

# The Indian Libertarian

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## EDITORIAL

### WANTED A RATIONAL APPROACH TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION

THE idea of National Integration of the country is very much in the air. The Congress leaders, big and small, are particularly talking incessantly about Emotional Integration in a tone which suggests that it is the non-Congress sections of the population that are the real culprits in this matter. They cannot but remind one of the proverbial thief who tries to divert public attention from him with the cry, 'Thief, Thief.'

The report of the Emotional Integration Committee, presided over by Dr. Sampurnanand, has now been released. The very name of the Committee suggests a basically wrong approach to the problem. It seems to have been forgotten that Emotional Integration is only a means and not the end in itself, as is sought to be made out by Congress propaganda, and is only one aspect of the wider problem of nation-building. Before Gandhiji's advent into Indian politics, India was steadily moving towards a sort of National Consciousness, under the ennobling influence of Liberal Education introduced by the British and the impact of the enlightened administration of a bureaucracy which, though

wooden and inflexible in some respects, had largely imbibed the spirit of British democratic traditions and practices. The politics of our country were then guided more by the light of reason and wisdom than by the heat of passion and emotion, though the latter had their due place in them. But Gandhian Congress abandoned this sane path to freedom in 1920 and in its hurry to win 'Swarajya Within One Year' as promised by Gandhiji, put a premium on irrational, emotion-ridden, dogmatic politics. With the over-throw of the Caliphate in Turkey by Kemal Pasha, the shaky edifice of Hindu-Muslim unity built up by Gandhi, by pampering to the worst communal and religious passions of the Muslims, came down tottering like a pack of cards. The Congress — Khilafatist combine against the British led only to a greater widening of the gulf between Hindus and Muslims and as a result, India could attain Freedom, with only her body and soul badly mauled and lacerated, by her being partitioned on the basis of religion. Thus mere Emotional Integration of the country attempted by Gandhiji failed in achieving its objective and yet our Congress leaders today who are really the true disrupters of national unity, are playing at this worn-out but and dangerous game by over-em-

phasizing this emotional aspect of the problem. The same emotional approach is made to the question of Linguistic Integration of the country. Hindi-walas do not yet realise that the strong passions being roused against English, the only 'link' language of the country, will come back with a boomerang against 'Hindi' from non-Hindi people of the South. 'Hindi by 1965' is the emotional battle-cry of these fanatics. We know how Gandhiji's Mantra of 'Swarajya in one year', through Congress-Khilafat, united front against the British, brought about the vivisection of India. The vicious 'Hindi-Pradeshikabhasha United Front' now sponsored by Hindi maniacs, just out of spite for English, is sure likewise to lead to one result and that is the dismemberment of the country into different Bhasha-Sthanas. The cry for Dravidistan or Tamil Nad is only the beginning of the end of what is still left of Indian nationalism, in the midst of the congress-created chaos in the country.

In its economic approach to the problem, the Congress is moved more by Socialist passion than by economic reasoning and considerations. Central-cum-States Planning on socialistic lines, has had only the effect of 'only' inflating regional demands for all kinds of industries, heavy and light, to be located in their own areas, without the least regard for the economic feasibility of such propositions. The disputes, some-times bordering on violence between State and State and between States and the Centre on such

issues, are ever on the increase, which clearly points to the total failure of the Congress programme of economic integration of the land as a whole.

And above all the greatest blow given by the Congress to national unity and cohesion is to override the Constitution and set at naught the Fundamental Rights conferred on the people by it. The confiscatory, legislative and enactments passed under the guidance of the Congress and enforced by the Government, have all but killed the private initiative and enterprise in agriculture and industry, resulting in the shortage of food grains and the fall in national production. The idle, miscalled 'Have-Nots' have got the best out of this loot. The thrifty, the intelligent and the industrious feel themselves simply battered, browbeaten and helpless and have lost all interest in nation-building activities. The whole body-politic is thus rotten to the core, with the corrupt, adventurist and cunning politicians standing at the helm of affairs in the country, albeit a few honourable exceptions which only prove the rule.

India is thus being led with the force of a Greek tragedy to a disaster of the first magnitude. Swarupananda Committee's voluminous recommendations 213 in number, will not carry the country very far towards a genuine Nationhood. The creation of the Central Bureau of Text Books Research for the purpose of evolving a common cultural and educational pattern will serve no purpose, unless the researchers are themselves imbued with the scientific and rational spirit of the Modern Age. A mere common culture need not be 'healthy' and life-giving. It may be narrow-minded, fanatical and jingoistic, on the Fascist or Communist pattern, carrying within its womb the germs of national disruption and ruin. The teaching of Hindi and English in Roman Script in schools and colleges where the regional language will be the main medium of instruction, as recommended by the Committee, will only add to the burden of pupils without appreciably modernising their outlook or instilling into them national consciousness. What is required today is a fundamental rethinking of our national problems, after having unlearnt many of the things we had learnt from Gandhi despite the fact that they might have proved useful in their own day in India's struggle for freedom.

In education, the first thing to be done is to inculcate on the minds of the rising generation, civic virtues rather than individual moral virtues such as non-drinking and 'Brahmacharya' so that our youth might come out of their schools and colleges, as good citizens believing in hard and honest toil for their bread, and possessed of co-operative spirit and an attitude of tolerance, sympathy and understanding of other

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peoples' faiths and beliefs, cultural behaviours and patterns. Government should declare without any mental reservations that English will continue to be the main medium of instruction at all higher levels of education and shall be the All India Language of administration and that Hindi shall be accorded no better recognition and no higher status than any other regional language in these spheres. In economic matters the Government should step in, only where Private Enterprise is unable to cope with any industry so that all the resources of the different regions might be exploited to the full for stepping up national production, strictly according to the natural laws of the Market and economic production. This will set at rest the inter-state wranglings and disputes in educational, linguistic, educational and economic matters.

The Government after divesting itself of economic power as stated above, should then set about decentralising its political power among the smaller units in the country. With the power-politics reduced to their proper proportions in the life of the nation, only those who are inspired by the spirit of public service will enter politics and others will seek more profitable avocations as they do, in all free and democratic countries like England and America. This done, the need for politicians to look to their own castemen, communities and tribes for support in elections and other political activities, will be reduced to the minimum. This arrangement of complete separation between the political power of the State and the economic power will surely go a great way in making the country politically united.

This appears to be the only rational, and democratic approach to the real and all round National Integration. The emotional aspect which is so much stressed among Congress circles, perhaps to cover their own sins of omission and commission in this respect, may under favourable circumstances even pave the way for the rise of some sort of dictatorship. It may be, that Congressmen are doing so deliberately with a view to perpetuating themselves in power, by throttling the Opposition Parties in the country in the name of Emotional Integration.

#### COLONIALISM, OLD AND NEW

India Government's stout opposition to Colonialism of Western Democratic countries is by now well-known. But its attitude towards the insidious and more dangerous New Colonialism of Communist countries of Russia and China is still shrouded in mystery. The spontaneous Hungarian revolt of 1956 against the Kadar Government, the stooge of Soviet Russia, remarkably failed to evoke sympathetic response from Mr. Nehru the anti-imperialist that he poses to be.

This Nehruvian dubious policy must have inspired the recent action of our Indian representative at the U.N. in not participating in the vote in the General Assembly debate as to whether the Hungarian situation must be taken up for discussion. India's non-participation indirectly endorsed the Soviet view that 'the dead rat (the Hungarian mass revolt and suppression) should not be dragged round the hall.'

However much the Indian diplomats might pat their own backs at their diplomatic ingenuity in this affair, democratically-inclined people of India will surely hang down their heads in shame at this miserable show that India makes of her democratic faith and conviction on crucial occasions in the U.N. Assembly. They are surprised to see that Nehru does not yet appreciate properly the patent fact that the self-liquidating Old Colonialism of Britain, to quote the words of Mr Howard Green, the Canadian representative in the Assembly, 'has the record of guiding new nations of 600,00,000 people to Statehood,' as contrasted with the millions of people groaning in slavery 'within the Soviet Empire'.

