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DIALECTICS OF A 'MOSCOW' PATRIOT

The Indian Communist Party Chairman Mr. S. A. Dange is one of the oldest Indian Communists in India and is considered to be an authority on the strategy and tactics, global and local, employed by international Communism to communise the whole world. He has in the 'NEW AGE' attempted a laboured defence of the 'patriotic' policies followed by his group, in reply to the devastating attack against them by the editorial titled 'Mirror For Revisionists' which appeared in the Peoples' Daily of China. The lengthy reply of Mr. Dange confirms, if at all, the already well-grounded suspicions of the Indian Nationalists that the Communist Party of India had purposefully divided itself into two wings, pro-China and pro-Moscow, just by way of a hoax and make-believe so as to keep the nation off its guard regarding the role of saboteurs that the Communists are playing covertly and overtly in the Sino-Indian conflict.

That the one aim before the Chinese Communists as well as Dange Communists is to bring about Communist revolution in every country of the world and phrases like 'co-existence' 'world peace' are used by them only with their tongues in their cheeks, is amply borne out by Mr. Dange's admission that his party's seeking United Front with Indian Progressivists led by Mr. Nehru, is motivated by a desire 'to save the ideology of Communism and the reputation of the Socialist camp from being discredited among the masses' and that "a United Front does not mean tailing behind or merging with the Bourgeoisie, the alien class. United Front is also a form of class struggle." Shorn of the Communist verbiage, the statement amounts to this: the Dange group wants to work surreptitiously for a Communist revolution in India from within the ranks of the Indian nationalists through their infiltrating and corroding tactics as the Communists are doing everywhere in South-East Asia now, from Laos, Indo-China to Burma and Ceylon, while allowing the extremists wing of the party to direct a frontal attack on Nehru's bourgeois government and its 'reactionary' and 'pro-imperialist' policies. Thus both Ranadive group and Dange group are fully co-operating with each other in combining legal work with ill-legal work to sabotage India's war effort, — a tactic advocated by Lenin, Stalin and Mao in their writings and effectively put into practice by them in their own times.

The whole rigmarole indulged in by Mr. Dange will carry conviction to none except his close followers and the fellow-travellers. With all his Communist jargon and phrase-mongering, Mr. Dange has miserably failed to point out how exactly India under Nehru could have put up even the semblance of resistance against Chinese aggression on India without the prompt and opportune military and

financial aid given to her by the 'imperialist' Britain and U.S.A. and why U.S.S.R.'s offer of MIGs to India and export of Russian capital to this country on a larger scale than that of Anglo-American capital, as admitted in Dange's thesis, should not be dubbed as 'Russian imperialist interference' with India's internal economy and political and military affairs. But we forget that consistency is the virtue of an ass and certainly not that of a Communist dialectician.

HYPOCRISY

The whole statement thus is an essay in hypocrisy and deceit, a common feature and a distinctive mark of all Communist thinking and doing. It only lays bare the obvious fact that the Dange group is acting as the safety-valve to salvage the Indian Communist Party from complete extinction which was threatening it in the hot climate created for it in the country by the Chinese invasion and by the determined will of the nation to hurl it back, if necessary, even with the aid of Western democratic allies. Mr. Dange and his followers are only towing the Moscow line of Mr. Khrushchev, while keeping up the pretense of supporting Nehru and his policies.

Dange is therefore mistaken if he thinks that the genuine Indian Nationalist will not be able to pierce through the web of dialectics of the Fifth Columnist so cleverly woven by Mr. Dange, when he says: 'To us *with all his faults, vacillations and anti-working class actions*, he (Nehru) is still an anti-imperialist.' Evidently the Dange-Communists have assigned to Mr. Nehru the role played by the social democrat Mr. Kerensky on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

We do not believe that Mr. Nehru has any intention of obliging these wishful thinkers by playing that role. On the other hand, it may even be that Mr. Nehru may be compelled by force of circumstances to teach these Moscow patriots the lesson of their life, by showing them their rightful place beside their brethren the 'Peking' patriots, now under detention behind the prison-walls, for their nefarious activities mainly designed to sabotage our defence effort and to weaken the nation's will to resist and fight the Chinese menace.

LAOS, A TEST CASE FOR NEUTRALISM

The latest news from Laos about the unprovoked attack by Pathet-Lao Communists on two International Commission Helicopters, wounding three Frenchmen and one Indian Major, followed by another brutal attack, killing one Frenchman and wounding two others on or about May 4, 1963 will certainly disappoint those who believe in the efficacy of Neutralism to promote World Peace. In fact the neutral Government of the Laotian 'Troika' headed

by Prince Souvanna came into existence on July 2, 1962 with the full support of all the fourteen signatory governments and the Big Four. Of the three Princes who formed the Troika, the Rightist Prince Boun Oum retired immediately on the formation of the Coalition Government. So the real contestants for power in the present Government are the Neutralist Prince Souvanna and the Leftist pro-communist, Deputy Prince Souphanouvong who is also the titular head of the pro-communist Pathet Lao.

Though the Peoples' Republic of China is one of the fourteen signatories to the declaration recognising the Laotian Coalition Government, she, true to Mao's strategy of deceit and trickery, is doing everything in her power to help the Communists Pathet Lao in disrupting this Coalition. It is a fact too well-known by now that there are thousands of China-trained and well-equipped Pathet Lao Guerrillas operating in the valleys and plateaus of Laos, reinforced every month by an average of five hundred North-Vietnam Communists.

Here too, as in the case of Eastern European countries, the Coalition Government has had the deplorable effect of only strengthening the Communist elements in the Government and the country at the expense of the non-communists. It will be no wonder if in Laos before long the Neutralists are simply squeezed out of the Government by the Communists with the military aid of China.

President Kennedy of America recently sent his roving Ambassador Mr. Harriman to Moscow to discuss this problem with Mr. Khrushchev. Though Mr. Khrushchev is reported to have assured Mr. Harriman of his desire to abide by Geneva Agreements, the former appears to be powerless to check the expansionist moves of China in this area. As for U.S.A. though she is opposed to any partitioning of Laos as proposed by Communists Pathet Lao, she is not averse to the cease-fire talks going on between the neutralist Prince and the Pathet Lao Communists.

The net result of all these talks with the Communists has been a shooting game started again by the Pathet Lao Communists. Let India's 'Non-aligners' beware betimes of such talks with the Chinese Reds!

One wonders whether, with Non-alignment and Neutralism reigning supreme over the minds of the Asian leaders, Western Democracies feel that the game is lost for democracy in this region. They must be, therefore, trying now only to postpone the evil day of triumphant Communism in South East Asia, by supporting much against their will the weary cease-fire talks and the futile International Commissions.

KASHMIR AND WESTERN MILITARY AID

Mr. Nehru's categorical announcement that he has been assured on behalf of the British and American Governments that the Kashmir question is not directly linked with that of the arms-aid from the West, will no doubt dispel the grave misgivings

in the minds of Indians regarding the real intentions of these Western countries. One has to look at this question dispassionately in order to be able to arrive at right conclusions in this regard. The Western powers, particularly Britain had till recently vital and very intimate political and economic stakes in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and during the period of their long association with it, they had come to look upon the whole region as one geo-political unit. The present stand they are taking on the Kashmir issue vis-a-vis the Sino-Indian conflict, is to some extent rooted in this historical factor. These powers rightly think that India cannot be effectively defended against China's attack without the active sympathy and co-operation of Pakistan which has interlacing and fluid frontiers with the former and that Indo-Pak joint defence against China is inevitable. Besides, what these Western powers are concerned with more than any other is the containment of Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia.

They therefore naturally feel that Indo-Pak accord on Kashmir will strengthen India's defence system against China.

All press reports go to show that the Western powers have now got thoroughly disgusted with Pakistan's tactics of blackmail, not only against India but also against America and Britain. It is improbable therefore that these nations will any longer allow Pakistan to exploit India's adversity as her best opportunity to gain her own ends in Kashmir. Particularly they are offended at Pakistan's wooing China

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and signing a border pact with her. In the wake of the latest military strategy in this age of inter-continental missiles Pakistan's military importance in the anti-communist global strategy of the democratic world has considerably dwindled.

India can get both the disputes over Kashmir and Sino-Indian borders settled peacefully in her favour if she so wills it. Her size, population, natural resources, strategic position in the East are impressive enough. Pakistan can never hope to compete with her in this respect. The Western nations do realise all this. They now appear to be in a frame of mind to meet India more than half way, provided India on her part moves in the right direction and sheds off her pet illusions and dreams.

ANTI-SOCIAL AND ANTI-PEOPLE ACT

The Attorney General of India told the Lok Sabha the other day that it was competent to enact legislation on Compulsory Deposits and this piece of legislation did not attract the provisions of the Indian Constitution on Fundamental Rights. He further said that the restrictions imposed on the citizens' right 'to dispose of property' were reasonable and in the interests of the general public and that the measure provided for a form of control of 'the material resources of the community and their employment' in such a manner as to subserve the common good.

With all deference for the opinion of the Attorney General, we must say that it is doubtful whether the Constitution-makers had ever contemplated including the monthly earnings of salaried people in the offices and workers in factories and also the income of the farmers in the fields, in the phrase 'material resources of the community.' The Attorney General when confronted by Mr. A. P. Jain in the course of the discussion in the Parliament with the judgment of the Supreme Court that money was not 'property' under Article 19, the Attorney General replied in an evasive way that the court was entitled to its own opinion on the matter and that he still adhered to his own. In reply to Mr. Ranga, who raised the point whether half of the land revenue could be taken from the farmers under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme when the subject of land revenue came under the States List, the Attorney General said that one should look to the pith and substance of the legislation which refers to Compulsory Deposits on the basis of income urban or rural. Both these replies do not seem to have satisfied the members of the Parliament and the consensus of opinion is that the matter would not rest there and would have to be finally decided by the Supreme Court alone.

