. Moscow stole atomic energy and radar bomb sights from the U.S.A., and commandeered rocket thrust from the Peenemuende POW's following the German surrender in 1945. Her big espionage show today is focussed on the Polaris missile. She probably will have that secret in five years, and be able to produce the weapon in ten. That will be another great triumph for Marxist economic theory!

A wholly romantic appraisal of the communist economy by the West has misguided world opinion for an entire generation, and served at the same time to tighten the grip of the Moscow Presidium on its millions of disenchanting victims.

The recent U.S.A. survey teams now beckon the whole world to a more realistic estimate of the Marxist accomplishment. Forty-three years in a land of 210 million people is a fair testing time for any theory.

If all our relations with communism were to begin with the fact that the socialist economy simply cannot deliver the goods, and Russia is therefore a second-class power, the whole world soon would be on the mend. Hope would breathe again, and the Russian people would be encouraged to strive for freedom. Little by little and bit by bit, the Iron Curtain would be lifted. A free society then would be offered at least a chance to "help the many who are poor."

A Russia busy catching up on a half-century of pie-in-the-sky promises to the consumer would be too completely occupied at home to attempt intervention, subversion, and revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Capitalism, the creator, would go back to work for human progress. For all mankind, a new birth of freedom would dawn.

—The Freeman.



# The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country—II

All-round National Disintegration

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar

**T**O detail the reasons for this sorrowful tragedy in our country, it would take a whole volume. However, to state it in a nut-shell, the blame is solely on the Politicians of all the parties, though the ruling party has to be given the shield in this great effort of Balkanising our Motherland. All the parties, without realising that they do not possess the moral background, which Gandhiji had, have been imitating his Satyagraha ways and means. They have never realised that Gandhiji used them against a foreign Government to win independence, while our Politicians have used them against our own country to bring disruption and dangers. That all political parties are not working for the country at large and that they are only interested in the progress of their own parties is clear from the fact that every party is having a flag of its own, which only is revered by the party-men and not the country's flag. All of them have completely forgotten that there is

a National flag, which only they should revere and honour. It is this method of having a separate flag, that is partly responsible for all the party-bickerings, apart from intense selfishness and pride of the political Leaders.

All our Politicians believe in passing numerous Laws to control and direct the country, according to their own ideas, without taking into consideration the traits, traditions and the very old conceptions on various aspects of life of the people at large. The results are that our people now live in a "forest of Laws" to use the words of a Chief Justice of India. A number of these ill-thought-out Laws have made even the ordinary citizens disobey them and feel that the "Laws are not principles to respect but obstacles to evade". At present we have antagonism between Capitalists and Labourers, Employers and Employees, Land-Lords and Tenants, Government and their Civil Servants, Teachers and Students, Castes and Castes, Brothers and Sisters and even between Husbands and Wives in every State. Only in the Defence Forces this disruption has not yet come up visibly; and some leaders are doing their best to bring it forcibly there also. All these defects are mainly due to hasty legislations, passed with an eye to catch the unthinking votes of the masses, however detrimental they may be to the larger interests of the country.

(Continued from page 8)

## TILAK'S TRIBUTE

There was a leader whom the Jan Sanghis and Congressmen alike honour. His name was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. What did he say about the English language? He said, "Our very desire for freedom is the result of English education." If that desire goes, as it seems to be going, freedom too will go. We cannot retain freedom except on the basis of equality and this passion for equality is also the result of English education. Freedom and equality go together. The desire to impose one's language on others cannot exist in the breast of devotees of freedom and equality. That it exists is proof positive that we Indians are not true devotees of freedom and equality. The greater then the need of English continuing to occupy a predominant place in the curricula of our universities and of being made the lingua franca of the land.

The fact of the matter is that we have to be somewhat like, Englishmen in order to cultivate their democratic qualities. It was the Englishman's democratic instinct that made him leave the country before he should have done so. Even Gandhi was of that opinion, despite his "Quit India" movement, which was a dismal failure. If the sense of equality and brotherhood is not there, forbearance will give place to domination, as it is doing in Assam today. It is now obvious that the art of claptrap, in which our Prime Minister excels, has been learnt by others also. It is Assam today. It will be some other state tomorrow.