#### STATES AND 'DRY' LAWS

The 'Wet' States of India that is Bharat, have drawn the right lesson from the none too happy experiences, the senior states like Bombay and Madras have had of 'Total Prohibition.' The only good result of this policy has been that it has provided a flourishing cottage industry to the town and the country and also employment to the rural and urban boot-leggers, rich and poor, thus fulfilling in a way Gandhiji's dream of providing work to the teeming millions in their own homes and cottages and bringing about class-collaboration, instead of class-conflict in industrial production. Bombay Government felt highly flattered when Gandhiji said that he looked to it for taking the first plunge in this matter regardless of financial considerations. So Bombay took the lead and Madras faithfully followed. But other junior States with abated breath, simply watched and waited. They now doggedly refuse to go 'dry' or to extend their 'dry' belts, despite the bait offered by the confirmed prohibitionist Mr. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister that the Centre would meet 50% of the expenses incurred on this experiment in morally disciplining the whole nation.

But Nemesis seems to have taken this experiment even in the old States. It is reported that the Bombay Government might consider licensing Toddy-tapping again. It is not clear whether the Toddy so licensed will be sweet or sour. But Toddy will have surely taken a 'Sweet' revenge on these Governments for the great wrong done to it for all these years.

# From Caste To Nation

M. A. Venkata Rao

IT would be useful to revert to this topic now owing to a number of events that have occurred in recent weeks that bring the problem of nation-making to the fore again in no uncertain manner.

First of all, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has risen to new heights of intransigence and has displayed signs of strength that bode ill to national unity. It cannot be ignored anymore. Its "high prices" agitation in Madras and other towns in that State exceeded the limits of peaceful protest and necessitated police action with over 7,000 persons (and many M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s) being arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The whole affair excited much anxious thought on the part of good people in all parties.

The D.M.K. again staged a mammoth procession in Madras when thousands took the oath of Dravidanad's independence. "Dravidanad is our birthright," they declared, "and we shall achieve it," recalling the famous phraseology of Balgangadhar Tilak. The demonstration was remarkable for two new features that it evoked. It was accompanied by a few members of Vinoba Bhave's *santhi sena* who were present to prevent violent clashes and to preserve peace by their exhortations and demeanour. This is the first time that the *santhi sena* (which was so far a pathetic joke) became something of a reality. It may grow in the future and play a notable part in national integration in the field of action, unlike arm-chair politicians who are content to exhort others.

The other notable feature was the sudden appearance of over 500 volunteers calling themselves Freedom Guards. They tried to picket the DMK procession at different points along the route in protest against its separatist and treasonable ideology of an independent and sovereign Dravidanad. To safeguard peace, the police arrested all of them and let them off the next day. It is understood from knowledgeable sources that the Freedom Guards have come to stay and will grow into a sizable social and national force exerting sacrificial influence in favour of national unity. They show fervour for fervour and vie with the DMK in intensity of feeling.

Another event of importance in the last week of September is the decision of the Supreme Court on the writ petition filed by 24 students of Mysore against an order of the Mysore Government reserving 68 per cent of seats in

medical and engineering colleges in the State for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and more backward classes, of which 15 per cent were for the scheduled castes, 3 per cent for tribals, and 50 per cent for backward and more backward classes. This left only 32 per cent for the general merit pool.

Three times before since 1958 had the Government of Mysore passed similar orders reserving large proportions of seats in technical colleges to backward classes and three times they were admonished by the High Court of Mysore and their orders struck down as *ultra vires* of the Constitution, in fact as a fraud on it no less!

In all these three incidents and cases, we have obstinate and important sociological phenomena bedevilling the process of nation-building in India after the advent of national independence.

National independence brought supreme power into the hands of classes and groups unfit to wield it from a broad national point of view. The numbers of top ranking leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari and Patel were too small to leaven the whole mass of second and third rank leaders who came to power. These groups of secondary leaders lived at levels lower than national. Caste was their governing psychology. British policy had encouraged it in the last days before independence to prolong their imperial rule. Accustomed to favour at the hands of the British, they continued to exploit it in favour of caste groups when power came to them.

It is true that national feeling is tied closely to national interest and under national self-government and democracy, pressure groups, particularly in commerce and industry organise themselves to profit by national sentiment through tariffs and protection of various sorts. The nation as a whole suffers to favour particular pressure groups. And this passes for normal and is approved in most nations today.

But there is a limit to this process of subordinating national interest to sectional profit. If the limit is passed, the basic unity of the nation suffers damage and the nation will split into a number of groups each harbouring different aims and motivated by group egoism. A nation can function as a nation only if it functions as a single entity for purposes of defence and for the promotion of individual justice and contribution to the state through merit and efficiency. The national area should function as a free trade sphere for merit to rise to its rightful

place in unhampered competition. People of merit in any line should be honoured and their service to the nation acknowledged. The way to individual achievement should be identical with that of social contribution. Alike in economic, cultural and social fields, equal rights for equal merit should be the rule. Then will national unity acquire emotional force and the national entity become a foundational structure of individual character.

In India this objective is not yet attained on account of the habitual mental atmosphere of the second and third class leadership who have come to power in the States and even in the Centre. That atmosphere is communal, tribal or caste-coloured. Caste is a self-sufficient, intermarrying and inter-dining, custom-sharing, taboo-dominated social group. The self-sufficiency in matters of fellowship or human relations in eating and marriage, blood relationship and worship and even law-making and law-enforcement through panchayet is a tradition too strong yet for it to be dissolved in a wider society. National independence has come before such a dissolution was complete.

The economic and social advantages of official power have, under conditions of an open democracy working through adult franchise, reinforced powerfully the closed inbreeding, the inward-looking sympathies and selfish egoism of the group. The membership of backward castes has become a vested interest. It gives them an advantageous handicap as against more advanced communities.

To hail from a farming, trading, artisan or similar caste has become a passport to preference in school and office, relegating merit and qualification to the second or third place. Caste and relationship to social high-ups have become more important than merit. And when an inherited trait for which one is not responsible and which is acquired at birth with no effort at all can open the doors to privilege, it is asking too much of human nature to ignore it and rely entirely on merit and efficiency. Monopoly by birth as in the aristocracies of old are in today's democracy working in favour of the unfit or less fit and the plain lazy sections of the population.

The result is a double standard in judgement—ethical, intellectual (scholastic), administrative, economic and cultural. Individuals of one's own community or caste come to be esteemed more for the same or lower achievement in all lines. The achievements of persons of other castes are belittled irrespective of objective standards. If Marx taught the relativity of truth to economic status in the productive system, our present casteism teaches the relativity of value and achievement to caste fellowship. A is not A according to this prevailing value sys-

tem! A in other castes is less than A in our own caste or more than A in it. His merit is to be marked less and demerit is to be ranked as more in accordance with his place outside or inside our own group! This is a deep-rooted psychological and ethical evil. It poisons the mind's capacity to grasp truth or appraise morality, justly in accordance with objective and universal standards. In fact, it marks a flight from the universality and necessity essential to all rational life.

Nationalism is to be valued from the social and ethical point of view as marking a stage of universalisation or rationalisation beyond the stage of tribalism. The extent to which nationalism is superior to tribalism is the degree to which it gives play to universal rationalism in grasp of truth, in conscience and motivation and in identification with a larger society working in healthy cooperation. If the word "nationalism" is vitiated by misuse by fascists and Nazis, we may substitute social cohesion or unity for the term. But the fact is real and cannot be dispensed with in nation-building or socialisation.

Applying this view of the psychology of nationalism to the instances noted above, we find in all three cases a failure on the part of State leadership to rise above caste to the level of universality implied in nationalism.

Mr. Annadurai and his followers preach Dravida separatism and are evoking emotions in favour of a separate social entity consisting of their own kindred (Tamil nonbrahmins). They reject brahmin hegemony but it existed only in the past and has disappeared with the installation of the egalitarian Constitution of 1950. But the emotions of the past—of their rankling inferiority status in the brahmin-dominated hierarchy of Hindu society, economic inferiority of leaders (though not of all members,) political inferiority in the Gandhian hierarchy, (though no one prevented them from rising in it through initiative and self sacrifice) — are all motivating them today. They value Dravida mystique as a brotherhood more than Indian fellowship. They are emotionally unable to move their standards of judgment and value from tribal to the more universal basis of national participation.

The defect of imagination and emotion in clinging to the narrower basis or bond in preference to the larger basis of all-India fellowship, cooperation and participation displayed by the Dravida Kazagam leaders like Annadurai is of the same psychological kind as the defect displayed by Mr. Kamaraj and his colleagues, Messrs. Jatti and Nijalingappa and their col-

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# Nepal Exposes India

By M. N. Tholal

THE restoration of Nepal's foreign portfolio to Dr. Tulsi Giri, Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet, and the dropping of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Rishikesh Shah, from the Cabinet in the recent reshuffle by King Mahendra is disturbing news for India, particularly as the press communique from the Palace announcing the changes said that the step had been taken to bring "still more uniformity and solidarity in the Council of Ministers". The communique also referred to the "gravity of the situation" created by violent rebel activities across the Indo-Nepal border, which had increased despite

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leagues in Mysore. Both, from opposite sides of the party fence behave alike.

