

*Selections*

*from*

**'THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN'**

Founded by : R. B. LOTWALA

Editor : D. M. KULKARNI

Part II

**1971 to 1981**

Editor & Compiler : D. M. KULKARNI

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Dedicated to :

*The Late Miss Bachuben R. Lotewala*

# SELECTIONS FROM 'THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN'

## PART II

### (1971-1981)

The selections from "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN", Part - I, cover the period commencing from the year 1956 and ending in 1971, in which year, the founder of this journal, Shri R. B. Lotwalla expired. The founder's powerful hand having been withdrawn by his passing away in 1971, from the affairs relating to this journal, the financial resources of this journal, became more and more limited, till at last in the year 1981, the journal ceased its publication. To add to the financial difficulties the journal had to face, the Government of India headed by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, declared 'Emergency' in the year 1976, which continued till the beginning of the year 1977 when The Janata Government which came to power, revoked it. The Journal remained closed during the period of 'Emergency'. This matter has been particularly mentioned and discussed in the 'Editorial' published in the issue of the journal dated January, 1979 on its reappearance. The said Editorial with the heading 'AT OUT POST AGAIN' is reproduced in this brochure.

The selections in Part II, have been made on the same lines and format as those in Part I. They begin with the life-sketch of the late R. B. Lotwalla followed by articles contributed by different writers which are arranged subject-wise.

The Book-Review of the book 'The Libertarian Alternative' published herein, is intended to give the reader a broad outline of Libertarian ideology and its practice.

In the latter part of his life, the founder of this journal evinced a great interest in 'Single Tax System' propounded by Henry George, The British Economist of the 19th century. Accordingly, two articles on this subject have been included in these selections and the readers, it can be hoped, will find them interesting and

informative. The article on 'Economic Prosperity of Japan' will help one realise that Prosperity could come to a country, whether Western or Eastern through 'Freedom' and not necessarily through 'Blood and Tears' as spelled out by Soviet Communism and Chinese Maoism.

While this journal has never approved of the policy of 'Nonalignment' in foreign relations, followed by the Indian Government in the aftermath of India's freedom the article 'India's Foreign Policy Vindicated' nevertheless supports India's foreign policy, with special reference to the alleged 'Russian Occupation of Afghanistan' as being realistic and fruitful in the matter of safeguarding the interests of secular and forward looking 'India that is Bharat' surrounded as it is by Muslim fundamentalist nations like Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Secularization of Muslim nations of West Asia is the need of the hour in West Asian politics and India must welcome such a process whether it be initiated by communist Russia or a democratic Western State. Modernism i.e. mode of scientific and rational thinking and living will one day inevitably overcome all religious and social obscurantism still struggling to survive in some parts of the world. The question is how and by what means? As the Indian political revolutionary thinker, the late Mr. M. N. Roy put it, If democratic countries be found wanting in nerve and drive to accomplish this historical task, it is more than likely that communist countries would achieve this goal even with all their military strength and might coupled with the imposition of their political and economic systems which might, in the first instance, appeal to the imagination of the hungry millions of even the backward but religiously fanatical countries of West Asia. It is encouraging to note that this view which is rather a major departure from the view commonly held in the Indian political

circles is slowly gaining ground, as could be seen from a small but instructive booklet named 'Practical Socialism' brought out by Mr. Nilkant R. Khadilkar, the Editor of the Marathi Daily 'Navakal' which is attracting a good deal of attention from the younger sections of public opinion in the country. The article on 'Dayan's visit to India' exposes India Government's Pro-Arab policy visa-a-vis Israel.

Coming to domestic problems India is faced with, the articles bring to bear an objective and dispassionate mind on them such as Reservation of seats not only for Harijans i. e. untouchables but also for the so called 'backward' castes; Labour unionism in India; pseudo-secularism of political leaders; future of the Congress Party; Language policy for India; Rationalism and Secular Humanism.