Apart from these obvious legal lacunae in the Bill, it must be also emphasised here that this legislation is also anti-social and anti-people, hitting hard as it does even the low income groups which are nearly semi-starved in these days of inflationary prices of essential commodities. Moreover, to judge from the statement of the Prime Minister himself there is

no emergency immediately facing the country to warrant the passing of such legislation in hot haste. It could have been deferred for some time to enable the Government and the people to reassess the emergency situation in the country even if it could not be altogether dropped. Thus the Bill itself is the most effective argument in favour of putting an end to the State of emergency declared by the Government.

REGIONALISM, THE ONLY VICTOR

Prime Minister Nehru, while defending the Union Languages Bill, is reported to have observed that knowledge of English is quite essential even for the development, of regional languages and further complimented the Madras Government on having made Tamil the official language of the State. Frankly speaking we cannot compliment Mr. Nehru on his having approved of the reactionary step taken by the Madras Government to accord Tamil the place of the official language of the State, though we heartily agree with the first part of his statement.

This move to make regional language the State language could be encouraged only if we ceased to believe that India is one united nation and not a conglomeration of various nations and principalities. If each one of the Indian States should adopt the regional language as its official language, the inter-state link through a common language will be considerably loosened, if not completely destroyed. In the result, the States will be isolated from one another and increasingly tend to become sub-nations.

It is therefore high time Mr. Nehru and his Government gave a decent burial to Hindi-English controversy by declaring English to be the sole official language at the Centre and in the States. Hindi and other regional languages could be usefully introduced at the district level since district offices have little to do with States other than their own. The sooner our leaders realise that in this artificially-created Hindi-English conflict it is only linguistic regionalism that has come out as the true victor, the better it will be for national integration and cohesion.

—D. M. Kulkarni

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'The way to have good and safe Government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing it to every one exactly the function he is competent to.'

—JAFFERSON.

'The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God and there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence.'

—JOHN ADAMS.

"THE PERIL TO LIBERTY TODAY COMES FROM THE LEFT FROM SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNISM".

—WILLIAM CHAMBERLIN.

The Danger Of Cultural Lag

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Most of India's problems arise from cultural lag in many fields. The author suggests the creation of an Indianisation Department on a Central Scale with branches in all the States on the model of the Americanisation Department in U.S.A. In political sphere too, a knowledge of democratic conventions and institutions and democratic administration as also of the interference of International Communism in world affairs and India's domestic matters, should be spread and broadcast among the people.

Social advance does not take place at an equal pace on all fronts. New factors appear first in some area of social life and culture in respect of some trait of culture, material or nonmaterial. The factor of change may consist in a new object of use for peace or war or a new idea or value in regard to established norms of behaviour. But the rest of society may continue in the old ways while the new elements are having their effect in relevant spheres of social action. The discrepancy between the new and the old, the dynamic and the static elements in social advance is spoken of by sociologists as **Cultural Lag**.

Especially in the modern era after the development of technological industry and the changed outlook on nature and life introduced by science, various forms of cultural lag are appearing in modern societies bringing in their train many problems of social maladjustment and distress.

These social dislocations are particularly marked in ancient societies such as ours owing to the impact of modern forces, industrial, political and scientific. The achievement of national independence by many Asian and African peoples after the two world wars has accentuated the malaise and crisis consequent on the necessity for adapting new ways of life and re-making old forms of living.

Today in India most of our problems arise from this matrix of the impact of modern forces and the delay in adapting inherited forms of life and behaviour so as to make the best use of new opportunities. Any further delay in such accommodation and persistence in cultural lag on many fronts, material and psychological will seriously jeopardise nation-building and the smooth development of social skills essential for progress. Far from contributing to progress, failure to solve the problems set by cultural lag in many fields may spell the loss of national independence itself together with all the evils flowing therefrom!

The continued patronage to khadi and village industries in the way in which Congress leaders are giving at the expense of the common man not committed to these fads, is an instance of cultural lag on the economic plane. Crores of rupees are being wasted on this Gandhian vested interest based more on sentiment and the inability to change old habits and attitudes than on any proved utility for anyone. The economics and politics of khadi and village industries need probing from a scientific point of view.

The refusal to rethink the Gandhian inheritance of prohibition is another form of costly cultural lag which is preventing the cutting of enormous losses and the scotching of vast accretions of corruption in the related services.

The lip service to panchayat raj and decentralisation that has led to a vast extension of the party machine to rural areas, introducing democratic corruptions into the remotest corners of the country is another form of cultural lag.

The concept of decentralisation has many meanings and the exact limits within which and the exact area in which it is wholesome and necessary in economic and political life at the regional level need to be explored on the basis of actual experience and the implications of federal government in a parliamentary democracy of the kind that we have adopted.

The kind of panchayat or village self-government that had a measure of success in pre-British days may be quite inapplicable today. The practice of selection of members of self-governing committees by the popular vote is introducing all-India politics and party strife into village life. This is unavoidable.

But how much of power can be delegated to these units of local autonomy is a delicate question.

The cultural lag between the spot-light of leadership at the level of State and Union politics and that of village interests and personalities is so great that democracy in panchayati raj is becoming a mockery and a menace to good government and decent social life already!

A recent conflict between two groups in a village in Madras State accompanied by bloodshed and the intervention by military police to restore order is eloquent of the distance between the two areas of political life in India today—Central and rural. Two groups came to blows on a dispute about which side should have the honour of waving a towel on the channel headworks on a festival day to symbolise the beginning of the flow of water in the irrigation canal for the year!

This resembles the old fights even among Brahmin sects as to which side should have prasad first in the temple! The matter has often gone to High Courts and involved the expenditure of lakhs of rupees!

They can think of nothing better on which to lavish their devotion and no better symbols of social

distinction more nearly related to social service! This is cultural lag of the most typical kind.

There are people who will spend hours in the morning after their ceremonial bath feeding ants and insects! But they would be hard and ruthless in their business deals and would refuse to aid schools or orphanages!

Even Central Ministers encourage sadhus (monks) (vide the sadhu samaj) with government funds to travel and preach to the ignorant people! Their hope is that the prestige attached to the yellow robe by the ignorant masses could be mobilised in support of the ruling party! Some time ago, a mysterious railway train visited most cities in the country—all for sadhus who were supposed to preach morality to the people en route at wayside stations and the principal cities. When the sadhu train arrived, the local chief minister presided at a meeting in the town hall to facilitate the sadhu campaign! And this in a country that has a modern leader like Jawaharlal Nehru as prime Minister who is never tired of upholding the principles of secularism as his life mission! And under a Constitution that prohibits expenditure of public funds for religious propaganda!

The whole ethics of renunciation and the idea of moksha (a transcendental goal) as the support of morality is contrary to the spirit of secularism as understood by the Prime Minister but yet such queer proceedings as the encouragement of sadhu samajas take place without much protest by anyone!

The lack of the requisite degree of social cohesion and national unity necessary to support the many-sided programmes of economic planning and industrialisation as well as that of all-out national defence on an adequate scale points to another imbalance and instance of cultural lag which is proving dangerous to national survival.

The spontaneous emotional response to the Chinese Aggression and the unity displayed in demanding an all-out resistance to the invader is yet too frail and thin for the burdens it imposes on the people.

If the emotional unity is to be rendered permanent and built into national character, the traditional modes of communication between (and among) the different levels groups and sections of the people (which are so limited by caste, snobbery, notions of inferiority and superiority should be over-hauled and remodelled consciously.

The gulfs between region and region, language and language, rich and poor, office-holder and the common man, have to be consciously narrowed and abridged and ultimately destroyed. Inter-caste dinners and marriages have to be encouraged and quickened as a matter of official policy, unobtrusively but persistently.

The law against untouchability has of course done some good and the policy of encouragement of the scheduled castes and tribes by way of scholarships and favour in regard to entry into administrative offices has done some good.

But specially in the interior the sinister bar against social intercourse remains too strong yet.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya precipitated a riot when as chief minister he encouraged untouchable wrestlers to participate in the wrestling tournament or bouts before the Palace during Dasarah! He was threatened with assault and the idea had to be given up! The wrestlers of the caste Hindu section would not permit the entry of untouchable countrymen into the sacred arena!

The idea of the sacred has to be consciously transferred from old caste contours to the national frontier to include all nationals from the lowliest, the lost and the disinherited.

Only the mixing of blood can overcome the barrier of caste and tribe and forge the new bond of national fellowship with hoops of steel, rather with filaments of the nervous system and mind. A new mind and a new soul establishing free contact at all levels from economic exchange to divine worship, from public meeting to participation in art and social fellowship has to be developed.

The long series of attacks by the Muslims on Hindus in the pre-independence period in the principal cities and towns of the country created a sense of danger which induced the Hindus to admit the untouchables to their society. But the mood has now passed.

The Chinese aggression has again highlighted the necessity to fuse the thousands of castes and sects and tribes of Indian society into a single national society with freedom for individuals and families to move up and down, from region to region, and State to State. The freedom promised in the Constitution should be watchfully secured in actual practice. All instances of discrimination against any group anywhere should be investigated promptly from the standpoint of all-India nationalism and citizenship and just grievances redressed.