We find indiscipline everywhere and our popular Governments have to use force often, not only against grown up citizens but also on the younger generations, the future Rulers of India. We have never before witnessed so many strikes and lockouts and closure of Universities. (Our Prime Minister's home State stands first in the latter.) Even in the Congress party, we find 'no confidence' motions, group conflicts and the frequent enlargement of the Cabinet, by adding more Ministers. Of course every one is being paid all the emoluments due to a minister such as pay, allowances, car, house etc. I suggested to the U.P. Chief Minister that the best way of stopping all these troubles about ministers is to make all the elected persons as Ministers and then they can all work in unity! On account of these quarrels and the Politicians' frequent interference in day-to-day administration, the country has now witnessed a very great deterioration in every branch of administration, in comparison with what we were accustomed to, during the British days. It may be a humiliation to state this, but it is the truth. For, every section and even every individual stand on their rights; but they do not even seem to think of their duties by the country.

After having allowed this rot to spread in the country, our Prime Minister states some truthful pre-



cepts that "when an attempt is made at forcible imposition of ideas on any large section of people, it is bound ultimately to fail" and further on "that in our efforts to ensure the material prosperity of the country we have not paid any attention to the spiritual element in human nature." (1959) If he had only emphasised these practical principles at least from 1950 onwards, our country would not have come to the present predicament, so as to make even Sri Pyarilal to state that "from top to bottom the whole system is corrupt. The Government connives at unofficial corruption. An adequate parallel for it will be found, if it can at all be found, in the era of Clive and Warren Hastings only". (Gandhi—the last phase). Sirdar K. M. Panikkar has stated that "every State had its own claims, which it put forward with an almost imperialistic desire for additional territory. It was strange to see National Leaders, even those who had suffered and sacrificed for the freedom of India quarrelling amongst themselves about a village here and "ilaqa" there and prepared to go the extent of offering civil disobedience to enforce their claims". (Bhavan's Journal, March 5, 1961.)

These two opinions of respected and learned Hindus are quite sufficient to prove that the boasted progress of India is only a maya. Our P.M. has given correctly the reasons for this deplorable position in our country in the quotations given above. But he himself has "imposed" his impractical ideas of progress on a "large section of people" in our land and hence there are the patent fissures in our National unity. Further, after 12 years, he has realised his failure to pay attention to "the spiritual element of our people" and after having done everything in his power to smother our ancient spirituality. In the name of a misunderstood secularism, he has been misguiding and oppressing and suppressing the aspirations of the Hindus in the vain hope of pleasing a certain section of non-Hindus in which he has utterly failed, in spite of the fact that he has been ever ready to let down the majority community. He once uttered very proudly standing on the sacred soil of Conjeevaram, in the Madras State, that "my temples are the factories", when he was asked to visit the ancient temple there. Since our spirituality was thus ridiculed by him with all the prestige of a P.M., the people have fallen from moral standards and we witness corruption and want of patriotism, as described by the two Hindus above mentioned.

This moral fall has affected the public and private life of our people. A Central Minister has confessed in Parliament in 1960 that every article in our country is being adulterated by merchants and manufacturers. I may add that even pipe water is being adulterated with saltish well water and is supplied by lodging houses to the customers! Even baby food and medicines for sick men are not pure in this land of 'Satyameva Jayate'. The Finance Minister of Madras State was told in England that the Indian Merchants cannot be relied upon as they are not honest in their methods of exporting our goods to other countries. Yet, hundreds of years ago, Strabo has put it in writing that our merchants were "so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writing to bind their agreements". I may point out

that if our merchants were dishonest, they could not have traded with the Roman Empire even in the pre-Christian era, when there were no steamships, Railways and Air Ways, in such a way that it was "estimated that the annual drain from Rome to India approximated to four million dollars". (page 42, "A Short History of India and Pakistan" by T. W. Wallbank) What a fall now after Independence! Our merchants and people cannot be fully blamed for the moral fall in our country as a Sanskrit proverb says that even as the Rulers behave, so do the people. Now our Politicians are in the shoes of India's ancient Rulers and as they are corrupt, (I use this word in all its broad aspects) non-moral, selfish and thoughtless, people also have become so.