In fine, the present Editor and Compiler must add a word of heart-felt thankfulness to Miss. Kusum R. Lotwalla, the Managing Director of Libertarian Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Bombay and Mr. K. B. Rao, the Director and Secretary of the said company, for their valuable co-operation,

assistance and guidance, in compiling these selections and presenting them to the Public,

This Part II is also dedicated along with Part I to the cherished memory of the Late Miss. Bachuben Lotwalla. Her passing away in 1982, was quickly followed by the sad death of her younger brother Kishore R. Lotwalla in September 1983 at the age of seventy which leaves Miss Kusum R. Lotwalla as the only surviving member of the Lotwalla family to carry on, as she has been all along doing the ideological and humanitarian work of her illustrious Father R. B. Lotwalla.

The present Editor and Compiler had been contributing editorial notes to the journal from 1960 to 1981 and on the suggestions received after the publication of Part - I from friends and well-wishers, such Editorial notes as have been included in these selections have been initialled as D. M. K. at the end.

March, 24, 1984,  
Bombay.

D. M. KULKARNI  
Editor and Compiler

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## Shri R. B. Lotvala: The Prophet of Human Freedom - A Life-Sketch.

By D. M. Kulkarni

The sad passing away of Shri RANCHOODAS BHAVAN LOTVATA on 12th March 1971 at Deolali in Nasik District, at the age of 95, brings to a close a glorious life and career dedicated to the cause of Human Freedom.

Born of an orthodox middle class Hindu family of Halai Lohana caste of Bombay, Mr. LOTWALA, by sheer dint of his talents and industry, rose to be a successful businessman owning A Roller Flour Mill in Bombay, in about the year 1900, at the young age of 25; a press-Baron, owning, The HINDUSTAN PRESS and 'The Hindustan' Daily in about 1915, which was renamed in 1926 as 'HINDUSTAN PRAJAMITRA'. He was in fact, a silent but dynamic force behind all radical and progressive movements that took root in India during the first part of this century, such as The Arya Samaj Hindu Reform movement, Leftist Socialism, the Indian movement for National Freedom, Birth Control, Removal of caste and untouchability and above all, Libertarianism, which is a practical

form of Philosophical Anarchism into which he had been initiated by Mr. M.P.T. ACHARYA in Germany in 1932 and to which ideology Mr. LOTVALA was wedded in the latter part of his life. As Mr. S. A. DANGE the Communist Leader with whom Mr. LOTVALA was closely associated in propagating the Communist doctrine in India from 1919 to 1929 has put it, "Had it not been for Mr. R.B. LOTVALA, Leftist Radicalism would have been delayed in INDIA at least by two decades".

In Indian politics, he always associated himself with Mr. VITHALBHAI PATEL, and SUBHASHCHANDRA BOSE in their tirade against what they considered to be the irrational aspects of Gandhism such as the cult of the Charkha, Absolute Nonviolence and bringing religion into secular politics. In fact VITHALBHAI PATEL'S political office was located on the 2nd floor of Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, where Mr. LOTVALA resided. This friendship lasted throughout, till death separated them.

This anti-Gandhism of Mr. LOTVALA which was propagated through his newspapers and journals of the Hindustan Press and Advocate of India Press, made them unpopular and brought Mr. LOTVALA into huge losses, to the tune of three lacs of rupees. In 1944, he sold out the Press and his newspaper concern. But in the Post-Freedom period Mr. LOTVALA kept up his propaganda in favour of Libertarian Thought and Free and Open Society based on Minimum Government and Free and Private Enterprise without monopolies, through the columns of "The Indian Libertarian" the Fortnightly journal edited by his daughter Miss KUSUM LOTWALLA. This movement for a 'Free Way of Living,' it might be truly said, sowed the seed of the Swatantra Party and the movement for forging a Democratic Alliance which are much in the news to-day.

To ensure the continuance of his Libertarian and Social Reform movements in the country, Mr. LOTVALA created two Trusts solely out of his own funds. The R. L. Foundation maintains one of the finest Libraries in the city of Bombay and a Free Reading Room and besides,

it encourages publications on Libertarian thought and grants scholarships to School and College students. The R. L. Trust runs a Hostel for post-graduate students and research workers in Humanities. These colossal charities made by Mr. LOTVALA, in the end left him only a bare minimum of the fortune that he had built up for himself through his Flour Milling business, just enough for meeting the expenses of his establishment at Deolali where he passed his last days of quiet retirement in his cosy hermitage in "Ram Baug".