Like the Americanisation department, we should have an Indianisation department on a Central Scale with branches in States to look after this aspect of the consolidation of citizenship on the basis of natal sentiment. This is a cultural lag that should not be neglected any longer.

Another sphere in which there is a dangerous measure of cultural lag is political thought.

In particular, the objectives and activities of international communism through the Indian communist party and through foreign agents need to be watched on behalf of the nation by the Governments of the country.

Full information about world politics in general and international communism in particular and its moves in the cold war and its tactics of infiltration should be studied by impartial scholars and institutes should be set up for the purpose.

The way in which international communism is interfering in the public mind and internal affairs in our country is becoming dangerous. The public is unaware of the danger involved in their activities. There is no institution in the country devoted to a

(Continued on Page 8)

The Mysterious Rajkot Fast

By M. N. Tholal,

In one of my articles on Gandhi-Nehru succession I was unfair to Sir Maurice Gwyer and the Viceroy. Further study on the intriguing subject of the Rajkot fast reveals that, far from being a political award to please Gandhi and strengthen his hands against Subhas Bose, the Gwyer Award was perfectly justified. My mistake was due to the fact that the note of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot to Sardar Patel was not given the publicity it deserved. Even Gandhi for sometime withheld it from the public for reasons of his own. I was misled by Gandhi's statement that "it was no part of the Sardar's duty to publish the Thakore Saheb's letter about the composition of the Committee" — which was disregarded in the composition of the Committee and led to the breach of faith, which in turn led to the Rajkot Fast. But my main theme stands — that the Rajkot drama was enacted to down Bose. Indeed, a close scrutiny of its various scenes throws a flood of light on Gandhi and his technique and how his hold over the Congress was something which he could not dream of losing.

To understand the drama and its motives and reasons it is necessary to follow events in their chronological order. That there was a breach of faith on the part of the Thakore Saheb admits of no doubt, for his note to Sardar Patel stated: "Agreed that the seven (non-official) members (out of ten) of the Reforms Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the said announcement of this date are to be recommended by Sardar Patel and they are to be nominated by us." But did this breach of faith justify the haste with which Mahatma Gandhi undertook the fast unto death at Rajkot, with of course, as we shall see, all necessary precautions that it should not end in his death?

In the middle of December, 1938, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution drafted by Gandhi saying that "considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggle in the States". On January 25 Sardar Patel announced resumption of the struggle in Rajkot on account of the "cold-blooded breach of a solemn covenant" by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot. Gandhi supported it. On February 3, 1939, Gandhi issued a statement from Segaoon saying that the "Musalman and Bhayat objection to the personnel of the Committee was engineered after the event". Gandhi insisted on a majority of Sardar Patel's nominees on the Reforms Committee.

Before starting for Rajkot on February 25 Gandhi had received news of the discontinuation of the hunger-strike by the Rajkot prisoners, so that there was no urgent compelling reason for him to leave for Rajkot, particularly when a giant of the Sardar's stature could be there to see to it that the agreement with him was honoured. Indeed, Gandhi was in no condition to leave for Rajkot. His doctors

had ordered him absolute rest, but he refused to allow his Secretary, Pyarelal, to publish the note about his health which was very unsatisfactory. Not only all journeyings but even the usual morning and evening walks had been forbidden. On his way to Rajkot, which he reached on February 28, Gandhi wrote to Pyarelal: "How mysterious are the ways of God. This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going? What for? I have thought nothing of these things. And if God guides me what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance. The fact is it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do not come. Indeed, there is no vacuum—but I mean to say there is no thought about the mission."

"MY HEART IS THERE"

On March 2, on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, Gandhi confirmed to Pressmen his decision to fast unto death if his request to the Thakore Saheb was not complied with. Wrote Gandhi to the Thakore Saheb: "If you cannot see your way to accept my suggestions before noon tomorrow, my fast will commence from that time and it will continue till after acceptance." He asked him to "accept joyfully my submission..." Just one day's notice was given of a fast unto death. Why this unduly short notice? So that the fast may synchronise with the Congress session in which his chelas were to deal with that man, Bose who wouldn't accept his submissions joyfully?

Nevertheless, necessary precautions had to be taken to rob the fast of a fatal issue. Before he started the fast Gandhi had sent a message to Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy. The message was kept a secret, although he abhorred secrecy. The Viceroy, in reply to Gandhi's message, on March 6 offered the services of the Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, to arbitrate. Gandhi broke his fast on March 7, although none of his submissions had been accepted by the Thakore Saheb. On breaking his fast, he said, "One word about the Congress. My heart is there, but I see that I will not be able to reach there. I must not divide my attention between Tripuri and Rajkot... I have work to do here (Rajkot)." A critic asked Gandhi: "What have you gained to warrant the breaking of your fast? Not one of the terms of your ultimatum to the Thakore Saheb has been fulfilled, except the release of prisoners. But you never took the fast for their release." Gandhi replied, "The letter killeth: the spirit giveth life". The letter, indeed, would have killed him, while the spirit (as he interpreted it) had saved him.

On March 6, just on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, Gandhi told the Press: "I have made every effort that is humanly possible to go to Tripuri, but God willed it otherwise." Would it not have been

truer to say: "I have made every effort that is humanly possible to avoid going to Tripuri and to be frightfully busy at Rajkot?" But what was he doing at Rajkot, with the whole thing in abeyance, awaiting the Chief Justice's award? There was no question of dividing attention between Tripuri and Rajkot when the Rajkot affair was, at least for the time being, over. It was not God but Bose that willed it otherwise. Let us now have a look at the doings of his democratic disciples assembled at Tripuri, with a glimpse at the background of their activities.

On January 24, 1939, seven members of the Congress Working Committee issued a statement questioning the validity of the reasons for a contest in the Congress presidential election given in the statement of Subhas Bose. They were: Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jammalal Bajaj, Shankarrao Deo, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai and Kripalani. They supported Pattabhi Sitarammayya's candidature. (It must be admitted here they had every right to do so.) Bose retorted by saying, "I feel strongly that we should have during this momentous year a genuine anti-Federationist in the Presidential chair." On January 25 Sardar Patel stated, "At informal consultations at which Azad, Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Bhulabhai Desai, Kripalani and Mahatma Gandhi were present, not by design but by accident, it was agreed that Pattabhi was the only choice left."

"COME OUT OF THE CONGRESS"

In the contest that followed Bose defeated Pattabhi Sitarammayya and Gandhi issued the following statement over Bose's victory: "The defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat... This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance... If they (the minority) cannot keep pace with it (his policy and programme) they can come out of the Congress. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress may come out..." So great was Gandhi's joy in his defeat that he asked his followers to come out of the Congress. No wonder his disciples responded by resigning from the Congress Working Committee. On February 22, 1939, the resignations of 12 members of the Congress Working Committee were announced, followed by that of Jawaharlal Nehru. The twelve were: Patel, Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Naidu, Bhulabhai Desai, Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Deo, Mehtab, Kripalani, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bajaj and Chaffar Khan. In their letter, believed to have been drafted by Gandhi, they told President Bose: "We feel that the time has come when the country should have a clear-cut policy not based on compromise between different incompatible groups of the Congress. It is but right, therefore, that you should select a homogeneous cabinet representing the views of the majority."

It was this "homogeneous cabinets" plea which

led to the split with the Muslim League in 1937 despite the pre-election gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the League in favour of a coalition cabinet in U.P. Within two years it was raising its ugly, unpatriotic head again to divide Bengal from the rest of India. And where was the incompatibility? Did Bose stand for subservience to Britain? If he thought the Rightists were secretly in favour of Federation, as did many others, was it such an unpardonable crime that he should have been expelled from the Congress for the misunderstanding? The funniest of the resignations was that of Jawaharlal Nehru, for he at least was no Rightist and had, indeed, been bewailing his lot as a Leftist President in a Rightist Congress. Was it for him and men like him to resent the election of a Leftist as Congress President, not at the sufferance of Mahatma Gandhi, as his own elections had been, but in defiance of the Mahatma? Was it for him to non-co-operate when the time came to pat his comrade on the back and say "Shabash"? But that is exactly what he did. He also resigned from the Working Committee. For, the clever Mahatma had been hanging before him the bait of succession to isolate Bose. And the Mahatma, as he used to say about himself, was a democrat by instinct. "As for Jawaharlal," Gandhi told Gandhi Seva Sanghis, "We know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart union between us which which no intellectual differences can break." No, indeed, for the heart union sprang from identity of interest, not national interest but their respective interest in which the country was nowhere in the picture. If intellectual differences lead a man to follow one he differs from, there is something obviously radically wrong with both the mind and the heart of one if not of both—certainly that of the follower—and of the leader also if he is a great admirer of the follower. That should pass as an indisputable proposition.

(To be continued)

(Continued from Page 6)

study of its activities on a scientific basis. Government and wealthy people should without delay finance competent individuals and institutions to carry on this work in the public interest.