I am afraid that if a war were to come to our country in an open way—we have already an undeclared war by China on us—many of our merchants will hide the grains and other goods and sell them in the black market to earn filthy lucre to the sufferings of the people and thus reveal their 'patriotism' to our Motherland. Besides these merchants, we have amongst us large groups of traitors, who have loyalty to foreign countries and they are sure to sabotage our defences. It is amazing to find that in the name of fundamental rights, certain parties are allowed to exercise their so called rights only to betray the Motherland. I may point out that in the U.P. State, the Chief Minister has admitted that certain partymen are advocating openly that the sacred temple of Badrinath belongs to China, as if China were their mother country and not India! I wonder whether the Chinese would allow any one to remain alive, if he had stated that an area belonging to China really belongs to India. Suppose a Muslim in Mecca dared to state that the sacred Kaaba once belonged to the Jews, what would happen to him? Suppose the Hindus in Pakistan, on the latter's Independence day cried "Hindustan Zindabad" and flew on their houses the flag of India, would the Pakistanies wait for Government to take action? Yet things, which would never have been allowed in other countries, happen in our land, without our Government taking any action in the name of tolerance, which is only a cloak for political cowardice. Thus our country is going into splinters as if from the red anvil of a blacksmith, merely because our Politicians have no time to think out the methods of bringing about the absolute unity of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Yet they have the example of our Christian brethren in India. I have witnessed various Christian gatherings in which our citizens from every part of India and even from the Nagaland took part: but none of them felt that one was Assamese, another, Bengali, Maharashtrian, Gujarati, U.P. or Bihar man, Punjabi, Telugu, Canarese Tamilian or Malayalee etc. They all discussed as one solid group of Indians. Why have not the Politicians brought about such a unity amongst the Hindus? In fact they have ruined even the existing unity among them during 13 years of their rule!

(To be continued)



# Some Recent Events In Madras

New Frontiers of the Third Plan.

By A. Ranganathan

ONE wonders whether the Third Five-Year Plan has been launched. Indeed, it ought to have begun a few weeks ago. Perhaps, the plan can be "finalised" only after the foreign aid programme is worked out in detail. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that Dr. Thomas Simons, U.S. Consul-General in Madras, addressed the Madras Chapter of the Society for International Development. Although the lecture was entitled, "New perspectives of U.S. Foreign Assistance," Dr. Simmons devoted a major part of his speech to a review of the progress of the assistance given by the U.S. to under-developed countries in the years 1945-60. Dr. Simons observed that the U.S. contribution to the First and Second Five Year Plans amounted to Rs. 1133 crores, constituting about 10 per cent of the Indian outlay. And he also stressed that an "upturn" in economic aid might be expected since there has been a decline in the amount of military aid in recent years. Dr. Simons appealed to the Indian people to give President Kennedy sufficient time to work out the details of his foreign aid programme. Prof. Vasudevan, who presided, said that India expected foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 2200 crores. And Mr. V. K. Narasimhan (Assistant Editor, The Hindu) wanted the economists to do a "good deal of fundamental thinking" so that the backward countries could draw from the resources of affluent countries. An excellent plea, indeed! One certainly hopes that the new Kennedy administration would set the pace for the new frontier movement in the sphere of foreign aid. And we could evolve our own frontiers of inefficiency and wastage! Two cheers for the evolving frontiers of the Third Plan!

## LEVY ON PENSION UPHELD

A Division Bench of the Madras High Court consisting of their Lordships Mr. Justice S. Ramachandra Aiyar and Mr. Justice P. Ramakrishnan dismissed the writ petition filed on behalf of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari questioning the constitutional validity of the provisions in the City Municipal Act under which the profession tax assessment was made on pensions. It was argued on behalf of the petitioner that the State could not empower the Corporation to levy a tax on pension, and also that it constituted an encroachment on the power conferred on Parliament alone. Their Lordships observed that Article 276 of the Constitution saves taxes which are lawfully levied by Municipalities or Local bodies at the commencement of the Constitution. And Article 372 of the Constitution saved all pre-existing laws except those which were not consistent with the provisions of the Constitution, the excepted laws being those which were inconsistent with the other provisions of the Constitution. Thus, the law levying profession tax was not hit by the Constitution. In the course of their judgement, their Lordships made some interesting observations: "On first impression, the levy of profession tax on pension appears to be anomalous. To call a pensioner a person exercising a profession