Mr. LOTVALA is survived by his cultured and well-educated family consisting of his son Mr. KISHOR LOTWALLA and daughter-in-law Mrs. MUMTAZ LOTWALLA, both being well-known figures in the world of Bombay sports; Miss BACHUBEN LOTWALLA his eldest daughter, the distinguished social worker of Bombay; and Miss. KUSUM LOTWALLA his youngest daughter, the devoted co-worker and collaborator in Mr. LOTVALA'S journalistic and ideological work.

—/ I. L. April 1971

#### **The quickest Way to Prosperity**

"The quickest and surest way to production, prosperity and economic growth is through private enterprise. The best way for governments to encourage private enterprise is to establish Justice, to enforce contracts to insure domestic peace and tranquility, to protect private property and to secure the blessings of Liberty including economic liberty which means to stop putting obstacles in the way of private enterprise."

-Henry Hazlitt.

#### **Freedom is Indivisible**

"For me it is natural that the man standing for a free economic society at home belongs also in the van of fighters for a free economic division of work in the world and for close interstate cooperation."

—Prof. Von Mises.



# A Message to My Fellow-Rationalists

## Rationalist's Task in India

By R. B. Lotvala

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

rising population and idolatry is still a prominent form of our religiousness. In short, rationalism has received a set-back.

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

The primary force that retards the march of rationalist thought in India is Gandhism which is the very anti-thesis of Rationalism but which unfortunately still dominates the bulk of the political minded. Gandhism which arose as a modest doctrine with the limited objective of righting the British Government by the method of non-violence has come to stay as one of the most powerful ideologies in post-independent India. Keeping alive, the worst forms of obscurantism, anti-scientism and reaction as preached by the Mahatma. The unscrupulousness with which Gandhi drew the student-world into political strike to serve his ends has left a deleterious effect on the present student generation, and is responsible for the large-scale student-indiscipline and the chaotic conditions in the Universities today as exemplified by the

numerous incidents of assaults on the Professors, burning of question papers and other forms of irrational conduct on the part of the students. What is worst, Gandhism has imported an element of hypocrisy in our national life and has turned its adherents into schizophrenics. By no stretch of imagination the heavy-machine building industries, the gigantic steel plants . . . "Our modern temples" . . . that our rulers are planning to erect at prohibitive costs can be reconciled with the crude village economy sustained by the primitive charkha and handicrafts as visualised by the highpriest of indian reaction, nor the huge, ever-expanding and soul destroying bureaucratic Frankenstein that the apostles of Gandhism have created today would ever fit in with the simple village-centered, primordial decentralised economic ideal, and does not worry our rulers, the political heirs of the Mahatma. Obviously this intellectual feat by which one could accommodate diametrically opposed ideas is possible only for those trained in the subtleties of Gandhian thought. Gandhism is antithetical to honest and scientific thinking. Rationalists therefore owe it to themselves to counter the claim of Gandhism by exposing its fallacies, its equivocation and its irrational elements and wean the would-be adherents away from this reactionary cult. The Charkha-oriented mind must be replaced by a scientific frame of mind.

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

Incidentally, I once wrote to a professor given to revel in the glorification of "Our spiritual culture" and asked him whether polyandry, idolatry, widowburning and child marri-

age constituted our "Spiritual Culture", whether the caste-system was a badge of our spiritualism, whether the Sudras had place in our spiritual system, and if our spiritual prowess was so superior why were we helpless slaves to foreigners for centuries together. The professor stopped corresponding with me.

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

Thirdly and paradoxically enough, the cause for the set-back to Rationalism is to be sought in the nature and character of rationalism itself. Unlike religion, Rationalism as an intellectual movement does not offer a ready-made creed to believe in and act upon. The romanticism

# R. B. Lotwala the Rationalist

By S. Ramanathan

( Reprinted from the issue of this Journal dated August 1960 )

( The Late S. Ramanathan was a close rationalist Associate of R. B. Lotwala and was the President of the Rationalist Association of India and helped him in work of propagating rationalism in India

—Editor

RANCHODDAS BHAVAN LOTWALA is one of the leading Rationalists of India and occupies a prominent place in the financial world of Bombay. He is a self-made man. Although he is to-day an advanced thinker associated with the most progressive movements and organisations in India, he was born in a middle-class family which was sunk in religious superstition. How Lotwala overcame this double handicap of material condition and intellectual background of his early surrounding is a fascinating study.