They refuse to treat every citizen in respect of educational, administrative, economic and social opportunity in the process of nation-building as equal individuals freely competing with each other for the opportunity for service. Their mental condition as measured by the extent of their effective emotional participation is equally tribal and fails to rise to the national level.

The Supreme Court has struck down the order of the Mysore Government reserving 68 per cent of seats in technical colleges to backward classes on the ground of caste. It condemns caste as operative criterion but offers no substitute. It accepts the social and educational status of the community to which candidates belong as valid for reservation and exclusion. It implicitly accepts (by ignoring it) the criterion of community, and backwardness, not of the individual but of the caste as an entity as the basis of assistance. It suggests 50 per cent as fair as against 68 per cent. This is no good from a creative psychological nation-building point of view. It is not a question of numbers or percentages of castes as entities. It is a question of the individuals of the nation as a whole as equally entitled to have full opportunities in education in accordance with their capacity to benefit from education.

When politicians promise ryots higher prices for their products, when they promise higher wages to workers, when they offer jobs and promotions to officials on grounds other than merit, they are putting the smaller group against the nation as a whole and are preventing powerfully the evolution of caste into nation.

the friendly notices to India and personal meetings. India's attitude to Nepal, according to the communique, has not changed even after Mr. Shah's talks at Delhi and "anti-national elements have been receiving all sorts of aid".

It is now obvious that Mr. Shah's taking over the foreign portfolio from Dr. Tulsi Giri three months ago—after the latter's tirades against India—was an olive branch held out to India by King Mahendra, who now feels that his gesture has not been reciprocated. Those in the know of things here are inclined to agree with the King of Nepal, who, according to some Jingoists here, did not appease India farther by dropping Dr. Giri from the Council of Ministers. In any case, the restoration of the foreign portfolio to him reflects a toughening of Nepal's attitude towards India, which cannot possibly make any Indian patriot happy.

## ATTACK ON INDIA

The communique also declared, perhaps with reference to India's advice to Nepal, that the latter was not prepared to enter into any kind of compromise because of threats by "fifth-column and anti-national elements". The communique also said, without referring to India by name: "The parliamentary system with the onslaughts made by it under the mask of party politics upon the unity and sovereignty of Nepal and the activities of elements dancing to the tunes of a foreign power had exhausted the patience of the Nepalese people. They feel relieved at being freed from the marionettes and hangers-on of a foreign Power."

After this indirect accusation of India of aiding Nepalese rebels, it was only to be expected that the Nepalese Press and Radio would mount a virulent campaign against India. In all its news bulletins Radio Nepal has been broadcasting reports of anti-Indian demonstrations held in Nepal. Perhaps the aptest comment comes from an editorial of Gorkha Patra which asks, "How does a country which tells Pakistan to vacate Kashmir first, China to stop intrusions and Nagas to surrender arms advise us to compromise with anti-national elements?" Motherland goes a step farther and administers the warning: "It would be foolhardiness to take Nepal's friendship for granted while stabbing her in the back. If Nepalese are gentle in friendship, they are fierce in battle."

It is thus obvious that the greater "solidarity and uniformity in the Council of Ministers" envisaged as a result of the exclusion of Mr.

Rishikesh Shah from the Cabinet is aimed at and against India. It is equally obvious that we have failed to browbeat Nepal into submission. The doings of our Embassy in Nepal have found adverse references in these columns, as in the columns of other papers in the country, in the recent past; and if any additional proof was required of their inspiration and of our rough-and-ready handling of Nepal affairs, it has been provided by the highest in the land in photographs published in the dailies of the recent arrival in and departure from India of His Majesty the King of Nepal.

It appears to have been decided at the highest level that India's displeasure towards Nepal should find expression on the brows of those receiving or bidding farewell to the Royal visitor from Nepal, presumably to leave him in no doubt regarding our feelings in a matter where our interests are affected. But it appears to have been forgotten that Nepal's independence is affected too, and that the methods adopted to secure our interests in Nepal are calculated to alienate that country still farther. Granting that even in this hour of the country's peril from the North we can take it from Nepal—which is very doubtful, for there is no limit to which a headstrong King may go—is it worth while inviting this alienation, throwing Nepal into China's arms and running our coach-and-four through all the principles by which Mr. Nehru has been swearing all these fifteen years?

#### GO-BYE TO ALL PRINCIPLES

And was it also necessary to have our attitude published through photographs to suggest that, if we cannot stand up to China, we can at least bully or browbeat a small landlocked kingdom on our border? Jinnah used to say, "Jawaharlal never grows old." One is reminded of this very charitable comment—born of his relations with Motilal Nehru—when one sees India's foreign policy being formulated in schoolboy fashion with an overdose of wishful thinking and without any admixture of cynicism or intelligent anticipation born of cynicism, but with an eye solely on the opportunity to strut about on the world stage in utter disregard of the country's welfare.

In our dealings with Nepal we are giving the go-bye to every principle with which free India's name is associated. What of our anti-colonial stand? Can our attitude towards Nepal bear scrutiny from that stand-point? What has Mr. Nehru to say of the border raids in view of his own declaration that an attack on Nepal will be regarded as an attack on India? Was the attack in the declaration envisaged from the North only? And were those from the South excluded rigorously therefrom, even when they were not by the Indian Army? The declaration

made no exception and had no limitation, as indeed it could not have in all conscience.

And what of Mr. Nehru's denunciation of those who explicitly believe in talking from positions of strength? Our strength in the matter under dispute lies in our long frontier with Nepal, which the latter will find it difficult to man in order effectively to prevent border raids whose points cannot be successfully anticipated without a network of espionage operating in India, which of course the Government of India cannot permit even to strengthen our relations with a buffer state. Mr. Nehru did not realise the importance of a buffer state when he practically handed over Tibet to China in his anti-colonial zeal. He does not seem to realise it even after doing his country immense harm in handing over Tibet to China, and is now doing his best to see that Nepal goes the way of Tibet, albeit by a different route. And of course he cannot anticipate it, because he has never been able to anticipate anything, not even the plain-as-pikestaff results of his own actions.

#### WHAT OF NON-ALIGNMENT?

And what of non-alignment, whose progress Mr. Nehru is seeking the world over, even at a time when his presence in his own country would appear to be urgently needed in view of the grave threats held out by the Chinese Government or their agents? Why should he get so angry when all that Nepal seems to want is to follow in his honoured footsteps, though not in the manner some of Nepal's ex-Premiers would have liked to do? The main reason given for our policy of non-alignment is that there is no sense in getting involved in a quarrel between two great Powers, as if that policy would save the country from rack and ruin in the event of another world war overtaking us. Nepal seeks to follow that policy with much greater reason. For, a world war may not leave India unscathed, but a war between India and China may well leave Nepal unscathed, whatever may follow after the end of that war.

Indeed, Mr. Nehru's unfortunate declaration that an attack on Nepal would be regarded as an attack on India must have embarrassed the Government of Nepal a great deal and provided it with just the necessary reason to ply her own boat in the waters of non-alignment. Mr. Nehru recently resented an American statesman's view that the USA was committed to coming to the aid of India in case that country was attacked by China. As the head of a great independent nation he had every right to resent it, particularly as the tradition in his country has always been to rebuff aid in times of need. But has an independent

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# Two Greater Enemies Of Freedom

By John Clark Ridpath

ONE of the greatest enemies of freedom, and therefore of progress and happiness of our race, is over-organisation. Mankind has been organised to death. The social, political, and ecclesiastical forms which have been instituted, have become so hard and cold and obdurate that the life, the emotion, the soul within, has been well-nigh extinguished.

Among all the civil, political, and churchly institutions of the world, it would be difficult today to select that one which is not in a large measure conducted in the interest of the beneficiaries. The Organisation has become the principal thing, and the Man only a secondary consideration. It must be served and obeyed. He may be despised and neglected. It must be consulted, honoured, feared; crowned with flowers, starred and studded with gold. He may be left a starving pauper, homeless, friendless, childless, shivering in mildewed tatters; a scavenger, and a beggar at the doorway of the court.

All this must presently be reversed. Organization is not the principal thing; man himself is better. The institution, the party, the crowd, the government—that does not serve him; does not conduce to his interests, progress, and enlightenment; is not only a piece of superfluous rubbish on the stage of modern civilization, but is a real stumbling block, a positive clog and detriment to the welfare and best hopes of mankind.