is a contradiction in terms. A pensioner is one who ceases to exercise a profession and receives his pension on the completion of a prescribed period of approved service." But the point was whether the Corporation could levy a tax on pension. And their Lordships held the view that "the levy of tax on pension by the Corporation continues to be valid." This test case is not only of interest to students of Constitutional Law, but also to the large body of pensioners in the country.

## REORIENTATION OF DEMOCRACY

"Votes for everybody makes Democracy impossible. This haphazard Mobocracy, must be replaced by Democratic Aristocracy."

... .. —Bernard Shaw (Sixty Years of Fabianism.)

"I do not think it can be said that democracy always and everywhere is the best form of Government. I do not think that it can be successfully practised among totally uncivilised people. I do not think it is workable where there is a population of mixed groups which fundamentally hate each other. I do not think it can be introduced quite suddenly in countries that have no experience of 'give and take' that goes with freedom in government. If every compromise is viewed as a surrender of principle, it is impossible for rival groups to make a bargain representing a middle point between the respective interests."

—Bertrand Russel (What is Democracy?)

"The future of democracy in India is not bright. Popular mentality is still authoritarian, and politicians and political parties glorify that reactionary cultured heritage as spiritual genius. People with an authoritarian mentality cannot establish democracy. If democracy fails in India, that will not be due to conspiracy of political parties and leaders; the failure will be predetermined by objective conditions, the mentality of the people which cannot conceive of human freedom and human creativity. Yet, these are the basic values of the democratic view of life."

—M. N. Roy (The Future of Democracy.)

"The essence of a free government consists in an effective control of rivalries. The executive and the legislative powers are natural rivals, and if each has not an effective control of the other, the weaker will ever be the lamb in the paws of the wolf. The nation which will not adopt an equilibrium of power must adopt a despotism. There is no other alternative."

—John Adams.

"Out of the Autocracy that is dead, and the Democracy that is trying to live, the nations will have to find some blend which will give to the future civilisation the advantages of both experiences; we may learn and see whether modern Democracy may not fashion in some way a method for calling the wisest to the helm of the State, instead of governing by numbers, which means governing by ignorance."

—Annie Besant (The Future Socialism.)



# National Integration Or Vote-gathering Committee?

(From Our Correspondent)

**T**HE National Integration Committee would appear to have served one useful purpose—for those with eyes to see—and that is to underline the fact that the daughter is being groomed for succession to the father. Having regard to the fact that national integration is by far the most important problem before the country, it was only in the fitness of things that a person next in importance only to the Prime Minister should have been asked to preside over it, and that person could be no other than Indira Gandhi.

There were several other reasons why an independent person—if one could be found within the Congress—should not have been asked to preside over it, or even to become one of its members. In a body meant to sidetrack the real issues, or not even to mention them, and to prolong somehow the rule of the Congress Party and to retain Muslim votes for it during the next general elections, an independent member might have mentioned the real causes of national disintegration, such as the handing over of crores of rupees to the Indian Communists by their bosses, the Russian Communists, who are so agreeable to their goods and plants and services being paid for in rupees rather than in roubles, to say nothing of the salaries drawn by Russian experts and technicians, who pass a substantial portion of the same on to their Indian comrades to subvert the government of the country.

An independent member might have mentioned the alarming fact that Indian Muslims sometimes forget the saying that discretion is the better part of valour and openly and in public streets unfurl the Pakistan flag and begin shouting "Pakistan Zindabad". He might have referred to the even more alarming fact that recently thousands of pounds of gunpowder have been unearthed by the police and urged a nationwide hunt for storers of gunpowder and manufacturers of fire-arms, and a thorough inquiry to find out the why and how of it, suggesting that suppression of news regarding the same is not the best way of promoting national integration, nor ignoring the same the highest water-mark of patriotism or statesmanship.