( Continued from Page No. 4 )

hopes and lures, solace and comforts however imaginative they may be which religion offers are necessarily lost in the rationalistic mode of thought and existence, and consequently rationalism is devoid of an emotional appeal. To an average layman it is dry and colourless. Emotion divorced from reason is irrational; but reason without emotion is barren. Rationalist propaganda therefore should charge itself with some more colour and appeal, keeping unimpaired however its devotion to truth and intellectual honesty. The late Mr. M. N. Roy did it well in postulating Man in place of God thus lending a colourful appeal to his Humanist movement and to define its goal as restoration of Man to himself to enable him to realise his own creative potentials without the aid of supernatural powers. It would be decidedly fruitful for the Rationalists to establish a close contact with the Radical Humanist movement now gaining momentum in India. It would then be easier for

Lotwala was born in the year 1875 in the Null Bazar Area of Bombay, which is the most crowded locality in that over-crowded City. His father ran a small flour shop which the son developed into the flourishing flour Mill which adorns the Duncan Road now. The family were devoted followers of the Gosain cult, whose leaders were known as Vallabacharias. As adherents of this cult, whether male or female, were enjoined to submit their minds and bodies to the wishes of the priests even as the Gopis surrendered their bodies and minds to Lord Krishna. This led to obscene practices at the instance of the religious preceptors who, by the promise of spiritual honour and celestial happiness after death, subjected their followers to minister to their corrupt pleasures. Lotwala's grand-father occupied a high rank in the hierarchy of this cult. He was a pucca Marjadi, who was prohibited from

them to achieve their immediate objective of liberating man from political despotism and spiritual authoritarianism.

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

(Reproduced from the issue of this Journal dated 9 August 1960.)

— I. L. May 1975

drinking water which was not drawn by himself from the well and who should not eat any food which was not cooked by himself. It is from this depth of superstition that Lotvala attain to the heights of Free Thought and Rationalism by the sheer effort of his own intellect. He was helped in the achievement of this victory by the assiduousness with which he studied books of modern liberal thought. He had the benefit of higher education but his further studies at college were interrupted by the sudden death of his father obliging him to take charge of the family business. Although his time was fully occupied in looking after his business interests which he gradually expanded to prodigious proportions until he succeeded in building up a flour mill at Duncan Road he never relaxed his devotion to study and he eagerly devoured all available books on Science, Philosophy, Economics and Politics.

He was enabled in his early age to gradually escape from the demoralising cult into which his ancestors had fallen by the liberalising influence of the Arya Samaj movement in which young Lotvala participated with his wonted enthusiasm. His foreign travels which were regular annual events undertaken to study the latest improvements in flour mill machinery and to purchase them for incorporation in his mill, brought him in contact with several foreign writers of progressive thought. Two such centres were the Fabian Society and the Rationalist Press Association in London whose publications he eagerly devoured and with whose leaders he cultivated intimate friendship. Thus he got acquainted with the most advanced thought of the world and he gradually disentangled himself from the theocratic set-up of the Arya Samaj which though it helped him originally to release himself from the tentacles of the Vallabacharias was yet proving a hindrance to the free development of his mind in consonance with modern enlightenment. He was one of the founders of the Rationalist Association of India which had its headquarters in Bombay.

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

It was this intimate Association with liberal thought that opened his eyes to critical appraisal of the movement in India for National Liberation from foreign yoke which was conducted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. While the masses were overwhelmed by the emotional appeal made by the Mahatma who rode on the crest of a politico-religious upsurge, Lotvala was able to distinguish the good from the bad in the movement. While he supported the demand for Swaraj he did not encourage and indeed fought the Mahatma to call forth the restoration of the Khilafat which was a political religious hegemony of the Turkish sultan and which became obsolete and died a natural death. Lotvala's incisive intellect also fathomed the crude revivalism, implicit in the Khadi movement. As an advocate of modern science and technology he opposed the attempt of Mahatma Gandhi to revive the spinning wheel. It was therefore a difficult position Lotvala occupied in Indian politics. He conducted the daily paper which supported the Gandhian movement in all the healthy features but did not flinch from criticising and ridiculing it whenever it went wrong. This critical approach to the national problem was not a money-making proposition and hence his paper though it enjoyed popularity, was nevertheless a financial loss and had to be wound up. But Lotvala had built his fortune through his business acumen to such an extent that this loss did not deter him from continuing his liberal policy and spending money in active propaganda for the advancement of all progressive thought in the communist movement and indeed was respo-