A knowledge of democratic conventions and institutions and the art of democratic administrations should also be spread and broadcast among the people. Discussion clubs should be started in every town and village. Public funds should be used in support of such activities. Such support is more justifiable than that now given to Bharat Sevak Samaj, National Discipline Institutions, Sadhu Samaj and other such frieks. The subject is vast. A few of the lines in the vast process of modernisation along which conscious planned effort is necessary have been indicated here. This is part of creative administration which is essential to support external economic progress and political machinery.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

POPULATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

by Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

Of all our economic, social & political problems the population problem constitutes the most fundamental and crucial problem to day and unless this problem is satisfactorily solved all our talk about economic growth is meaningless because population is intimately connected with the economic growth. During the last twelve years we are trying to achieve rapid economic growth in order to raise the standard of living of the underfed, underclothed people but the progress made so far clearly indicates that our Government has miserably failed to achieve the desired results and the main cause of this fact is the alarming population growth. India is rich in numbers of population and man power resources, but poor in economic achievement. According to the 1961 census it has 443 millions and next to China it has the largest population among the countries in the world. During the last decade i.e. between 1951 and 1961 we increased by 77 millions or about 21.5 per cent and this is the largest increase that our country has witnessed. The most important feature of this growth is the heterogeneous increase of population in the various states of the Indian Union. The increase is 34.39 in Assam and 32.94 in West Bengal but only 11.73 in Madras. There are various factors behind this tremendous and unwelcome increase and the most important factor is the high birth rate and declining death rate. During the last decade rate has declined from 40 to 27 per thousand but the birth rate has not registered any serious decline during the last few years. As a result of this rapid increase in our population the standard of living of the teeming millions has remained practically stagnant in spite of the fact that we are registering advances and improvements in every sector of our economy year by year as a result of five year plans. Thus the basic economic problem is demographic. We wish to raise or increase the per capita income of our people and according to the Planning Commission we have to increase our per capita by 5 per cent per annum in the Third Five Year Plan. This will not be possible unless attempts are being made to reduce our birth rate. Unfortunately in the existing circumstances of underdeveloped countries the decline in the birth rate occurs very slowly compared with the rapid decline in mortality in the course of economic development. To raise the per capita income and standard of living of the existing population it is necessary that our birth rate should fall to match with the declining mortality. Economic growth which is generally measured on the basis of undimensional indicator, namely, per capita income is very much dependent on the size and course of population growth. Really speaking

the rate of economic growth essentially depends on the rate of the growth of population, the proportion of the current income of the country devoted to the capital formation and the return obtained from the investment undertaken. Most of the underdeveloped countries save only about 5 per cent of their national income and invest it in economic progress. According to Spengler an investment of 4 per cent of its national income is necessary if population increases by 1 per cent in order to maintain the existing standard of living of the population.

As we save less than 8 per cent of our national income a population growth rate of even two percent can be considered to be explosive rate. This impressive annual increase of eight million people nullifies all our efforts to achieve our objective. What is necessary is the proper population policy based on and balanced between population numbers and the basic needs of other people on the one hand and the available resources on the other. The Planning Commission has not formulated a proper population policy and this is an important lacuna in our Five Year Plans. Economic growth of our economy cannot be accelerated unless positive and democratic population policy free from coercion and force is adopted. Such a policy must consider the objectives to be attained and means to be adopted. In the opinion of one school of thought there is no need for such a policy because once we raise our standard of living of our people the birth rate will automatically fall because in order to maintain the higher standard of living they would automatically limit their families. The second view is that that low standard of living cannot be substantially raised unless the birth rate is greatly reduced because the new entrants will consume the increased production that takes place as a result of economic growth with the result that the standard of living of the existing population remains stagnant. The low incomes of the poor people are hardly sufficient to increase production. There is truth in this argument because production and population are related to each other. At the same time it is equally true that increased population does not necessarily mean increased production. In the present circumstances we can accelerate the rate of our economic growth and raise the per capita income of our people and standard of living only by reducing the birth rate. The higher rate of increase in population has meant in the first instance a lower rate of growth in per capita income the Third Plan Report clearly admits the fact that though national income has increased by 42 per cent. "the increase in per capita has been only 16 per cent owing to the increase in population". "What is even more signi-

ificant is that the per capita income target of the Second Plan has been almost fulfilled only in monetary terms but has missed the real income target due to inflation in price level. The impact of inflation on income level seems to be compensated by the deflationary effect of population growth on per capita income ultimately fulfilling the per capita target of the first decade of planning in monetary terms." In the first year of the Third Plan national income in real terms has increased only by 2.2 per cent over the previous year and this increase is just equal to the current rate of the population growth. It means that the per capita income has failed to increase and this will affect the economic growth in the coming years. We intend to achieve the take off stage leading to self-sustained growth in the Third Plan but higher population growth delays take off which requires saving—investment ratio according to Prof. Rostow of 15 to 20 per cent of national income in an underdeveloped country. Between 1951 and 61 the net investment has increased from 7 per cent to 11 per cent but this increase has been neutralised by the population growth which increased from 1.3 per cent to 2.1 per cent in the same period. Between 1960-62 our domestic investment was only 8.5 per cent a rate which is just sufficient to maintain the status quo of the economy and standard of living of the people. We intend to raise the total investment to 14 per cent but this can be realised only if we can stabilise our population growth at the level of 2 per cent per annum and this can take place if an effective curb on population growth is made; without such a curb improvements in the income and the levels of living will not be possible.

To achieve this objective we have to adopt the policy of family planning. In the First Plan the Planning Commission has recommended the programme of family planning in the following terms: "It is apparent that the population control can be achieved only by the reduction of the birth rate to the extent necessary to stabilise the population at a level consistent with the requirements of national economy. This can be secured only by the realisation of the need for family limitation on a wide scale by the people, the main appeal for family planning is based on consideration of health and welfare of the family. Family limitation or spacing of children is necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for the mother and better care and upbringing of children." In the Second Plan Government has adopted family planning as an indispensable policy and this can be seen from the following: "The problem of regulating India's population from the dual standpoint of size and quality is of utmost importance to national welfare and national planning". In the Third Plan great stress has been laid on family planning and the Planning Commission has stated that the objective of stabilising the growth of population over a reasonable period of time must be the very centre of planned development. The programme of family planning has to be undertaken not merely as a major development programme but a nation-wide movement which embodies a basic attitude towards a better life for the individual, the family and the community. The available experi-

ence in family planning methods in various parts of the country especially in rural areas shows that conventional contraceptives are not very successful because of the illiteracy, ignorance and conservatism of the majority of our people. What is necessary is that the contraceptive should be cheap, effective, safe, harmless and reliable. In our country due to poverty and backwardness of our people it is problematical whether we can reduce the birth rate by means of family planning. In spite of this, action should be taken to achieve an effective decline in fertility within the short period that is in the period of Third Plan so that the people can reap the fruits of economic growth in the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods. The programme of family planning must be placed on war footing. The programme of family planning must reach every nook and corner of our country so that the people can not only reap the economic gains but assure a decent standard of living to every family in our country.

SALT TAX

The Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai refused to levy a tax on salt on the ground, among others, that Mahatma Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were opposed to the tax.

Gokhale's opposition was neither absolute nor final. He pleaded for the reduction of the duty, particularly when the budgets showed surpluses over some years. He even anticipated increases in revenue by a reduction of duty. In his budget speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1904, he said:

The soundest and best policy in the matter—even financially—would, therefore, seem to be to give rise on expanding revenue on an expanding consumption under a diminishing scale of duties.

His further observation is very relevant at the present time.

Again, every reduction effected in the duty gives the Government a valuable financial reserve, which may be used in times of a sudden emergency.

Subsequently, the late Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said that, though it was the ambition of ancient monarchs and the British rulers to abolish the salt-tax as soon as possible, even Indian non-officials had come to regard it as an integral part of the Indian tax system, and that the only difference was about its incidence. Mr. Morarji Desai has the sanction of Gokhale to levy a minimum salt tax in normal times, and to increase it in times of emergency.

It is not unfair to say that the Mahatma's opposition was motivated more by political than fiscal considerations. In any event, he rated truth and non-violence as of the first importance and far above the salt tax. Those who have violated non-violence cannot convincingly quote the Mahatma to discount the Salt Tax. It would amount to making a convenience of him.

—P. Kodanda Rao.

Failure Of Gold Control In Russia

ROMAN O. ZYBENKO

The USSR is the second producer of gold in the world, after South Africa. Between 1946 and 1958 the average annual Soviet production was 15 million ounces, while the South African average for the same period was 17.7 million ounces. The averages of other gold-producing countries for the same period were considerably lower: Canada—4.4 million ounces, USA—1.7 million, Australia—1 million.

Observation of the world market shows that the Soviet government parts with its gold very unwillingly. It sells gold only when it is compelled to by domestic or foreign economic circumstances. After the heavy sale of Soviet gold on the international market in 1947 in order to rebuild the war-shattered economy, a large amount (2.1 million ounces) was sold at the end of 1953, apparently in order to assist the Soviet Zone of Germany after the Berlin uprising.

Like all other industries in the Soviet Union, gold-mining is a state monopoly. Authorized gold-mining is done in two different ways—through state undertaking using equipment of advanced design, and through prospecting "artels" or co-operative enterprises, which mine the gold by fairly primitive methods. According to Soviet law, the artels are required to keep strict accounts and to deliver their gold to the state only. But in fact the law is frequently violated, according to an article by E. Gorelov and A. Krylov in *Ekonomicheskaya gazeta* (November 24, 1962). Local authorities and state receiving centre's permit operations by private prospectors or "voluntary producers," who receive permission to mine, acquire the gold without official supervision and accordingly are able to dispose of a large part of their gold on the black market. According to the same article, gold is stolen in the artels, the state mines and the washing and concentrating mills. For instance, 50 kilograms of "unreceipted" gold was found in the apartment of a certain Shumilin, an inspector of the Magadan mine, another 13 kilograms was found in the possession of two passengers at Magadan airport. The article goes on:

"The theft of gold at the Ynykchan mine is a frequent occurrence. The mine foreman Dyachkov, the cashiers of the gold-receiving office Borodin and Gordievsky and an operator of the washing apparatus, Mindayeva, systematically appropriated gold and sold it to dealers. A large group of gold thieves was active in Tygda raion of Amur Oblast. Amongst the criminals were the state controller of one of the districts, Verkhotur, the minitor Ergashev, the districts, Verkhotur, the monitor Ergashev, the gold-carrier Kosach, the mine foreman Mysak and others."