## CONGRESS FALLING ON EVIL DAYS

But I forget. For, who is interested in national integration? Those who are permitting the subsidizing of the Communist Party of India by a foreign Communist Government to the extent of crores of rupees? Or those who do not want the people to know who the people are who are storing thousands

of pounds of gunpowder or running secret factories for manufacturing arms? And what is the worth of the claim of the Congress Government that it is following a realistic policy in the face of hush-hush in regard to these alarming features of the political situation in the land? Indeed, on the contrary attempts will be made to outlaw the realists, so that Congress horses may come romping home during the elections. The main purpose of the so-called National Integration Committee—as that of the Muslim Convention—is to ensure Muslim votes for the Congress, which appear in jeopardy, owing to the recent happenings in Madhya Pradesh and the rise of bodies like the Muslim League and the Jamiat-e-Islami. Thus it comes about that the denouncers of communalism are encouraging the holding of a Muslim Convention. All is grist that comes to the Congress mill.

The attempt on the life of the Congress President at Durgapur makes history, inasmuch as never before has a Congress President been the object of an assassin's dagger. It has rightly or wrongly led the public to conclude that the Congress has fallen on evil days, which seems true enough, judging the three Congress defeats in a row recently, two by the Jana Sangh and the third at Sultanpur, that of the son of the late Pandit Pant, by an independent. In the municipal by-election in New Delhi the Congress secured the support of the Communists and was even then defeated in a constituency formerly held by Congress.

The Durgapur incident has led Mr. Nehru to realise and declare that "linguism is the greatest danger facing the country, greater even than communalism." The security arrangements at Durgapur for the meeting of the Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee were unprecedented. "The doors and windows of the shed where the Working Committee met were guarded by alert Congress volunteers," while everybody, according to the Statesman's special correspondent "was unobtrusively shadowed by plain-clothes men" who "surrounded correspondents as they approached Working Committee members". No one can say that these security arrangements were uncalled for, but they have a moral of their own to point.

## ELECTION TACTICS

But if linguism is the greatest danger facing the country—greater even than communalism—the question arises why no attempts are being made to combat it, while all the power at the command of the



Congress and the Congress Government is being harassed to fight communalism—to be more correct, the brand of communalism that opposes the Congress. The answer is that the greatest danger is being ignored because combating it would result in loss of votes for the Congress, while the lesser danger is even being exaggerated in order to deprive the opponents of the Congress of their votes. The National Integration Committee report, which was approved by the AICC session at Durgapur, should have been used to solve the linguistic problem in Assam. That would have shown what the report is really worth. But neither the AICC nor the Working Committee went beyond discussing the problem during their Durgapur session. The main factor restraining them from laying down a firm policy was the resultant disadvantage the Party would suffer organisationally. Some of the Working Committee members openly said that a bold policy would not be locally popular and would work against the Party in the general election. In the result, the Congress is not averse to allying itself with what its leader calls “the greatest danger facing the country”.

Much stress was laid at Durgapur on the loss of contact by Congressmen with the people and it was said that they had given up working in the field, without the people being told at the same time that they were in search of fresh fields and pastures new. It is true that Congressmen are losing contact with the people, but the Congress leaders who were trying to diagnose their disease did not, for understandable reasons, go into the root cause of this failure on the part of Congressmen. They are losing contact with the people because they are being made fun of by the people. They have lost the respect and the confidence of the people. Running after the loaves and fishes of office, it will not be untrue to say that Congressmen have lost their own self-respect and self-confidence. As they go about they no longer hold their heads high, as they did when they fought for the independence of the country. Is there any ex-Minister or ex-Chief Minister who does not try to undermine the prestige of the ministers and Chief Minister, and thereby of the Congress organisation? The time does not appear to be far distant when Congressmen would begin openly ridiculing fellow Congressmen. Babu Mohanlal Saxena, veteran Congress leader of U.P., has resigned from the Party saying the Congress is only interested in retaining power somehow, in which, as his critics say, he is no longer interested as he is not in power. What is worse, his arch-enemy in U.P. is in power now. That was a pill too bitter to swallow.