nsible for building up a splendid library of Marxian literature in Bombay to which all young aspirants to leftist politics crowded. Many of the leading leftist politicians in India to-day had their initiation and training in politics in the midst of books so liberally supplied by Lotvala. Lotvala has an active mind and is ever in search of new ideas and progressive thought. Discovering the totalitarian trend in international communism he as girded up his loins to fight the same and is now well-known as one of the most formidable opponents of that school of thought. He is now wedded to the propagation of Libertarianism which owes its origin to Bakunin and Kropotkin who represented the anti-Marxist school of Anarchism in the first International. However, this advanced thought though theoretically justifiable has not yet found application in current politics. Hence Lotvala is obliged to conduct pioneering work which has not yet gained vogue in actual practice. This is a difficult task which may deter weaker people. But Lotvala is not afraid of the isolation and the intellectual adventure which has caused him financial loss and whose beneficent results can be paid only by the future generation.

The special value of Lotvala's life is the lesson that it teaches and sets the example that it provides for the Indian intellectual. It is a common phenomenon in this country that highly educated Indians are leading a double life. They are victims of a certain schizophrenia, a glaring divorce between precept and practice. Graduates in science, and even Scholars with international reputation, observe the crudest superstition practices in the name of religion. when confronted by critics, they put up a shame-faced justification that they could not withstand the pressure of their families, especially their womenfolk. This kind of duplicity is at the bottom of the strength of the caste system and the persistence with which caste observances are kept up rigidly in the homes of high offic-

ials, judges, Administrators and Businessmen. Leading financiers who control the share markets are not ashamed to prostrate the full lengths of their bodies at the feet of the charyas Sadhus and other religious frauds exploit the masses promising them a pie in the future. This is where Lotvala, the Rationalist shines above all others. Although born and bred up in a community of religiously backward Gosains, he is today the leading Rationalist of India, not only in his intellectual attainments and understanding of the principles of rationalism but in his meticulous practice of it as evidenced by his discarding every vestige of religious superstition in the private life of himself and his family. Nor is rationalism just a political expedient with Lotvala, as is undoubtedly the case of our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, who sports his rationalism when the occasion suits him, but is content to conform and to run the crowd in religious Melas and Festivals just to avoid trouble with the orthodox and to gain more popularity for himself. Nehru walks the primrose path by pretending to be everything to everybody and being devoted to nothing in particular. But Lotvala is made of sterner stuff. He sticks to his guns come what may. With his fine intellectual attainments, with his financial strength, with his intimate friendship with Vithalbai Patel and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, with his personal relationship with Mahatma Gandhi, with the influential position he built up by ownership of a popular daily newspaper, Lotvala could have risen to personal eminence and could have secured anything trends. But Lotvala scorned success. He is devoted to principles. He worships truth, leads the hard life, now as always. Success is still in the womb. It benefits the future, the next generation, Lotvala is a pathfinder, a pioneer.