"Dealers and speculators," says the same article, come to the goldfields from every part of the Soviet Union:

"These people come together from all ends of the country to the eastern areas during the summer washing season like flies after jam and often win over undependable workers to crime."

They sell the gold thus obtained to jewellers, dental technicians, makers of ornaments, and so on at exorbitant prices. In Sverdlovsk Oblast one such group fashioned more than 30 kilograms of gold into rings, ear-rings and bracelets in a short period of time. According to the same newspaper, there are underground networks of private suppliers and consumers of gold, as well as middlemen. The Black market in gold, they maintain:

"... is to a large extent favoured by the obviously imperfect system of gold prices fixed for prospectors and voluntary producers. This is a very important problem requiring the most careful study."

While the Soviet press reflects serious misgiving regarding the use of "private channels" by dentists and jewellers to obtain gold for their professional work, the fact that "gold stolen from the state leaks through other channels also causes the Soviet government the greatest alarm. Large quantities, it is reported, are accumulated in private hands and disappear underground. In connection with the trial of a group of large-scale currency dealers in Khar'kov, the newspaper *Pravda Ukrainy* recently declared:

"About six kilograms of gold, including 330 objects of gold, platinum and silver, 48 gold watches and many diamonds were discovered in the possession of the accused and were confiscated They had hidden them in soap, kitchen walls, the doors of a garage, under the pavement and even in a grave." (January 5, 1963).

The Soviet press abounds in similar reports of "criminal deals" by various "hoarders and money-grubbers" whose hoards of jewels and gold had been confiscated. An article entitled "Dirty Gold," in *Izvestia* (October 3, 1962), throws light on the large scale of these operations. One group operated over the whole of the country:

"The Moscow 'currency speculators' bought gold from foreigners and it passed through the hands of a third person to Zaitov, who was also receiving gold stolen from distant mines. He forwarded it to his agents in Tashkent, Andizhan, Bukhara and Tiflis. There it was resold to local plunderers of socialist property, who had gained so much money by stealing that they did not know what to do with it."

The gold, said the article, was illegally transported throughout the country, mainly by the children of the directors of the "enterprise." One of the "couriers" is described as follows: "a modern young man...with an athletic physique and good-looking, an excellent metal craftsman and fitter, a pas-

sionate football player." Another courier" was the daughter of one of the directors and was a graduate of the Plekhanov Institute in Moscow. It is characteristic that most of the young people in the organization had completed a higher education and in many cases were Party members. Another director of the enterprise, Makhmutov, had three children—one son, a major in the army, and two daughters, one a lawyer, the other a doctor. "These people," says the newspaper, "connected with the criminal world, wore a 'mask for going out'" and "for a long time lived a double life." The earnings of the members of the organization were very high. One of the female members in Moscow was found to possess six kilograms of gold in coin and nuggets, pearls, some strings of which were valued at 20,000 new roubles, 50,000 roubles in cash and State Loan Bonds to the value of hundreds of thousands of roubles.

The same paper, *Izvestia* (January 27, 1963), in an article entitled "The Octopus Made Harmless," reports the case of a Leningrad currency dealer, Zuikov, director of a commercial centre, who acquired a million roubles' worth of property. It was discovered that he had a "museum-storeroom" containing pictures by the famous artists Aivazovsky and Shishkin, cans full of gold, more than one-thousand tsarist coins, valuable diamonds, several thousand American dollars and, finally, an enormous medallion, the size of a large saucer, with a bas-relief of the Emperor Alexander II, also of pure gold. He did not keep his gold ingots at home, but had buried them in a cemetery, in the grave of his own daughter.

Further reports in *Izvestia* (February 3, 1963) and *Radyanska Ukraina* (February 3, 1963) deal with the trial of two "bands" of speculators in gold, diamonds and foreign currency on an enormous scale. The members were of various nationalities and strata of the population—one member was a fighter pilot. Both these organizations also forged money and sold it. There was an electroplating workshop in Leningrad, and members of the Khar'kov group manufactured gold ten-rouble pieces to look like tsarist coinage and became the suppliers of a highly profitable underground mint.

All categories of the Soviet population who have excess money—higher Party officials and economic administrators, senior officers in the armed forces and ordinary speculators—are interested in gold. Many of them, unable to use their high salaries to buy their own houses, automobiles, motor cycles, television sets, refrigerators etc., invest their money in the foreign currency and gold acquired by others through theft from the state. Ordinary Soviet citizens, however, also often buy gold to lay away "for a rainy day," even at the expense of giving up basic necessities of life. The recent introduction of the death penalty for speculation in gold and foreign currency shows the extent of this type of crime in the Soviet Union.

—Freedom First

IOC HAS NOT MET NEEDS ESTIMATES BODY'S STRICTURES ON IOC'S POOR PERFORMANCE

NEW DELHI.

The Estimates Committee has reported to the Lok Sabha that the performance of the Indian Oil Company in meeting the full requirements of Government organisations had not been quite encouraging and that the future plans were also vague.

The company, wholly owned by the Government, set up with the object of distributing the production of the public-sector refineries and also of taking over ultimately 50 per cent. of the import trade in petroleum products, was expected, "within the shortest possible time", to supply the needs of all Central State Government organisations.

In its 28th report presented to the House recently, the committee regretted that the company had not even compiled complete information on the estimated requirements of petroleum products of the Government organisations, nor had it formulated detailed plans and targets to meet the demands progressively.

The committee criticised the tardy development of the company's storage capacity and pointed out that, while the first phase of its plan had contemplated a total capacity of 235,400 tonnes, the company was able to develop a tankage of 131,600 tonnes, that is, only 55.5 per cent. In the second phase also, the programme was lagging behind.

IMPORTS CURTAILED

It was mainly because the company was not prepared to receive them that oil imports from the U.S.S.R. had to be curtailed. The Committee had an assurance, however, that the full quantity of targeted imports would be received by the end of the fourth year.

The committee also commented adversely on the four-year agreement which IOC entered into with Hindustan Organisers in 1960 for the bulk sale of 40,000 tonnes of superior kerosene and 5,000 tonnes of high-speed diesel oil.

It said the terms of the agreement seemed to be very much in favour of Hindustan Organisers and many unusual features in the transaction suggested that proper care and thought had not been exercised by the board of IOC.

The agreement will be in force till December, 1964, and is terminable after that by either party on a year's notice. The managing director of IOC informed the committee during evidence that he proposed to end the agreement after giving due notice.

After examining the company's finances and accounts the committee expressed surprise that, instead of making a profit, the company had, from 1959-60 to 1961-62, incurred a loss of Rs. 17 lakhs. According to certain calculations placed before the committee the company should have made a profit of Rs. 29.53 lakhs.

The Individual vs. The State

From 'True Civilization' by Josiah Warren

Nothing is more common than the remarks that "no two persons are alike," that "circumstances alter cases," that "we must agree to disagree," etc., and yet we are constantly forming institutions which require us to be alike, which make no allowance for the individuality of persons or of circumstances, and which render it necessary for us to agree, and leave us no liberty to differ from each other, nor to modify our conduct according to circumstances.

On what, then, rest all customs and institutions which demand conformity? They are all directly opposed to individuality, and therefore false. Every person is by nature constituted to be his or her own law, his own church—each individual is a system within himself. The great social problem must be solved with the broadest possible admission of the inalienable right of supreme individuality, which forbids any attempt to govern each other, and confines all our legislation to the adjustment and regulation of our intercourse or commerce with each other.

To require uniformity in thought, feeling or action, is a fundamental error in human legislation—a madness which would be equalled only by requiring all to possess the same countenance, the same voice, or the same stature.

Each individual should be free at all times to differ from every other in thought, feeling, word and deed; and free to differ from himself, or to change from time to time. In other words, every one is constituted by nature to be, at all times, sovereign of himself, or herself, and of everything that constitutes a part of his or her individuality. Society, to be harmonious and successful, must be so constituted that there shall be no demand for an outward show of conformity or uniformity.

Theorists have told us that laws and governments are made for the security of person and property; but it must be evident to most minds that laws and governments never have, never will accomplish this proposed object. Although they have had all the world at their control for thousands of years, they have brought it to a worse condition than that in which they found it, in spite of immense improvements in mechanisms, divisions of labour, and other elements of civilization. On the contrary, under the plausible pretext of securing person and property, they have spread wholesale destitution, famine and wretchedness in every frightful form over all parts of the earth, where peace and security might otherwise have prevailed. They have shed more blood, committed more murders, tortures and other frightful crimes in the struggles against each other for the privilege of governing, than society ever would or could have suffered in the total absence of all government.

It is impossible for anyone who has read the history of governments and the operation of laws to feel secure in person and property under any form of government or any code of laws whatever.

They invade the private household; they impertinently meddle with, and in their blind and besotted wantonness presume to regulate, the most sacred individual feelings. No feelings of security, no happiness can exist in the governed under such circumstances. They set up rules and laws to which they require conformity, while conformity is impossible, and while neither rulers nor ruled can tell how the laws will be interpreted or administered till they have been repeatedly infringed, and punishment has been inflicted; under such circumstances no security for the governed can exist.