Closely allied with this over-wrought organization of society is the pernicious theory of paternalism—that delusive, medieval doctrine, which proposes to effect the social and individual elevation of man by "protecting", and, therefore, subduing him. The theory is that man is a sort of half-infant, half-imbecile, who must be led along and guarded as one would lead and guard a foolish and impertinent child. It is believed and taught that men seek not their

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nation to be great in size or population in order to be able righteously to resent unsolicited offers of aid in case of attack or invasion? Mr. Nehru is trying to emerge as the champion of small nations. All these small nations may be supposed to know that an ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept, and they may be supposed to know also the kind of practices Mr. Nehru's government indulges in next door.

own best interests; that they are natural enemies and destroyers of their own peace; that human energy, when liberated and no longer guided by the factitious machinery of society and the state, either slides rapidly backwards into barbarism or rushes forward only to stumble and fall headlong by its own audacity. Therefore, society must be a good master, a garrulous old nurse to her children. She must take care of them; teach them what to do; lead them by the swaddling band; coax them into feeble and well-regulated activity; feed them on her inspired porridge with the antiquated spoons of her superstitions. The State must strengthen her apparatus, improve her machinery. She must put her subjects down; she must keep them down. She must teach them to be tame and tractable; to go at her will; to rise, to halt, to sit, to sleep, to wake at her bidding, to be humble and meek. And all this with the belief that men so subordinated and put down can be, should be, ought to be, great and happy. They are so well cared for, so happily governed!

On the contrary, if history has proved any one thing, it is this: Man when least governed is greatest. When his heart, his brain, his limbs, are unbound, he straightaway begins to flourish, to triumph, to be glorious.

Then indeed he sends up the green and blossoming trees of his ambition. Then, indeed, he flings out both hands to grasp the skyline and the stars. Then, indeed, he feels no longer a need for the mastery of society; no longer a want for some guardian and intermeddling state to inspire and direct his energies. He grows in freedom. His philanthropy expands; his nature rises to a noble stature; he springs forward to grasp the grand substance, the shadow of which he has seen in dreams. He is happy. He feels himself released from the dominion of an artificial scheme which has been used for long ages for the subjugation of his fathers and himself. What men want, what they need, what they hunger for, what they will one day have the courage to demand and take is less organic government—not more; a freer manhood and fewer shackles; a more cordial liberty, a lighter fetter of form and a more spontaneous virtue.

(The above is an excerpt from the concluding portion of the book 'History of the World' written by one of the great American historians—John Clark Ridpath. Though he wrote it 70 years ago, it could have been written today with equal force and truth.—Ed.)

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

## Soaring Prices And Economic Growth

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

In spite of ten years of planning, the most serious problem that our country faces today is the soaring prices not only of the capital goods but also of the consumer goods and the Government is finding it difficult to do anything effective about soaring prices and for this reason the Planning Minister pleaded helplessness on the part of the Government when he spoke of the legal and administrative sanctions. During the last four months the price level has resumed its upward march as it did at the end of the Second Plan period. At the beginning of August 1962 the index of wholesale prices stood at 131.8 (1953 = 100) as compared to 128.7 during the corresponding period last year. As result of this rise in the price level of almost all commodities the working class cost of living has gone up by 3 per cent in 12 months. With the rising cost of living in India, dying seems a more economic process than living. It is regrettable to note that our Government has no policy to follow on this basic matter affecting the lives and welfare of India's teeming millions. The main reason is that the Cabinet Ministers are not believing that they are collectively responsible for this phenomenon. It is generally assumed that in a parliamentary form of government the Ministers are collectively responsible but the speeches made by Shri T. T. K. and Shri S. K. Patil indicate that everything is not smooth at New Delhi. Mr. T. T. K. assured the consumers that Government was aware of the great hardship caused to them by the soaring prices and a way would soon be found out. Mr. Patil on the other hand blamed the consumers for getting unnecessarily panicky. Mr. Patil does not want to share the responsibility of rising price level because he is of the opinion that he can give plenty of food to the consumers. If, so then why did he allow the price level to rise? Was he not aware of the great hardship and suffering of the increasing population? Mr. Patil may say that he is not concerned with prices but only with production; but there is a fallacy in this argument because production is only a means to economic stability. It seems from his speech that he is not prepared to agree that the prices of food grains have increased in order to shift the

blame on somebody else. Whatever Mr. Patil may say, it is a well known fact that the prices of all commodities have shown the tendency to rise during the last four months and the Ministers have miserably failed to stabilise the price level. The Planning Commission has adopted some interim measures to provide relief to the consumers on the eve of the great festival, namely Diwali, by releasing more wheat (imported from America) and sugar with a view to equalise the demand and supply. This is the least that the poor consumers can expect from the Welfare State and half-baked leaders addicted to Marxism. The Planning Minister thought of legal and administrative measures and the Prime Minister put faith in consumer cooperative stores to hold the price line. Both these measures are ineffective because the Government is not in a position to tackle this serious problem unless it reverses the present economic policy which has resulted in stagnant agricultural productivity. Consumer cooperative stores cannot be of much use unless the basic problem of increasing agricultural productivity is satisfactorily tackled. As long as we are mad after gigantic projects at the cost of agricultural productivity the price line cannot be held in check. At present our Government is putting the cart before the horse and for this reason our economy is plagued with soaring prices which affect the economic growth adversely. Our economy should be extricated from the galloping inflation. It is argued that an inflation is inevitable in a developing economy but the inflation that we have is not mild one but galloping and unless the effective measures are taken by the Government in time the condition of middle class people who form the backbone in the economy would become more and more pitiable. It was expected that our planning would bring in prosperity to the teeming millions but instead of prosperity people have to share more and more poverty. Our declared objective behind planning is the reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power and the attainment of "socialist pattern of society". The Second Five Year Plan points out that "the benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less pro-

vileged classes of society, and there should be a progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power. The problem is to create a milieu in which the small man who has so far had little opportunity of perceiving and participating in the immense possibilities of growth through organised effort, is enabled to put in his best in the interests of a higher standard of life for himself and increased prosperity for the country." Against this objective of planned economic development in our country the adoption of the means of inflation to accelerate the tempo of growth would be highly inconsistent. Soaring prices retard the economic growth and this fact can be seen from the Reserve Bank of India's survey that our national income has increased by 2.2% in 1961-62 instead of 5%. The main cause of this slow progress in our economic growth is the soaring prices. Unless the prices especially of food-grains are stabilised, it will not be possible to achieve "take off" stage during the Third Plan period. The main problem before the Government is how best they can interpose themselves between the producer and the ultimate consumer. The rising price level of consumer goods during the last eleven years of planning has not improved the lot of common man, for whom the Government has introduced the planning on the Russian model. From the point of sound economic growth at home and to accelerate exports there is an urgent need to stabilise the prices of essential commodities which form a large part in the consumption of poor people. If the prices are stabilised our saving capacity will increase. At present due to rising prices people's capacity to save has dwindled and for this reason we are entirely at the mercy of the foreign countries to finance our gigantic plans. Interim measures will not solve this serious problem; what is necessary is long term measures to stabilise the prices. The lasting solution lies in increasing agricultural output inspite of vagaries of monsoon so that demand for and supply of essential commodities can be balanced and therein lies the real progress of our country. Even the recent report of Currency and Finance of the Reserve Bank of India has rightly stated that "an increase in agricultural output is essential for it is the base on which the industrial production and exports have to be built up and the means by which costs of essentials like food, clothing etc. can be kept within bounds. It has to be brought about mainly by substantially stepping up an all round productivity in agriculture".

As a result of rising prices our market has become a sellers' market with the result that our balance of payments has worsened. Our export earnings have been notoriously sluggish during the past few years though it has im-

proved during the first year of the Third Plan. It is suggested that we should urge upon the aid giving countries to grant us loans for a longer duration, say, 25 years and that too at a low rate of interest. It is expected that our repayment capacity would have developed as a result of rapid growth. But the question is whether we can achieve rapid growth in the present circumstances of soaring prices, due to heavy deficit financing. Mr. Nanda is of the opinion that our plan will not be affected by the lack of resources and come what may, our plan will not be cut in size. Such brave words can be uttered only by our politicians but one can say that such brave words will not enable a common man to make two ends meet. In other words brave words of the Planning Minister will not fill the empty bellies of the increasing population. "A steady supply of essential goods in urban areas at fixed prices seems to be the answer to the problem of our soaring cost of living. Though the vast majority of our population is rural the rural population is comparatively well looked after by a Government dependent for its continuance on their votes under adult franchise. The farmers as Mr. Patil obliquely admits are and should continue to be the pampered darlings of the Congress. "If the prices have to be depressed at the cost of the farmer I will be the last Minister to do it" Mr. Patil threatens. As a realist Mr. Patil knows where his party's bread is buttered. But the growing urban middle classes, the white collared workers and industrial labour have also a right to some consideration from the Government and cannot allow their future to be indefinitely mortgaged to ensure successive victories for the Congress party in the general elections. It is surely more rational and more in everybody's interest that the worker should be assured of real wages rather than of illusory higher money wages which the Government urges on the private sector while holding its own wage line in the public sector. The only equitable way to hold the wage line is to hold the price line".