-I. L. May 1975

# Some Important years and events in Shri R. B. Lotvala's Life & Career

Year	Events	Year	Events
1875	Birth in Jambli Mohola, near Null Bazar, Bombay.	1919	Accompanied Vithalbhai Patel in his political mission to England and defrayed his expenses.
1888	Marriage with Premkorebai	1921	First meeting with Mr. S. A. Dange with whom he was closely associated in propagating the Communist Doctrine till 1929.
1893	Passed his Matriculation from Elphinstone School.	1922	Thundering campaign against Gandhiji and his ideas through "Hindustan".
1894	Death of father Bhavan which cut short his college education in F. Y. Arts.	1924	Purchased 'Advocate of India Press' and its daily English Newspaper.
1900	Purchased a Flour Mill which he developed into a Roller Flour Mill within a decade.	1932	First meeting with Subash Babu with Vithalbhai at Vienna.
1904	Became Editor of 'Arya Prakash' the Arya Samaj journal, was appointed, Vice President of Arya Samaj, Bombay, which position he held for more than two decades.	1933	Greatly influenced by Mr. M. P. T. Acharya's description of Communist terror in Russia and his growing interest in Philosophical Anarchism; Vithalbhai Patel's death at Vienna at which Mr. Lotvala was present.
1911	First trip to Europe, followed by similar trip every year till 1937, donated Rs. 5000/- to the Depressed Class League of Mr. Shinde and became its President.	1937	Last trip to Europe.
1913	Trip to England came into contact with Bernard Shaw and Sydney Webb, the Fabian Socialist leaders, became a Socialist and Rationalist, Became a proprietor of 'Hindustan press' and 'Hindustan' a Gujarati daily.	1944	Presses and Newspapers sold out.
1916	Donated Rs. 1000/- to Gandhiji's Sabarmati Ashram.	1947	Started 'The Libertarian Social Institute' and its organ 'Libertarian Socialist'.
1918	Meeting with Vithalbhai Patel for the first time.	1954	He turned his proprietary concern of the Duncan Road Flour Mill into Bhavan Jivraj Co. Pvt. Ltd; created R. L. Foundation and R. I. Trust; founded "The Indian Libertatrian" a fortnightly journal.
		1971	Expired peacefully, at the age of 95 on March 12, 1971 at Deolali in Nasik District where he lived, in his old age.

-I. L. May 1975



# The Libertarian Alternative to Big Business, Big Government and Big Labour

By D. M. KULKARNI

( The Book-Review, it can be hoped, will give in brief an idea of what Libertarianism stands for. —Editor )

The Twentieth Century which carried further the Industrial Revolution that began initially in England towards the end of the 18th Century and then spread far and wide in Western Europe and America in the 19th Century, has not been an unmixed blessing. With its method of mechanised production, resulting in increased standard of living in developed countries, it has admittedly developed some ugly features such as statism buttressed by Big Business both in private and public sectors with their inevitable concomitant of Big Labour. These three features have been slowly but surely eroding the fundamental freedoms of the Individual, be he a citizen, businessman or worker who has been almost reduced to the position of a mere cog in the wheel of gigantism. So far Communist dictatorial countries are concerned, the Individual liberties as such, do not exist at all and Statism has pervaded not only seats of Governmental power and authority but also economic and social life of the society, though it has become fashionable in Communist circles to glorify the extinction of human liberty as Haven of freedom almost reminding one of the Indian spiritual goal of merger of the Individual ego into the universal consciousness i. e. Nirvana.

With the era of growing prosperity ushered in by industrialism in the 19th Century and beginning of this Century, Individualism appeared to have it never so good. But Gigantism entered

not only business and trade but also State Governments. Labour became more mechanised and Labour Unions grew in size and became tight-fisted and occupied themselves with regimenting labour force under the strict control of all powerful labour leaders. Statism gained supreme control over the bodies and lives of men Industrial Big Houses and State Governments joined hands in controlling production and distribution. Big Governments sometimes sided with Big Business to put down Big Labour and at other times sided with Big Labour to tame Big Business. The common people i. e. small businessmen and unorganized workers and what is more, the consumers were completely ignored, the only alternative before them being to obey and serve the Big Government, Big Business and Big Labour if they wanted to service and eke out a living, and in the process the individual's long cherished values of freedom and liberty were sacrificed.

But moral values and economic laws have had their own revenge in the course of the middle and latter parts of the Century. Chaos reigns everywhere both in Communist and Capitalist Worlds on all fronts, social, economic and political since both these parts of the World have as their goal, gigantism in every department of life. In Russia there has been managerial revolution and in U. S. the Federal Government's power is increasing day by day and people are now feeling that it must be curbed.