A citizen may be suddenly hurried away from his home and despairing family, shut up in a horrid prison, charged with a crime of which he is totally innocent; he may die in prison or on the gallows, and his family may die of mortification and broken hearts. No security can exist where this may happen; yet all these are the operations of laws and governments, which are professedly instituted for the security of person and property.

Rulers claim a right to rise above, and control, the individual, his labor, his trade, his time, and his property, against his own judgment and inclination, while security of person and property cannot exist in anything less than having the supreme government of himself and all his own interests; therefore, security cannot exist under any government whatever.

They compel the individual to desert his family and risk or lay down his life in wars in which he feels no wish to engage. They leave him no choice, no freedom of action upon those very points where his most vital interests are at stake. He can feel no security under governments.

Great crimes are committed by the government of one nation against another, to gratify the ambition or lust of rulers; the people of both nations are thus set to destroy the persons and property of each other, and would be murdered as traitors if they refused. This is the "security of person and property" afforded by governments. With regard to security, we see that in the wide range of the world's bloody history there is not any one horrid feature so frightful, so appalling, as the recklessness, the cold-blooded indifference with which governments have sacrificed person and property instead of protecting person and property.

— Reproduced from "Way Out", School of Living, Ohio.

CRUCIAL TALKS ON KASHMIR

(From Our Correspondent)

Despite what is appearing to the contrary in the Press, it may be taken for granted that Prime Minister Nehru's talks with American Secretary of State Dean Rusk and British Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys are on Kashmir. They are obviously here because no progress could be made in Indo-Pak talks. That is also clear from the following background.

Speaking at the annual dinner of the International Relations Society of Karachi University on April 16, Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto told the West to make any further arms assistance to India conditional on a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Otherwise, he said, Pakistan would be driven to the point of taking a crucial decision with far-reaching consequences to the West's network of regional military alliances. The present situation facing India, he observed, provided the best opportunity for the solution of the Kashmir issue, and "it would be the greatest tragedy of the 20th century if this opportunity is lost". The crux of the matter now was whether the present emergency aid to India should be extended to "massive long term military assistance without first insisting on a settlement of the festering Kashmir dispute".

Along with this came the news that Pakistan is broadening bridal paths into motorable roads in some areas of East Pakistan around Tripura to facilitate movement of military trucks. She is also constructing spurs on the Feni river again opposite Sabroom town in violation of the Indo-Pak Agreement of 1962, and has started patrolling some of the disputed areas between Tripura and East Pakistan. As if further to emphasise the Sino-Pak threat, China is massing troops in the vicinity of Sikkim.

Testifying before the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee in behalf of President Kennedy's \$1,400 million request for military assistance, U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara said on April 8, "Political and economic factors, including India's effort to help itself and reduce the vulnerability of the sub-continent by contributing to the resolution of the India-Pakistan differences, will be given due consideration in arriving at our final recommendations to the President." This means that the warning given by the Pakistan Foreign Minister has not gone unheeded by the United States, and that on the Kashmir issue at least China and the Western Powers are of one mind. This again means that our foreign policy, based as it was on Kashmir, has been a total failure, and the country is faced with a difficult situation from which it can emerge successfully only by a compromise with Pakistan on Kashmir. It is, therefore, being hoped that every effort will be made to settle the Kashmir dispute at the next round of talks with Pakistan and that the visits of the American and British Ministers to India would not have been in vain, having

regard to what is at stake and absolutely disregarding the present lull.

AMROHA BY-ELECTION

The Amroha by-election, in which Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Irrigation Minister, was pitted against Acharya Kripalani at the last moment, shows which group is dominating Congress politics. It is not for the first time that Congress is trying to exploit communalism. The Kerala example is well-known. There the Congress had at least the excuse that Communists had to be prevented from running the Government at any cost. There is no such excuse at Amroha, where the nomination of Mr. Ibrahim is tantamount to putting a premium on communalism, because the electorate there is 35 per cent Muslim. It seems too much to hope that the Muslim voters of Amroha will not fall into the communal trap. What is considered more likely here is that the remaining 65 per cent will refuse to vote for the Muslim candidate in protest against the communal role sought to be played by the Congress.

The fact of the matter seems to be that Acharya Kripalani is all by himself a host to be reckoned with and his voice in the Lok Sabha put Congressmen to shame much more than any one else's. His criticism, more often than not, had the air of Daniel coming to judgment, and the Prime Minister's retort to him seldom stilled the vibrations of his strident censures in Parliament. That is where the shoe pinches and that is where the need lies to go so far to defeat Kripalani and to prevent his voice from being heard in Parliament. But the Congress propaganda machinery and the 35 per cent Muslim vote would appear to be heavy odds against the constituency recording a vote of censure on Congress tactics.

Characterising the move as "political expediency of the most despicable character", a paper asks, "Where have the secular ideals, which the Prime Minister is never tired of preaching, evaporated?" At a time when the popularity of the Congress is at a low ebb, efforts have to be redoubled to retain or capture seats for the Congress. But what is to be said of people who will not record their convictions at the polling booths, or who, having them, will not try to share them with their fellow citizens?

Rajaji has, in his own inimitable way, thrown his weight in favour of Acharya Kripalani, through a letter in the leading dailies of the land. He has aptly summed up Congress tactics as "contemptible strategy". Whether his appeal to the voters of Amroha will have the desired effect remains to be seen. In any freedom-loving land it would have been a clincher. It is being said here that a factor which may sway even the Muslim voters of Amroha to vote for Kripalani is that Mr. Ibrahim has nothing to lose by being defeated, and, in the circumstances, moral considerations might well outweigh

communal bias and political pressure. The first and foremost thing is to teach the people to give expression to their honest convictions at the polling booth, without which elections constitute a mere farce. That they cannot do so even secretly is a measure of their cowardice, which has got to be rooted out.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES BILL

In the Rajya Sabha debate on the Official Languages Bill, the DMK leader, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, warned the Congress Party that his party would start a "relentless" agitation against the imposition of Hindi on the South. The constitution must be amended, he said, to provide for the use of English indefinitely and he urged the Home Minister to withdraw the Bill. As he said, and as should be clear to all, the Bill would give a permanent advantage to the Hindi-speaking people over those who do not know the language, and he went so far as to say that on the solution of the language problem depended the political future of South India. Few can really question his statement that the Bill did not incorporate the Prime Minister's assurance that English would continue to be the official language so long as the non-Hindi-speaking people wanted. This, it is generally believed here, has happened because the Prime Minister's favourites are mostly of his own province and have carried the day to the extent of whittling down his assurance to non-Hindi-speaking people.

"The entire South," Mr. Annadurai observed, "will revolt against the Bill, whatever happens." He did not subscribe to the view that one of India's languages could become the common language and claimed that those who understand the significance of the Hindi menace were with him. What is disturbing is that those who do not yet understand the significance of the Hindi menace can be easily made to understand it, and that is what appears to have been overlooked.

Few will agree with the Home Minister's contention that what mattered was not the language of the law but "who implements it and how it is implemented". Surely, the language of the law should be clear beyond all doubt so that even those who do not want to implement it may be made to implement it. Unity and solidarity of the country are supreme, as he said, and it is to maintain them at all costs that absolute justice and fairplay should be the basis of such an important measure. If Hindi is not to be imposed on the non-Hindi-speaking people, the latter, it is clear, should have the deciding voice on the use of Hindi, otherwise there is no sense in saying that there is no desire to impose Hindi on any one.

If the standard of English is deteriorating, as it certainly is, it is the fault of the teachers and the educational system, and efforts should be made to remedy the same, particularly as the importance of English is not sought to be minimised in any responsible quarter. Mr. Sastri asserted with confidence that "the future of this country is not with Mr. Frank Anthony but with Seth Govind Das". That remains to be seen. Prophecies in such matters are often mere wishful thinking. What is being forgotten is that the use of Hindi as the official language con-

stitutes an injustice to non-Hindi-speaking people and is even against the Preamble to the Constitution which guarantees equality to all. It is in that injustice that the danger lies.

Book Review

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: A Commentary And An Interpretation By Harold J. Laski, George Allen and Unwin, London, Pp. 761 35s.

Those who are acquainted with the works of Professor Laski in previous years (like *Liberty in the Modern State*, *Authority in the Modern State*, *Grammar of Politics*, *Political Thought in England*, *Communism*, *Democracy in Crisis* and others like them) need not be told that this book on American Democracy that he wrote during the Second World War (when European Civilisation was at death grips with Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism with Russia on the Western side) should be regarded as essential reading for students of current world politics. Indeed, thoughtful citizens outside the ranks of students and politicians as well should read this assessment of American culture and civilisation made by Professor Laski. As he wrote, the Allies became triumphant and America emerged as the leading world power. And it became a matter of urgent concern for all humanity as to how this colossus of industrial and military power would use its position of world power, not only vis-a-vis Soviet Russia which rose to meet it as almost an equal on the world stage but to lead the world to perpetual peace and peaceful progress.

America achieved abundance by a variety of fortunate circumstances and opportunities worked upon with enthusiasm by the vast elite of European adventure and stamina who poured in millions into the land of opportunity for over a century and a half.

Professor Laski gives an attractive picture in his eloquent, racy manner, of the way in which American man rose to the occasion — cleared the jungle, conquered nature, advanced technology by an unparalleled enthusiasm and built a vast, hospitable, good natured open society from sea to sea — all on the basis of private enterprise. But now the question is whether this pace can be maintained and the contentment of the common man can be kept up without an ever increasing measure of equality in the good things of life.

The promise of equality contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution has to be fulfilled.

Professor Laski as a socialist is convinced that it cannot be done on the old philosophy of distrust of the State and private enterprise.