What is necessary in the interests of all is the stable price level of essential goods. Unfortunately our Government has miserably failed to hold the price line and it is doubtful whether it can effectively implement in the near future. In this connection Government should consider the warning given by Prof. B. R. Shenoy when he says "In a democratic community where the masses of the people live close to the margin of subsistence uncontrolled inflation may prove to be explosive and might undermine the existing order of society. Alternatively if appropriate "physical measures" familiar to communist economy were adopted

(Continued on page III)

# The Non-Shiftability Of Land Value Taxes And The Effects Of Tax Rate Changes On Real Estate Values—II

By Mitchell S. Lurio \*\*

To simplify things further, market values are based on all-cash transactions. Mortgages do not affect the reasoning. They simply enable a buyer to reduce his cash investment, at greater risk, increasing his net yield if the interest rate on borrowed mortgage money is less than the all-cash yield.

The renovated apartment house under consideration has a market value of \$125,000, on the all-cash basis, gross rentals being about \$24,000 a year. The tax rate on both land and building is 5%. The land is assessed at \$15,000 and the building at \$60,000. The building is a good utilization of the site. The gross income is such as to leave the owner a yield of 9% per annum on

(Continued from page II)

(in an effort to prevent inflation) we would be writing off gradually or rapidly depending upon the exigencies of the Plan individual liberty and democratic institutions by administrative or legislative action". Consumer behaviour is an important factor in determining the effects of soaring prices on growth. If the consumers are alarmed at the prospect of rising price level of certain goods it is necessary to keep the buffer stocks to keep their prices under control but in an agricultural country like ours prosperous agriculture cannot be built up without providing the farmers incentives for more production in the shape of higher prices. At the same time it is the duty of the Government to take into account the plight of the consumers, who have tightened their belts during the last fifteen years with the hope that the planning will usher in prosperity. They should not be disillusioned. Economic growth does not merely depend upon the optimal combination of the given resources but utilising hidden, scattered or badly utilized resources including unutilised capacity to save and latent entrepreneurship and this can be achieved by adopting market economy and not planned economy. Planned or controlled economy has miserably failed to deliver the goods and only a free economy can achieve the miracle and then alone we will be able to achieve real economic growth of our country.

his investment of \$125,000, or \$11,250 after all expenses including depreciation and some allowance for management services.

Real estate investors, of course, expect to get a return on their property to make it as attractive as any other investments, all things considered, such as risk, liquidity and management services.

It is not unrealistic, generally, to use a 9% return on an all-cash investment as being necessary to induce purchasers to acquire real estate under present conditions—exclusive of special or speculative situations. But the actual rate within its realistic range is unimportant for theory. Columns of figures and families of curves can be set up for various values of the constants involved, to determine trends and to see how they correspond with facts.

The data given for the apartment house example are shown in Table 1, where a 3% equivalent tax rate is used on the full market value instead of a 5% rate on the assessed value. The resulting figures are the same, since the assessed values are 60% of the given market values. 3% is 60% of 5%, the actual rate.

TABLE 1

(1) Market value of land	..	\$ 25,000
(2) Market value of building	..	100,000
(3) Total market value	..	<u>\$125,000</u>
(Values assigned to land and buildings are in the same proportions as assessed values.)		
(4) Real estate tax on land: 3% of (1)	\$	750
(5) Real estate tax on building: 3% of (2)	..	3,000
(6) Total real estate tax	..	<u>\$ 3,750</u>
(7) Owner's income on land; 9% of (1)	..	\$ 2,250
(8) Owner's income on building: 9% of (2)	..	9,000
(9) Total net income of owner	.	<u>\$11,250</u>

(10) Total real estate tax plus total net income to owner, or AMOUNT AVAILABLE for both taxes and for owner. (6) plus (9) .. \$15,000

(The author is indebted to Mr. William V. Burnell, of Boston, for the great simplification made possible by the use of the AMOUNT AVAILABLE for both taxes and for owners in all tables.)

The use of the 3% equivalent tax rate on market value instead of the actual 5% rate on assessed value also facilitates computations, which are based on market values.

Assume a sudden increase in the actual tax rate from 5% to 6%, the equivalent tax rate on full market value going from 3% to 3.6%. Here is where the premise of the shifting of taxes comes in. If this premise is ignored, the AMOUNT AVAILABLE would still remain at \$15,000. This amount is equal to 3.6% of the new market value for the owner's income, or a total of 12.6% of the new market value. Dividing \$15,000 by 0.126 results in the figure of \$119,048 as the new market value. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that the assessed value would fall immediately (there is considerable lag, however) to 60% of \$119,048.

If this line of reasoning were true, it would not take too many increases in tax rates before the market value of the land fell to zero (assuming the building still worth \$100,000 and the loss falling entirely on the land). This would mean that no builder could afford to build a similar building on a similar site unless he got the land for nothing.

But our premise is that the increase of the tax on the building can be passed on to the tenants whereas the increase in the tax on the site has to be borne by the owner. Since the tax on the building has gone up by 0.8% of \$100,000, the owner will be able, sooner or later—and this is anticipated in the marketplace—to raise his gross rentals from the pro-AMOUNT AVAILABLE becomes \$15,600. This is the figure that has to be divided by 0.126 to perty by \$600. With expenses unchanged, the obtain the new market value. Table 2 repeats these figures.

TABLE 2

(1) Amount available for taxes and owner's income ..	\$ 15,600
(2) Since this is 3.6% plus 9% of the new market value, 15,600 divided by 0.126 is the new market value or ..	123,810

(3) Assuming the drop is borne by the site the site value is ..	23,810
(4) Market value of the building is still ..	100,000
Proof:	
(5) Real estate tax on land: 3.6% of (3) ..	857
(6) Real estate tax on buildings: 3.6% of (4) ..	3,600
(7) Total real estate tax: ..	4,457
(8) Owner's income on land: 9% of (3) ..	2,143
(9) Owner's income on building: 9% of (4) ..	9,000
(10) Total income of owner ..	11,143
(11) Total real estate tax plus total income of owner or AMOUNT AVAILABLE: (7) plus (10) ..	15,600

Again, in the reasoning above, it is assumed that the tax assessor immediately lowers his valuation from the original figure of \$75,000 to the new figure of \$74,286 (which is 60% of \$123,810). This does not follow very quickly, though it should (and is anticipated), because of the resistance to lowering assessed values and therefore the revenues of the city, and also because, in many jurisdictions, assessments are reviewed no more often than is worse off than is indicated. It is conservative to conclude that the land value has fallen by only \$1,190, the different between \$25,000 and \$23,810.

The reader can prepare his own figures on this basis for any particular situation. Calculation will show that in the example given, a sudden jump in actual tax rate from 5% to 10% will cause at least a 25% drop in market value of the site.

In the course of working out the effects of tax increases, a simple method of determining groundrent was discovered, given the figures for a suitable building upon the site.

(Reproduced from Appraisal and Valuation Manual of the American Society of Appraisers, Washington).

## Nehru Is Willing: Exit Tara Singh?

(From Our Correspondent)

India's offer to start preliminary talks with China in Peking on October 15 is unaffected by the latest incursions in NEFA, where an Indian post has been under attack by intruding Chinese troops. Prime Minister Nehru made this clear on his arrival home from overseas when he reacted sharply to a reporter's question whether he would withdraw the offer of talks in view of the Chinese action in NEFA. "I shall always be prepared for talks, whatever happens, provided they are decent and self-respecting," he declared, adding, with vehemence, "I have never refused to talk to anybody."