#### NEHRU'S IRRESPONSIBLE UTTERANCE

But who can deprive Mr. Nehru of cheers or prolonged applause? If he cannot earn them on domestic issues, he can always get hold of some foreign issue to lash out at wrong-doers, thus indirectly calling Heaven to witness his own righteousness. So “a mediaeval approach by European countries to the problem of colonialism as grotesquely represented by Angola” gave Mr. Nehru what he is always seeking, an opportunity for a hysterical outburst of anger in a voice quivering with indignation. These “European countries” never include the Soviet Union, for Mr.

Nehru has decided that East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. etc.—to name only those countries which have not been absorbed by Soviet Russia—are not Russian colonies.

Coming in for strong condemnation by the Prime Minister was the direct and indirect support the NATO alliance was giving to Portugal in regard to Angola. Mr. Nehru was perhaps counting on the brainlessness of Congressmen and their mental prostration as soon as foreign affairs come up for discussion, for he must have known that a power as strong as Portugal does not need the assistance of NATO to suppress risings in Angola or to shoot down a few thousands of its unarmed inhabitants. A Prime Minister of a great country is expected to show a greater sense of responsibility than Mr. Nehru did at Durgapur. What Portugal is doing is terribly bad, as Mr. Nehru said, but he has no reason to add, “and this is getting the support of the NATO alliance.” It is true that the British Foreign Minister had gone on an official visit to Portugal about a week before Mr. Nehru spoke, but he had at Lisbon condemned apartheid openly by referring to it as “the sterile doctrine of apartheid”. That cannot by any manner of means be described as support to Portugal in relation to her policies and misdeeds in Angola. Any empire in whose colonies the people have at least the courage to rebel is far better than countries where the colonial or its own people cannot have that courage on account of the barbarous nature of the prevailing regime. And if the easternmost parts in Asia of the Russian Empire can legitimately be called parts of Soviet Russia, there would appear to be little doubt that even Goa can be called Portuguese by the same logic. Mr. Nehru cannot be allowed to have one set of rules to guide him in relation to Soviet Russia and quite another set of rules to guide him in his relations even with those who wanted him to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir in accordance with his own oft-repeated promises. That certainly was not such an unpardonable sin that it can never be forgiven and to atone for which Mr. Nehru must indirectly support the greatest tyranny that there ever was on earth.

## Book Review

**THE KARAVA OF CEYLON, SOCIETY AND CULTURE:** By M. D. Raghavan, Emeritus Ethnologist, (National Museums of Ceylon, 1961): K.V.G. De Silva & Sons; Colombo, (Pages 216 + xxi); Rs. 20/-

The Author, Prof. M. D. Raghavan, was the first Head of Department of Anthropology, Madras University. As Ethnologist in the service of the Government of Ceylon from 1946, he conducted the Ethnological Survey of Ceylon. The results of his field studies form a long series of monographs published by the Department of National Museums of Ceylon.

The book under review—The Karava of Ceylon, Society and culture—has the unique distinction of being the first full-scale study of any of the major constituents of the Sinhalese Society—a community



of considerable numerical and political importance, of remarkable vigour and versatility' in the words of Prof. Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf, Professor of Asian Anthropology in the University of London, who contributes an entertaining and informative Foreword to the book.

The field of study is covered in a sequence of eleven chapters, each a fascinating account of the several features distinctive of Karava Society and Culture, and their diversified economy in the different regional environment of the Island. Among the outstanding contributions of the book, is its revealing analysis of the strong under-current of Indian influences in the Middle Ages of Ceylon, presented in the first chapter of the book, a historical account compiled from a wide range of well documented sources. A caste group with an extraordinary wide range of economic pursuits, the Upper class stands conspicuous for its great wealth and enterprise, pre-eminent in the urban economy of Ceylon, as Capitalists and entrepreneurs as in politics, the professions and education.

The book is profusely illustrated in twenty plates, nine of which are in gorgeous colours. Among the latter are illustrations of the pantomimic masked play, the Sinhalese KOLAM, and the pictures illustrating the banners and standards, the insignia and symbolisms, which mark the group as a whole from the rest of the Sinhalese Society.

The high standard of printing and production of the book does credit to the printers and publishers.

—J. T. Cornelius.