He gives a very vivid picture of the various phases of American civilisation from this angle. We can all profit from it without agreeing with the socialist philosophy of Laski which is today under re-examination in his Fabian England itself.

For us in India, it is full of suggestive counsel, more where we disagree than where we can agree. It is a lesson in nation-building.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

CHARACTER CLEARANCE

From what one hears in New Delhi on good authority, Mr. Malaviya's name figures more than once in the account books of Serajuddin and Co. The Government owe it to the people to clear the cloud of corruption which perhaps unjustifiably envelops Mr. Malaviya and others and may soon enlarge into a thundercloud. Here is no question of "character assassination" as the Prime Minister dubs it but of "character clearance." Can the Prime Minister ignore that there were contacts between Serajuddin and Mr. Malaviya from at least 1957 (when the Rs. 10,000 deal took place) down to 1963 (when Serajuddin wrote a letter to Mr. Malaviya in regard to the application of Shamsuddin for a barter deal) and that circumstances force one to believe that to a lesser or greater degree both benefited by such contracts?

The Prime Minister has travelled a long way since August 1947. In those early years he was scrupulous in setting a high standard of ministerial rectitude as the resignations of Mr. Shanmukhum Chetty and later of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, neither of whom was guilty of any moral lapse in the course of his ministerial duties, which are normally enforced in countries with parliamentary traditions, proved. These rigid standards, it would seem, no longer hold.

—Frank Moraes in 'Indian Express'

News & Views

PEKING ATTACK ON INDIA THROUGH BURMA POSSIBLE

Washington, — Senior officials are placing fresh emphasis on the continuing threat of renewed Chinese attacks on India and the burden this imposes on New Delhi in testimony before Congressional committees.

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Chester Bowles, Ambassador-designate to India, drew the committee's attention to the possibility of Peking utilizing an easier invasion route — through Burma.

This reflected the view of U.S. military strategists that the easiest route for a massive Chinese attack is through the shorter and less mountainous terrain of North Burma thus sidestepping the obstacles imposed by the high Himalayan ranges on military transport.

This would be the same route used by the Japanese and would enable supplies to be carried by truck over the kind of road constructed during World War II to help supply the Chinese forces.

For obvious diplomatic reasons, Mr. Bowles did not mention Burma by name, but his meaning was clear when he said India could defend herself against attack through the Himalayas but was more vulnerable "if attacked through South Asia."

Mr. Bowles also pointed out that East Pakistan lay in the path of invasion and so India and Pakistan would have to work together to defend the area adequately.

U.S. NOT TYING ARMS AID TO KASHMIR ISSUE RUSK'S ASSURANCE TO PRIME MINISTER

The U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, assured

Mr. Nehru that the United States was not trying to make Western military aid to India contingent on a Kashmir settlement.

But at the time he pleaded for a Kashmir settlement on the ground that it was vital for the defence of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The United States, he said, saw the Chinese threat to the sub-continent as a whole, not to India alone.

Mr. Rusk met Mr. Nehru for nearly two hours in the Prime Minister's teak-panelled chamber at Parliament House today to discuss the broad political concepts of India's defence effort against the Chinese threat.

He was fully convinced that the Chinese were out to humiliate and weaken India by every possible means. Though it seemed quite uncertain and even improbable that the Chinese would attack India again in the near future, he did not want this country to run any risk by under-estimating the Chinese capacity for deceit and treachery.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

But American officialdom tends to look at the Chinese threat to India in a much larger context. While discussing the short-term and long-term aspects of the Chinese threat to India, Mr. Rusk is reported to have viewed the problem in its global perspective of not only outright Chinese expansionism but also in terms of the internal tensions of the communist world.

BRITAIN'S NEED FOR NUCLEAR ARMOURY

LONDON, May 3: Sir Winston Churchill said today that for Britain to abandon the policy of having a nuclear armoury ultimately under her own national control would be to embark on a course of great perils.

In a message to the annual meeting of the Conservative organisation, the Primrose League, Sir Winston said:

"Without our nuclear shield, our defence is forever committed to our friends, and our counsels in the alliance, which have for so long been those of moderation and peace, would diminish greatly in weight."

"I do not advocate the spreading about of nuclear arms, but this country has an unequalled record of responsibility in international affairs. These deadly weapons are safer in our hands than in any other."

"Sometimes in the past we have committed the folly of throwing away our arms. Under the mercy of providence and at great cost and sacrifice we have been able to recreate them when the need arose, but if we abandoned our nuclear deterrent there will be no such second chance."

"To abandon it now would be to abandon it for ever."

KMT INVITED TO DELHI TALKS ON COTTON

An invitation has been set to the Kuomintang Government to send a delegation to the International Cotton Advisory Commission to be held in Delhi.

This was confirmed by the Government in the Lok Sabha today.

Replying to Mr. P. R. Chakraverti, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs Mr. Dinesh Singh, however, said that there was no basis for reports that India was to resume diplomatic relations with the Koumintang Government.

Mr. Tyagi asked whether there were any trade relations between India and Koumingtang. Mr. Singh replied: "Not that I know of."

CALL TO LIFT BAN ON DALAI LAMA

NEW DELHI:

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, two M.Ps, Mr. N. G. Ranga and Mr. Nath Pai and seven others, including educationists and editors, have called for the removal of the "ban" on Dalai Lama's participation in political activity.

In a joint statement released here by the Tibet Swaraj Committee, they said: "Whatever the future nature of the political setup of Tibet which must reflect the democratic will of the Tibetan people and in determining which there should be no outside interference, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Dalai Lama is today in a unique position to proclaim the political purposes of the Tibetan people and address their outraged feelings to the conscience of mankind."

The statement added: "It is, therefore, inconceivable and intolerable that the Dalai Lama should not be allowed freedom of speech and activity in our country to help in the task of unmasking the crude camouflage of the so-called programme of reform and modernisation under which the Chinese have pursued a militant and inhuman policy in Tibet."

GOVERNMENT PRESS MONOPOLY

Black-market capitalism, which was able to plough financial capital into a newspaper, was developing monopolistic tendencies in the name of socialism and affecting the small newspapers, declared Mr. A. D. Mani, participating in the Rajya Sabha debate on the Finance Bill.

"A small newspaper will not be very happy if its circulation is extinguished by the "Patriot" just because the knife which killed it was marked a socialist knife," Mr. Mani said. He added: "It is only marked, it is not a real socialist knife. I do hope that the Government will give some attention to this matter."

Mr. Mani said he went through the Link, published the day the budget was announced. It had a photograph of Mr. Morarji Desai and on the last page, the list of the shareholders of the Link. "I would like all of you to read and see the composition of the shareholders of the Link magazine. I did not find any trade unionist there.

"I did not find some chap working in a cotton textile mill earning Rs. 90 appearing there as a shareholder. All of them are from big business. Big business people find socialism another diversionary form of earning money, namely by investing money in newspapers."

Referring to the Government sanctioning newsprint for the "Patriot" for 25,000 copies, Mr. Mani said: "I do not think that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting or the Prime Minister who sent a message to this publication, realised what they were doing in supporting this eight-paise newspaper.

"But there is as much big business as "The Indian Express" or "The Times of India" is. It gives me no pleasure to say that I have been killed by somebody who called himself a socialist. If it is socialism there should be employees' participation in the management. How many employees are

participating in the management of the "Patriot?" Who are all the socialists behind the "Patriot?" I find that among those who contributed to the Link is a person who had been caught in the Lakshmi Bank fraud case in Nagpur. He is one of the important shareholders of the Link. Is there any difference between what we find in the Vivian Bose Commission's report, or Shri Shanti Prasad Jain's doings and the doings of these people who are supporting the Patriot? I do want the Government which stands for socialism to support the genuine forces of socialism and these pseudo forces of Socialism the Government should not support."

STEPS TO IMPROVE ENGLISH TEACHING

POONA, May 2.

An experts' committee appointed by the Board of Secondary Education to suggest steps to make secondary education more effective and fruitful has in its report pointed out that English is the biggest stumbling block for the students and "unless something is done to improve English, secondary education cannot be made effective."

The report which will be discussed by the board at its meeting here on Friday and Saturday has suggested that there should be one period for conversation in English in the time-table from Standards V to XI.

It has also stated that "the products of secondary education — SSC-passed candidates — do not adequately serve the purpose for which they are meant." They are found wanting both by their employers and the university authorities.

C. R. DEMANDS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

MADRAS, May 2: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said here today that those opposing the Languages Bill were quite aware that, if it were withdrawn, "the constitutional provision that English should make way for Hindi in 1965 would be the unavoidable consequence."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said:

"We object to the fraud practised on the non-Hindi people in the shape of this Bill which simply puts off the evil day and wants people to forget the assurance as something which has merged in the Bill. What is not to be forgotten is that it gives power and incentive to the Central executive to introduce from now onwards the steady replacement of English by Hindi by pinpricks and harassments on those working in and being recruited to Central departments from among non-Hindi people.

"What we insist on is a genuine fulfilment of the Prime Minister's assurance in the shape of a constitutional amendment without which it cannot be honestly fulfilled."

MALAVIYA TOLD TO QUIT CABINET

The resignation of Mr. K. D. Malaviya, Minister for Mines and Fuel, was demanded in the Rajya Sabha by Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy, the PSP leader, from Mysore.

Speaking on the Finance Bill, Mr. Gurupadaswamy said public opinion had gone against Mr. Malaviya because of his affairs with Messrs. Serajuddin and Company and he should gracefully resign.

To continue in the Cabinet, he said, would be "to remain in power without honour."