But the question, particularly in view of his earlier commitment in Parliament that he would do nothing "dishonourable", is whether the proposed talks in Peking would under the circumstances be self-respecting. The Prime Minister's condition for talks was Chinese withdrawal from the area occupied by Chinese troops. Instead of doing anything of the kind, the Chinese have started incursions in NEFA area also. Where then is there any room for self-respecting talks? If a man gives you a slap, you may, as a man of peace, turn round and say, "Look here, what do you mean? As gentlemen we should be reasonable and talk it over." But if that man goes on giving you slap after slap, where is there any honourable room left for honourable talks?

Any one can see, it is being argued here, that talks with China in the present circumstances will be disgraceful for India, and what is disgraceful is dishonourable and lacking in self-respect. Mr. Nehru may not have refused to talk to anybody, but today national honour is in his keeping and national honour and self-respect alike demand that he refuse to talk to China, instead of emphasizing at every conceivable opportunity that he is ready for talks. After all, he would not be talking to China in his individual capacity but as the Prime Minister of India. People here are wondering if he is the same Mr. Nehru who once wrote about himself under a pseudonym that "his flashes of temper are well-known". And what makes him think that submissive humility will pay in the long run?

Mr. Nehru expressed his inability to "enter the Chinese mind" when asked about the possible motive behind China's aggressive action across the MacMahon Line. He seems to have a short memory, for the Chinese authorities

warned him and India a few years ago that resistance to their advance in the Ladakh region would force them to wrest what belonged to them in the NEFA region. That is what they are doing now, and our Prime Minister expresses his inability to enter the Chinese mind! Where is the question of entering the mind which has laid itself bare times without number?

### TARA SINGH TO "RISE AGAIN"

The defeat of Master Tara Singh, at the hands of his follower until a few months ago, Sant Fateh Singh, was not unexpected. What was surprising in the result of the contest, which took place on October 2 at Amritsar, was the fact that the motion of no-confidence against the SGPC President, a follower of Master Tara Singh, was passed by a majority of only four votes. This is no doubt due to the dexterity with which Master Tara Singh kept up a show of confidence at a time when his stature in the community was falling precipitately and he was unable even to address public meetings owing to heckling by his critics.

After the first defeat those who were sitting on the fence, or thought they were voting for the winner in voting for Master Tara Singh's nominee, crossed over to the opposing camp and the Sant's nominees were elected President, Senior and Junior Vice-Presidents and General Secretary. So complete was the Sant's victory that after the first two rounds Master Tara Singh did not put up any candidate for executive posts.

This is not the first time that Master Tara Singh has been ousted from the SGPC, but this time he has lost because he has become extremely unpopular in his own community, and wild and extravagant charges are being levelled against him. Despite this unpopularity in the community he retained his hold over the leaders of the community because of his reputation as a wizard who easily outmanoeuvres his opponents.

Dictators sometimes overplay their cards and this is exactly what Master Tara Singh has done. It was indeed amazing that a man who broke a solemn vow made before the sacred Akal Takht—which he did by ending his fast about this time last year without achieving even the semblance of Punjabi Suba—should be tolerated by the Sikh community. But the need

for solidarity and the desire to escape the ridicule of the Hindus came to his aid in the person of Sant Fateh Singh. Two beggars may share a blanket but two persons cannot share a throne, it has been said, and Master Tara Singh, instead of doing all he could to retain the support of the Sant, became jealous of the man without whose presence he could not even address public meetings, and tried to curb his influence by ousting his followers, proving that, generosity aside, there is no gratitude in politics either. Thus he made an onslaught on the very need for solidarity which had saved him and on which he had taken his stand. The Sant was naturally annoyed beyond measure. That was Tara Singh's fatal mistake. With the control of the gurudwaras in their hands the Sant and his followers should soon control the Akali Dal, from which they were expelled recently by Master Tara Singh in a fit of dictatorial madness.

The Panth and Master Tara Singh have been synonymous for long, but it will take quite a number of blunders on the part of Sant Fateh Singh to enable Master Tara Singh's latest boast to come true. "This defeat will mark the beginning of our rise again," he said, adding, "The Panth is most active and aroused in its hour of defeat." One cannot help admiring Master Tara Singh's cheek and his ready wit even in the hour of the greatest defeat of his life. They made him the undisputed leader of the Sikh community. But as for the intention to begin again, Master Tara Singh seems to have forgotten his age altogether, as well as the forces ranged against him, if not also the vow before the Akal Takht that he deliberately broke. Indeed, the way the wind is blowing one should not feel surprised if the five Tara Singhites in the SGPC executive of fifteen also desert him one by one. He would be well advised to chalk out his future in accordance with the old adage: "Jaan bachhi aur lakhon paye". (My life is saved and I have gained lakhs.) This would appear to be all the more necessary in view of the fact that the Sikh masses are inclined to view the defeat of Master Tara Singh as "deliverance of the Panth".

#### EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

After the Government decision to make English an associate official language of the country, it was only to be expected that the Emotional Integration Committee should have emphasised the need for keeping English as an "associate" medium of instruction in the universities when the change-over to regional languages takes place. The Committee has drawn up a three-language formula for schools in Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, stressing the importance of reducing the burden of three scripts,

particularly in the non-Hindi areas. But it is easier to draw up a formula for school boys and girls than to see it implemented successfully, for obviously there is a limit to which the brain of the average school student can be taxed.

It is, however, something that the burden of three scripts has been sought to be reduced. Efficiency in all subjects is bound to suffer when a school boy or girl has to learn three languages, beside the other prescribed subjects. A false sense of national honour is preventing English from taking its patriotic place in the scheme of education in the country and as a potent factor in the scheme of national integration. The obstacles in the way of replacing it with Hindi are sought to be minimized in the hope that the cart will run even when it is placed before the horse. Under the circumstances it may be admitted that the Emotional Integration Committee has done as well as it could, not without noting that the Vice-Chancellors of universities in India only recently decided in favour of the retention of English as the medium of instruction in universities, and they may be supposed to know what is good for their students better than professional demagogues with an eye on the prejudices of the ignorant electorate. No sensible man here doubts that fissiparous tendencies find readier response from linguistic fanatics and those devoted to regional languages than from the English educated classes, or that the schools having English as the medium of instruction turn out better patriots than those having the regional language as the medium. In the former the outlook is cosmopolitan, in the latter it is parochial. Indeed, the students turned out by the former do not need emotional integration for it is born of the education they receive. We now propose the wrong type of education for our youth and then propose supplementary measures to rectify the defects of the former.

How the use of Indian languages as the medium of instruction in the highest stage of education, whose "profound importance" has been recognised by the Committee, would bridge the gap between the intellectual elite and the mass of the people remains somewhat of a mystery, having regard to the fact that the regional language, far from being eliminated, has since the advent of freedom been given the importance that is its due. One might as well say that the use of trousers, now becoming common in the uneducated classes, will bridge the gulf between the intellectual elite and the mass of the people, and promote national integration. The salient fact remains that the three-language formula for schools in the Hindi-speaking areas will never be such a burden on students, for the third language in their case will neither

be the official nor the associate official language, whereas in non-Hindi speaking areas it will be a burden, for all the three languages will be of paramount importance for the student, who will have to learn them all efficiently. That is what makes Hindi as the national official language unfair for those living in non-Hindi speaking areas. And injustice is the worst way of promoting emotional integration.

## Book Review

**The Quest for Equality** by Robert J. Harris: Published by The Louisiana State University Press, USA. 1960. Pages 172 Price 4 Dollars. Edward Douglas White Lectures on Citizenship.

This is a timely study by Professor Harris of the drive towards equality animating the American political system comprising the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution with its various amendments, the enactments and controversies of Congress and the judicial pronouncements of the Supreme Court from time to time. It is an outgrowth of the lectures delivered in 1959 by Professor Harris under the auspices of the Edward Douglas White Foundation of the Louisiana University, Mississippi. The lectures are devoted to problems of citizenship and have called forth similar publications by other competent scholars like Mr. Hutchins on Education for Freedom, Mr. Edward Corwin on Liberty against Government, Mr. Paul Appleby on Morality and Administration in Democratic Government, by Mr. Leonard D. White on The States and the Nation. The present book under review is the latest in the series to be published.

We in India have taken over the basic outcome of the long and successful struggle for liberty and other human rights, civil and political, that Eur-American peoples have waged through the centuries from the days of the Magna Carta. The Preamble of "liberty, equality, fraternity" is taken bodily from the war cries of the French Revolution of 1789 adding justice or dharma to it in an external way. The fundamental rights articulate in detail the rights pertaining to the dignity of the citizen as a man. The Principles of Social Policy lay down objectives of equality in every sphere of a life, economic and educational (as well as equality before the law) to be realised by the Government through administrative action over the years gradually but without respite.