## Gleanings from the Press

### REPERCUSSIONS OF INDIA'S NEUTRALITY ON AFRICAN COUNTRIES

It was in February that Mr. Dayal went to New York for consultations with Mr. Hammerskjöld. His presence was of value during this period for the debates on the Congo in the Security Council and the General Assembly as well as for the deliberations of the Secretary General's 18-nation Advisory Committee on the Congo. But ten weeks was a long period for the usual diplomatic consultations and it was no secret that Mr. Dayal's stay was prolonged at New York owing to the resistance put up by Mr. Kasavubu to his return. By its very nature Mr. Dayal's assignment was delicate, embarrassing and likely to create frequent misunderstandings. To negotiate with such diverse and opposite personalities as Mr. Kasavubu, the late Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Tshombe, General Mobutu, Mr. Bomboko and still others required the high skill of a diplomat of calibre and Mr. Dayal showed it in a good measure. His task also involved unravelling the tangle created in Katanga by the presence and the activities of the Belgians. The pressure for the demand for his recall by the leaders of the Congo was somewhat strengthened by the tacit attitude, actual or supposed, of some of the embassies stationed in that country.

But independent elements in this country have rightly questioned the wisdom of the original decision to spare him for deputation to function in such an awkward situation in Africa. Mr. Dayal often found his patience strained in his negotiations with the Congolese leaders and on not a few occasions, he made no attempt to conceal his feelings about their immaturity, lack of experience and extremism resulting from, what he considered, misguided views. This personal equation stiffened the attitude of Mr. Kasavubu and others. For whatever reasons the Congolese might choose to regard as correct, they seem to have formed their own judgment on India's neutrality and probably its repercussions have spread to other countries in Africa.

—The Eastern Economist

## News & Views

### DANCING TO THE TUNE OF "PRIMA DONNA" NEHRU

Dr. H. K. Mahtab of Orissa has said that "the Congress Party has nothing to do with the National Planning. The Congress Party chiefly does two things: (1) to settle inner Party disputes, and (2) to give support to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. Anybody who wants to be somebody in the Party must support the Prime Minister....."

Wags say that the High Command chorus girls dance to the tune and steps of the "prima donna" Nehru.

—Behar Herald.

### CONGRESS BALLYHOO ABOUT "FIGHTING" COMMUNALISM

How untrue and false is the hew and cry that the Congress leaders have raised, from Nehru to Sanjiva Reddi, of fighting communalism is shown by the zigzag way they have pursued in dealing with the holding of the Muslim convention in Delhi. Making capital of the Jabalpur riots, these Congress leaders talked of "waging a war" against communalism. But, in fact, they were in jitters. They were further worried over the loss of face in the recent bye-election to the Parliament from Delhi. The Congress has lost the Delhi seat to a Jan Sanghite. When Congressmen talk of combatting communalism they always mean fighting Indian patriotism, which in turn, is Hindu nationalism. Here are some of the round-about-turns that the Congress has taken in the course of a week over l'affaire convention. Comments are needless, the sequences are tale-telling:—

May 13: Congress leaders and Government caught napping by the announcement of holding the Muslim convention. Nehru in jitters and Lal Bahadur Shastri displeased and worried. Congressmen warned not to have any truck with the Muslim convention.

May 16: Union Dy. Labour Minister Abid Ali described the Muslim move as "mischievous". He denounced the holding of such a convention. "Let us not feed the fires of communalism", he said.



**May 17:** A meeting of the Congress Working Committee was immediately called to discuss the situation. Opposition was voiced by some persons. Congress or "Nationalist". Muslims asked not to take part in the convention or to support it in any way.

But the very next day comes the somersault on the part of the Congress leadership. They surrender on all their fours before the communalist Muslims.

**May 18:** The Working Committee decides NOT to oppose the holding of the Muslim convention. The Congress leaders seemed to have been "assured" by the convener, Maulana Rahman, and the Union Minister, Humayun Kabir, about the "patriotism" of the conveners. The spineless Congress President nods his head in approval, and "blesses" the convention.

Thus ends the ballyhoo of the Congress of "fighting" communalism, when it comes to deal with Muslim fanaticism and communalism. Congress history has been repeated once again. Appease the fanaticism of the Muslims.