Mr. Gurupadaswamy also asked for a judicial inquiry into the Serajuddin affairs.

BERLIN ENACTED ON INDIAN BORDER

LONDON, May 4.

The Sino-Indian border is one of the "live boundaries" between the free and communist worlds and, in its own interest, the free world must do everything to help India, a paper circulated at the Conservative Commonwealth Council's annual conference here said today.

The paper was issued by the council's India-Pakistan-Ceylon group. It said that Mr. Nehru, "with his pro-Chinese policy," had been trying to keep the border issue quiet, "like that between Russia and Finland."

"What the Chinese have now done is to turn it into a live boundary, like Berlin," the paper said.

After reviewing the causes of India's non-alignment policy and the events since the Chinese attack, the paper said there were two ways in which India could be helped "to meet the strain."

"First, it can be provided with whatever weapons are needed on lend-lease or free. Secondly, the general provision of foreign exchange for the economy can be increased."

"FIRST ENEMY"

"It is not necessary for India to become a western ally," the paper said, "It is necessary for Mr. Nehru not to take too many actively pro-communist lines because of the effect it has on western electorates and back-benchers."

The paper said that "any major threat to India must be a threat to Pakistan, too. If the Chinese break through in the Sikkim-Bhutan area, they will be in Pakistan a few miles and East Pakistan may be very vulnerable."

"The free world's boundaries on the Himalayas must be defended. However good Pakistan's claims to Srinagar, one must recognise that large concessions are not easy for India at the moment, especially after Pakistan's conspicuously unfriendly behaviour.

One must not be too certain that even large concessions will solve the problem. The true Pakistan objection to India may be not that India has Kashmir, which is soluble, but that India is bigger, which is not." — A.F.P.

AMERICAN TEAM CONQUERS EVEREST

KATHMANDU, May 2.

A two-man assault team of the American Everest expedition ascended the 29,028-foot peak at 1 p.m. 2 May as scheduled.

It was not immediately known who the two climbers were.

This is the third time that the world's highest peak has been scaled.

It was first climbed on May 29, 1953, by Tenzing Norgay and Edmund Hillary. In 1956, a Swiss team reached it.

The expedition, led by Mr. Norman Dyhrenfurth (45), set out from Kathmandu for Namche Bazar on February 20. Mr. Dyhrenfurth was a member of the team that scaled Dhaulagiri in 1960.

The expedition is sponsored by the American Mount Everest Foundation.

The U.S. Government economic assistance to India — now totals is \$4,880.1 million (Rs. 2,323.9). This updates the earlier Fact Sheet dated December 18, 1962. No military items are included in these figures.

U.S. AID TO INDIA

The U.S. aid programme covers almost all facets of India's all-round economic development. Of the total U.S. aid, Rs. 1,101.1 crores is in the form of loans repayable in rupees; Rs. 353.8 crores is repayable in dollars over a period of 40 years at no interest but with a service charge of 3/4 of 1 percent; and Rs. 632.5 crores has been given to India in the form of outright grants. Loans repayable in rupees can be used again as loans.

MOSCOW ADMITS POSSIBILITY OF DEFEAT

Washington, May 4 (AP)—The Soviet Union has now admitted for the first time the possibility of defeat in war, an Air Force analyst concludes on the basis of a study of Russian military writings.

Further, he says, the Soviet high command is apparently divided over strategy in this age of missiles and hydrogen warheads.

Lt. Col. Murray Green, Associate Chief of Research and Analysis, U.S. Air Force, reached these conclusions in a 270-page, type-written analysis of the first comprehensive discourse on military doctrine to appear in the Soviet Union since 1926.

Col. Green's report was made at the request of Mr. Herbert Sholar, Senior Civilian Analyst in the Plans Division of Air Force Intelligence.

Dear Editor

MONOPOLISTS, MINISTERS AND BACHELORS—THE ONLY HAPPY PEOPLE THESE DAYS

Which class of society is happy these days when the prices and taxes are going up, crimes and sins are multiplying, corruption and nepotism are increasing, adulteration and cheating are common and poverty and unemployment are rampant? Nobody, whether he is a business man, a lawyer, a teacher, an officer or a doctor, seems to be happy as each one of them is saddled with problems such as housing, food, clothing, health finance, education of the children and the like. A person who has never to encounter such difficulties at one time or the other is very fortunate. But he would surely find insurmountable difficulties at the time of marrying his children which has become a costly affair nowadays. Mostly marriages are managed by incurring colossal debts which in the later stage becomes difficult to liquidate and brings catastrophe to the family. Monopolist capitalists and ministers who enjoy wide facilities, are, no doubt, free from these problems and are leading a happy life. To these happy sections of society we can safely add the bachelor class.

A bachelor does not feel any incidence of taxation. He is carefree in this worried world. He can fulfil most of his

desires within his resources as he has no financial difficulty. He can undertake frequent travels and be away from home for any length of time to have a change. He requires comparatively little housing accommodation. Unfortunately a person who has a big family to support is not so privileged. Everyone in the society, is hard pressed these days and his saving capacity is almost nil. A bachelor is respected by all the people wherever he goes as he is financially well and probably because he can lend money to needy people without any difficulty. Great leaders like Mr. C. B. Gupta, Chief Minister of U.P. have advocated bachelor's life for this critical time when the price index is touching new peaks. The root cause of most of the evils in the society at present is money. But a bachelor is free from this problem. This life is, therefore, the best life these days.

R. K. SRIVASTAVA

'Lakshmi Nivas',
25, Motinagar,
Unuao

MR. B. LOTVALA'S REMARKABLE CAREER

We have read the biography of Mr. Bhavan Lotvala by I. K. Yagnik. His remarkable career of struggle for freedom of the oppressed and downtrodden masses of India and the world is truly inspiring and it is good to know that you are carrying on his great work.

Sam Weiner
Esther J. Weiner

RETENTION OF ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE INDIAN UNION

The adoption of any single regional language as the official language, main or associate, of the Indian Union is bound to inflict a severe, permanent and inescapable handicap on Indians with other regional languages. It is, therefore, undesirable that Hindi, which is a regional language, should be adopted, much less imposed, as the main or even the associate Union language.

The English language has served admirably as the all-India language of higher and modern administration and education, particularly in science and technology, as the link language for national and international communications, and as the potent instrument of national integration, and it should, therefore, be continued indefinitely as the one and only language to serve the same high purposes, and not be made the victim of transitory or tapering toleration.

The adoption of two languages, Hindi and English, whatever be their relative status, for the official purposes of the Indian Union and the regional languages within their regions will only lead to unnecessary confusion and expense, which should, therefore, be avoided. All communications which transcend the boundaries of linguistic regions should be conducted in the common all-India language, English.

The elevation of Hindi over and above the other regional languages and the refusal to give English even the lower status of an associate

language, offered earlier, is calculated to alienate the non-Hindi people of India and reduce them to the status of second class citizens, subject to the imperial rule of the Hindi people, and will give a deadly blow to national integration and should, therefore, be abandoned immediately before further mischief is done.

The argument that the Indian Constitution had given Hindi the permanent status of the Official language is unconvincing, for the Constitution has been amended repeatedly, and even the Fundamental Rights, which are not meant to be amended, have been amended, and amended to make them less fundamental, and the provision regarding the Official language is not among the Fundamental Rights, and can be amended without any compunction. In any event, the Constitution is for the people, and not the people for the Constitution.

The argument that English is a "foreign" language is invalid. Mr. Nehru, in his speech in Hyderabad on December 8, 1955, said that English should have been included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, "not only because of its intrinsic and current value and the number of people in India who used it, but also because it was the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians, who are Indian Nationals".

Speaking in Bhopal on March 3, 1963, Mr. Nehru said that Hindi could not be adopted at the Centre as the medium of official work, but it was all right in Hindi-speaking areas.

- V. P. Menon, former Governor of Orissa.
- N. Madhava Rau, former Dewan of Mysore.
- N. A. Nikam, former Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University.
- K. N. Nagarkatti, I. C. S. Retd.
- C. S. Venkatachar, I.C.S. Retd.
- Mahmood Sheriff, former Minister, Government of Mysore.
- P. Medappa, former Chief Justice, High Court of Mysore.
- B. V. Narayana Reddi, former General Manager, Bank of Mysore.
- Mrs. Indiramma, former Mayor, Corporation of the City of Bangalore.
- T. L. Kantam, Journalist.
- D. V. Gundappa, Publicist.
- V. T. Sreenivasan, former Accountant General and General Secretary Mysore State Swatantra Party.
- K. S. Menon
- V. Gopaldaswami Aiengar, former Principal, National College, Bangalore.
- K. Bhaskara Rao, Representative, World University Service.
- B. K. Ramadhyani, Chartered Accountant.
- P. Kodanda Rao, Publicist.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

April, 26: Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao reviewed Prof. Harold J. Laski's "American Democracy" at Book-Review meeting.

GIFT OF THE MONTH

Choose your gift books from the following list. Do not request more than 4 books. This offer is good only for those new subscribers to *The Indian Libertarian* enlisting during May.

1. The Tariff Idea by W. M. Curtiss.
2. What is Co-operation by James Warbasse.
3. Modern Idolatry by Jeffery Mark.
4. The Causes of Business Depression by Hugo & Bligam.
5. The Slavery of our Times by Leo Tolstoy.
6. Why Wages Rise by F. A. Harper.
7. Lagna Jeevan (Family Planning) by Dr. Derasari. (In Gujerati).
8. Dialectical Materialism by Philip Spratt.

Write: Desk S. N. 1st Floor, Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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