Such a Constitution needs for its practical realisation in life in terms of opportunity for all, the cooperation of thinkers from all the learned professions and the bulk of common people resolved to defend freedom and equality

in day-to-day life and to exercise vigilance over government for this purpose ceaselessly.

Such education is one of the primary blessings of democratic government.

Advanced nations in the vanguard of leadership today have not solved their social and political problems to perfection. This book reveals the intellectual and moral struggle waged by American leaders and citizens from the foundation of their independent life in 1776 in constitutional battles to secure equality for all—the under-privileged among the whites themselves as well as justice to the Negro. In fact, America had to wage a bitter civil war to secure equality of rights to the Negro.

But Professor Harris points out that immediately after their defeat, the Southern States proceeded unrepentantly to enact laws restricting and nullifying the rights of the newly enfranchised Negro so that in effect, his social and economic status remained much the same as before!

The conscience of America was aroused. Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill in 1866 re-defining equal rights for all, explicitly mentioning and prohibiting racial discrimination against the Negro under penalties. This was found insufficient in practice as a mere declaration of rights without the will to enforce it by the State was useless. Hence in 1868 an Amendment (the 14th) was passed making it obligatory on States to enforce the provisions of human rights, particularly equality, civil and political, to benefit the poor as well as the Negro.

Anti-monopoly laws, labour laws and many other measures were passed to equalise opportunities as between rich and poor, white and Negro.

The Supreme Court judges rose to new heights of humanity and legal insight, by and large barring exceptions, and interpreted federal laws in the spirit of equality.

Intolerant, violent organisations like the Ku Klux Klan were outlawed and offenders in lynching outrages came to be punished in spite of collusion by State officials.

The work of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in which many devoted whites worked with sincere zeal and patience developing a full and astonishing expertise in law and procedure (which helped the Courts and the cause of the disinherited) is noteworthy as an expression of the higher social conscience of Americans.

Professor Harris begins with a chapter giving the historical background of equality from Greek and Roman cultures to which the Judeo-Christian religious feeling added a new

consciousness of human dignity. He carries the story forward through to modern days via Locke, the Founders of the American Revolution and the thinkers of the French Revolution. He devotes the body of the book to a narration of the historical context of the various Acts and Amendments, particularly the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 and the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868.

He cites the latest issue (1954) at Little Rock School in President Eisenhower's time and the intransigence of the Governor necessitating the calling out of Federal troops. Today as this is being written (1 Oct.) comes the news of a similar crisis forcing President Kennedy to send Federal troops to Memphis, Oxford in Tennessee in the gravest conflict since the civil war.

As we read the account in this book, we get a revealing insight into the human problem behind the noble endeavour of the American people to extend liberty and equality to all. We get a massive sense of the contribution being made by American intellectuals—lawyers, legislators, judges, newspaper editors, clergymen and others, individually and in voluntary groups, to make liberty and equality real in terms of its daily life to all and the readiness of the courts and the administration to defend constitutional rights irrespective of the immense weight of conservatism often ranged against them. Needless to add that this and the other publications of this Lecture Foundation are valuable to Indian democrats.

—M. A. VENKATA RAO.

## Gleanings from the Press

### SAD PLIGHT OF THE CONGRESS

The elevation of Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai to the Governorship of the Punjab does no credit to those who handled Congress strategy in respect of solving the double difficulty of the crisis in Kerala and avoiding a parliamentary by-election forecast in Chickballapur (Mysore). In reality the Congress looks all the poorer for the act, its intention having been laid bare.

The most sinister part of this elevation-cum-pressure strategy is the deliberate avoidance of a by-election which was in the offing. What is gained is the notoriety for refusal to face the people. A psychology of fear and fright has apparently seized the Congress. It is a patent confession of defeat and demoralization. The Union Minister's belated explanation that pressure was put on him by friends in his constituency not to reopen it for a further by-election, is meant to save the face of the Congress which is shy of facing another by-election,

after the Chittoor warning. The two successive defeats of the Congress at by-elections at Tiruchengode in Madras State and Chittoor in Andhra have no doubt shaken the morale of the ruling party.

What a sad plight it is that peoples' verdicts should be flagrantly ignored by a brazen strategy which puts undemocratic pressure on two sides, squeezing one person out of high office and compelling another to stay in his! This strategy adopted by the Congress is without precedent and makes mockery of democracy.

— N. S. Varadachari in 'Swarajya'

## News & Views

### WEST IS GAINING STRENGTH OVER COMMUNIST WORLD RUSK CITES DEVELOPMENTS

WASHINGTON: Mr. Dean Rusk, the U.S. Secretary of State, said that the West was gaining strength over the communist world and cited developments in Berlin and East Asia to support his case.

Mr. Rusk was one of the six top Administration officials, who gave a televised accounting to the American people of progress being made in the cold war with the Soviet Union.

The programme, filmed in advance at the State Department, was shown over the newly-created National Educational Television network.

Mr. Rusk said the Berlin Wall was a symbol of communist failure because successful systems did not have to build walls against their own people.

In Communist China, he said, the vaunted "short cut to the future" had proved to be the "short cut to misery," especially when one compared conditions there to conditions in India, Formosa and Malaya, not to mention Japan.

He listed the five basic goals of the U.S. foreign policy as follows:

1. To deter or defeat aggression at any level;
2. To bring about a closer association of the more industrialised democracies of Western Europe, North America and Asia, especially Japan, so as to promote world-wide peace and security;
3. To help the less developed areas of the world;
4. To assist in the gradual emergence of a genuine world community; and
5. To reduce the arms race and the risk of war and to reduce the areas of conflict with the communist bloc.

## **RUSSIA NO BETTER THAN IN TSARIST TIME**

When Mr. Khrushchev boasted, at the twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that Communism is superior to capitalism, and would bury it, President Kennedy commented that in 1913 the gross national product of Tsarist Russia was 46 per cent of the output of goods and services in the United States. While the USSR has been making impressive progress, Mr. Kennedy noted, so has the USA. Today the total Soviet production is 47 per cent of that of the United States. In the forty-five years of Communism in Russia the gap has been narrowed by only one percentage point.

## **AMERICAN SPACEMAN SAFELY TOUCHES CAPE CANAVERAL, Oct. 4. (Reuter).**

A jubilant Commander Walter Schirra stepped smiling broadly from his spaceship Sigma-7 on board a U.S. Navy carrier after spending nine hours whirling round the world in space.

He landed, a few minutes behind programme, some 275 miles north-east of Midway Island. He still had 80 per cent of his fuel left when he ended his flight.

Schirra (39), America's fifth astronaut, radioed: "This is a sweet little bird" as he lay bobbing in the Pacific after making a 5¾ orbits.

Schirra had completed the longest and most trouble-free American space flight, and spent 99 minutes of his nine hours 13 minutes in space in "drifting" flight in which he did not use his flight controls.

## **HIGHEST FLYER**

He also reached a maximum height of 176 miles which made him the highest flying U.S. astronaut yet.

A tracking ship in the Indian Ocean made a visual sighting, reporting that Sigma-7 shone almost as bright as the planet Venus.

Commander Schirra was reported to be in excellent physical condition. He underwent a medical examination which showed that he had suffered "no ill effect" from his successful flight.

## **CHINA ACCUSED OF AGGRESSIVE ACTS CEYLON BACKS INDIAN CLAIM**

Colombo

China was today taken to task by leaders of various political parties in Ceylon for her military aggression on India.

Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the Trotskyist Lanka Samaj Party, said the Chinese action was a "major disaster" for the cause of Asian solidarity.

"What is it that China has gained by this except losing the goodwill of the whole of Asia?" he asked.

Senator C. D. S. Siriwardene, a prominent member of the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party said though Ceylon was not directly interested in the border dispute between China and India yet the clash between two powerful nations in Asia with both of whom Ceylon had friendly ties must necessarily affect Ceylon as well.

## **PROPER COURSE**

He said the MacMahon line had existed for a long period of years and if the Chinese Government had any reason to demand revision of the boundaries, the proper course, undoubtedly should be by friendly discussions and if no settlement was possible by such means, by resort to arbitration.

Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Deputy Leader of the United National Party in Ceylon House of Representatives said China was "completely wrong" in this matter.

The entire territory belonged to India and if there was any border dispute it should be settled by arbitration.

According to Mr. Jayawardene, China had been able to commit aggression because of her "invasion" of Tibet.