## 20 PAK NATIONALS ARRESTED

**Bhuj:** The Indian Border Police arrested, during the week, 20 Pakistani nationals who crossed over into the Indian territory, near Manas Sarovar, a pilgrim place. The arrested persons had no permits to enter India. One of the spokesmen of the arrested persons said that they had returned to India as they were disillusioned and harassed by the treatment meted out to them by West Pakistanis.

—A News Item.

## SPECULATION IN MOSCOW!

**Moscow:** Nine persons were arrested by the Soviet Security authorities on charges of speculation in foreign currency and gold coins to the tune of 20 million old rubles i.e. 2,00,000 new rubles. They are said to have bought and sold foreign currency and gold coins.

## PEKING THROWS "BONES" AT THE RUNNING "DOGS" OF INDIAN "COMMIES."

The "New Age," the Indian communist weekly, proudly publishes a message the Chinese communists have sent to the C.P.I. during the last session of their Congress at Vijayawada. The message runs as follows:—

".....the C.P.I. and the Indian people have also made great efforts in opposing the policies of war and aggression of the imperialist bloc, headed by U.S. imperialism, in safeguarding the peace of Asia and the world, defending the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence jointly initiated by China and India, and in developing the traditional and great friendship between the peoples of China and India.....May the friendship of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian internationalism between the two parties of China and India be further consolidated with each passing year."

Some "bones" from Peking, which must have been gleefully relished by the Indian "reds."

## A CASE OF "RATS" LEAVING A SINKING SHIP TO BOARD ANOTHER

**Ferozepur:** Eleven members of the Indian Communist Party in Ferozepur tehsil, including its secretary, have joined the Congress Party at a specially arranged function. Mr. Haricharan Singh Brar, M.L.A. and the District Congress President assured the former Moscow "faithfuls" proper and due share in the loaves and fishes of office in the immediate future.

Rats are known to have the sense to leave a sinking ship, BUT here is a case of human "rats" joining another sinking ship.

## ECONOMIC AID:—LOOK AT THIS PICTURE AND THAT

Referring to the difference in the economic aid given to India by the Western nations and the Soviet bloc of nations, Lord Home, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said in a recent speech in London:—"The Russians' and their friends' contribution in investment and aid to countries overseas is a total of £100,000,000 (One Million pounds). The West's contribution in investment and aid is £2,100,000,000 (Two Billion and One Million pounds)." These figures and this comparison must be widely known.

## CONGRESS STRONGHOLD FALLS TO THE "REDS"

**Lucknow:** The Congress has suffered another defeat, soon after its Delhi debacle, when it lost the Sultanpur seat to the Communists. The bye-election was caused by the death of Mr. Govind Malaviya. Sultanpur was considered to be a Congress stronghold.

Backed by the Leftist splinter groups the 80-year old Kisan Sabha leader, Ganpat Sahai, defeated the Congress rival, K. C. Pant, the son of the late Gobind Ballabh Pant, by more than a thousand votes.

## CENSUS-CONSCIOUS OR OFFICIAL INEFFICIENCY

For the public of India the Census is an affair of yesterday. It is a part of past history, BUT not so with the "Burra Sahebs" of the Indian bureaucracy. The Director of Advertisement and Visual Publicity, Delhi, is STILL sending out posters for publicity and display about the census to different important places and centres. Some of the headings of the posters:—"Census Helps Them All," "Census Is Important" etc. The posters are in English, Hindi, Urdu and Gurumukhi.

The poor "babus," who are issuing these posters, must not have received the Burra Saheb's orders that the census is over. The "Sab" must be wool gathering somewhere.

"I must say, I believe that humanism will eventually prevail; but I am afraid that at the same time, the world will become a huge hospital, with everyone nursing his neighbour."

—Goethe.



## BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

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

ASK FOR A FREE CATALOGUE OF OUR PUBLICATIONS AND PRICE-LIST

**LIBERTARIAN PUBLISHERS,**  
1st Floor, Arya Bhavan,  
Sandhurst Road West, BOMBAY 4.

## THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to :

THE MANAGER  
**THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS**  
BOMBAY 4

Telephone : 70205

Telegram : LOTEWALLA