## **LAND REVENUE ABOLITION RANGA EXPLAINS SWATANTRA POLICY Nellore**

Mr. N. G. Ranga, chairman of the Swatantra Party said that deficit financing by the Centre and the States and inflation had brought "untold miseries in its wake on the people."

Speaking to newsmen here, Mr. Ranga said defective planning was alone responsible for this evil.

He said there was great need to reorganize the present panchayat raj system which was giving rise to groups and factions in villages. Instead of giving the people scope to manage their own affairs, the present system of panchayat raj had imposed autocratic rule of the State.

The Swatantra Party, Mr. Ranga said, stood for total abolition of land revenue. The Land Revenue Act had removed all the big zamindars from the scene. Only the small cultivators were now engaged in agriculture and they should be exempted from payment of land revenue. Mr. Ranga criticized in this connection the additional assessment on land.

Addressing a public meeting, Mr. Ranga said that if the voters were intelligent enough to put the Swatantra Party in power, the first thing they would do would be to abolish land revenue within six months. They would also do away with inflation and deficit financing. They would scrap off the present Planning Commission and replace it with a true Gandhian planning organization.

## VINOBA BACKS BID TO RETAIN ENGLISH PLANNING BODY MEMBER'S CLAIM

Express News Service  
Calcutta

Mr. Shriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission, told newsmen here that during his talk with Acharya Vinoba Bhave he found the latter in complete agreement with the Government of India's policy regarding the continuance of English as an associate official language even after 1965.

He said the Acharya had, however, hoped that the Government would treat Hindi as the main official language and take all necessary steps for spreading its use in the Central Secretariat and also to provide necessary facilities for teaching Hindi in non-Hindi areas.

Referring to the issue of fixation of a time limit for the use of English as an associate language, he expressed the opinion that the period should be left to the wishes and goodwill of non-Hindi-speaking areas as has been announced by Prime Minister Nehru.

### NEHRU PLEDGES JOINT STATUS FOR ENGLISH AGITATORS WARNED

New Delhi

Prime Minister Nehru declared in firm tones that the pledge given in Parliament to give English an associate status in the Constitution would be fulfilled whatever happened.

Mr. Nehru said some people who called themselves "lovers of Hindi" had started agitations against giving English an associate status.

Raising his voice, Mr. Nehru said: "Let them be under no illusion. The pledge we gave on the floor of Parliament to the people of South India that nothing would be done against their wishes in the matter of English will be fulfilled. This is crystal clear."

The Prime Minister, who was addressing a meeting called by the Delhi Citizens Committee, said the demonstrations against English weakened the integration of the country.

A lot of noise was being made by people who opposed associate status for English with Hindi.

The proposal was made because people in the South had urged that English should be retained.

This was agreed to because the Government did not want to impose Hindi on half or one fourth of the country against the wishes of the people.

Hindi would grow and flourish. But it would be wrong and harmful to Hindi "to spread it through the use of the lathi."

### TREND ABROAD

Even in European countries people were learning more foreign languages. In Britain

there was a big move for people to learn French, German and Russian to keep up in science.

In Egypt, it had been made compulsory for school children to learn English and another language.

Mr. Nehru warned that India would go down again if it did not keep its mind open to learn from the world.

The country had fallen time and again because it did not know what was happening in the world.

### PATIL & T. T. K. DIFFER ON PRICE CONTROL

MADRAS: MR. S. K. PATIL, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, and MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, Minister without portfolio, expressed diametrically opposite views on price control here last week.

\*\* Mr. Patil expressed the view at Madras that the food position, which was "quite satisfactory with plenty of stocks at hand," would be thrown out of gear if controls were imposed.

\*\* TTK, on the other hand, emphasised that the best way to bring down the rising price index of essential commodities was to effect control. "This is my personal view," he remarked at Coimbatore.

However, the Union Government announced the release of large stocks of wheat and sugar to bring down the prices within a few hours of the speeches of the two Ministers. The announcement implied that holding large stocks of foodstuffs in reserve contributed to the rising prices.

### HOW CONGRESS FIGHTS CASTEISM

Sighing over the Chittoor reverse, a Congress weekly of Madras speaks in the language of deeper grief over the recrudescence of groupism which the High Command is engaged in banishing:

"The sight of Central and Chief Ministers being pressed into service at Chittoor may be excused as party-routine. But to pressurise Muslim votes with a Muslim Minister, to woo non-Brahmins with non-Brahmin leaders, to cover Brahmin voters with a Brahmin leader, to win Vaishya votes with a Vaishya voice, besides exploiting the traditional Kamma-Reddy differences, is a crime which a national organization pledged to integration cannot afford to indulge in."

— From Swarajya

### KASHMIR IS PART OF INDIA, AVERS BAKSHI

Srinagar

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, State Premier, has said that Kashmir was a laboratory for Indian secularism and that this State was the object of close observation.

In a valedictory address to the delegates of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Bakshi said here the Kashmiris had given a fitting reply to this criticism in 1947 and again in 1953.

He said as an integral part of India, Kashmir was firmly wedded to believe that Kashmir lives as long India lives and that the State has no future except as part of Indian nation.

### SUPREME COURT STRIKES DOWN MYSORE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT'S 'CASTE' ORDER

New Delhi

The Supreme Court held that a Mysore Government order reserving college seats for Backward Classes was a fraud on the Constitution.

Mr. Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar in striking the order, declared that the impugned order had categorised Backward Classes on the sole basis of caste "which is not permitted by Article 15 (4)."

"We have also held that the reservation of 68 per cent of the seats made by the impugned order is plainly inconsistent with the concept of the special provision authorised by Article 15 (4).

"Therefore, it followed that the order is a fraud on the constitutional power conferred on the State by Article 15 (4)."

The impugned order provides for reservation of 68 per cent of the seats in medical and engineering colleges for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

It defines 89 communities as belonging to socially and educationally "Backward Classes and about 135 communities as more Backward Classes."

The grievance of the petitioners was that as a result of the reservation made by the order the students who had secured less percentage of marks had been admitted in the colleges but not the petitioners.

### DECLARATION OF PEOPLE'S RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

"We, citizens of the United Kingdom, desiring to set on record certain views and convictions concerning the international situation, have signed the following Declaration, which, we believe, represents the principles which free peoples should regard as governing future policy in the search for a true and lasting peace:

1. While welcoming all efforts towards effecting universal disarmament, we submit that these must be accompanied by equal efforts to remove those fundamental causes of tension which create armaments.

2. We ask that the inherent right of all men and women to choose freely their own form

of government through free elections be restored. We neither seek the reinstatement of former regimes nor demand the acceptance of any particular non-communist system. We reject all totalitarian systems, whether they be Fascist, Nazi or Communist.

3. We do not accept that the present regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and Europe and Eastern Germany represent the will of the people they govern. Accordingly we ask that these millions be granted those identical rights of self-determination which have so often been demanded by the Soviet Bloc in the case of many colonial territories in Asia and Africa.

4. It must be for others to decide whether the free choice of peoples can be effected through elections held under United Nations or some other form of international supervision.

5. The existence of the physical barrier to movement imposed by communist governments over thousands of miles across Europe is the visible symbol of the world. We believe that, more than any other action, its removal would contribute to an understanding between peoples living under different systems. To aim at space travel before men and ideas can move in freedom across the earth's surface is, in our belief, a confusion of values.

6. We believe that, in implementing these measures, which represent the simple principles of humanity and brotherhood, communist leadership would make its greatest contribution to a lasting peace."

OR EDWARD BEDDINGTON-BEHRENS; FRED BELLENGER; BIRDWOOD; CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY; ROGER GRESHAM COOKE; CLEMENT DAVIES; RICHARD GOOLD-ADAMS; JOHN HYND; LUDOVIC KENNEDY; WILLIAM LAWTHORP; LONGFORD; THOMAS MOORE; REA; SAM WATSON; GEORGE WILLESSEN.

"We welcome the declaration signed by distinguished British personalities. We endorse it in the firm belief that the principles set out in this statement are essential to an international policy aimed at a true and lasting peace.

In our countries the basic right of the people to choose their own form of government through free elections is denied by the communist regimes, and to have this right restored remains the fundamental objective of our peoples."

A. ABAKUKS (Latvia); L. DALNOKI VEREES (Hungary); W. KARASTOYANOVA (Bulgaria); E. RACZYNSKI (Poland); I. RATIU (Rumania); J. STRANSKY (Czechoslovakia); J. TAUL (Estonia); J. VJACINSKAS (Lithuania); T. ZAVALLANI (Albania).

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