In this situation, the World has been groping in the dark for a way out, for an alternative. This alternative has been suggested in the book "The Libertarian Alternative"—Tibor R. Machan Editor, Nelson Hal Co. Pub, 325 W Jackson Blvd, Chicago, Ill 60606. Price \$ 12.50 The book contains 37 essays by eminent writers on seven areas. Justice, Liberty and the Individual; State and Societies; Contemporary Statism; Free Society and Foreign Affairs Economics and the Free Market The Free Society, Prospects and Obstacles to Freedom. These essays have been written by 30 respected exponents of Libertarianism among whom are included Prof. Mises, Henry Hazlitt, F. A. Hamper, Milton Friedman, Nathaniel Branden Murray Rothbard, John Hospers Anne Worthham and Yale Brozen, Joan Kennedy Taylor.

#### FUNDAMENTALS

The Essay on 'What Libertarian Is' by John Hospers will help the reader who is stranger to Libertarian thought understand the fundamental idea underlying the Libertarian Political and Social philosophy that Every person is the owner of his own life and no one is the owner of any one elses' life and that consequently every human being has the right to act in accordance with his own choices unless those activities infringe on the equal liberty of other human beings to act in accordance with their choices ! From this fundamental doctrine, the writer thinks, flow other principles one of which is that inventors of utopia have no right to play with the lives and fruits of the labour of human beings just to be able to remake the World according to their weird visions. For instance, in order to achieve a worthy goals of five Year Plans, forcible collectivization of peasants will become necessary and this is inconsistent with Libertarian doctrine. According to the writer nobodys wealth should be allowed to be fair game for Government loot even for good purposes even as theft of money by a robber is not justified by the fact that he used it to help his injured mother. In short

the Libertarian Doctrine is embedded in the rights of man to life, liberty, property and fruits of his labour. The writer pertinently observes, People often defend the rights of life and liberty, but demigrate property rights, and yet the right to property is as basic as the other two. Indeed without property rights, no other rights are possible. Depriving you of property is depriving you of the means by which you live. Every one of these rights entails a duty, true—but the duty is only that of forbearance—that is of reframing from violating the other person's right.' These rights were not, adds the writer created by Government. Its duty is only to recognize and protect them against aggressive activities of those who violate them. To recognize and protect such rights, is to enforce the conditions to a normal social life. Quoting the famous words of Trotsky describing Stalin's regime "Who does not obey shall not eat," the writer goes on to say that in a society where men are not free privately to own the material means of roduction, their position is that of slaves whose lives are at the absolute mercy of their rulers and suggests as an antidote to this vicious trends of Statism, the Libertarian Alternative of limiting the role of Government to the use of retaliatory force against those who have initiated its use and such governmental use of force should not enter into any other area such as religion, social organisation and economics. Libertarianism supports only laws protecting such rights but vehemently opposes laws protecting individuals against themselves such as those against fornication or sexual misbehaviour as also welfare legislation which the writer calls 'moral cannibalism' that encourages an individual to believe that he has a moral claim on the productive capacity time and effort expended by others and is-entitled to unemployment relief, free medical care, free education. Libertarianism answers with an unequivocal 'no' to the questions whether Government should play any role in assisting the needy, in providing social security in legislating minimum wages, in Fixing Prices in guaranteeing jobs, in curbing monopolles, in managing the money supply.



To the question whether Libertarians would then let the people go hungry, the reply would be that this precisely would not happen with restrictions removed and with economy flourishing as never before in freedom and liberty. People would be gainfully employed instead of subsisting on welfare doles as it has always been, whenever Government has permitted men to be free traders on a free market.

### Libertarian Critique of Establishment

Other writers mostly support and corroborate the fundamental principles enunciated above with reference to various areas as such as Statism and other collectivist institutions and ideas from Libertarian individualist point of view. It will interest many readers to learn from the essay 'Is the Government the source of Monopoly' by Yale Brozen that the much maligned monopolies which come for so much condemnation and abuse and vituperation from those who support Statism that monopolies are themselves the creation of minimum wages legislation which favours big business already operating in favourable locations and eliminating competition against it. The essay goes on to show how transportation monopolies and Drug Industry monopolies have been however, unwittingly created by Transport regulation and Drug Control Laws. John Nelson in his essay on 'War Ethos of Socialist states' through a close analysis of the socialist economics, concludes that these economics are capable of producing only war — goods rather than consumer goods and as a corollary if the capitalist order is destroyed, what will replace it is not a socialist world at peace but a socialist world at total war. The Indian reader will particularly ponder over the frank and outspoken criticism made by the world famous economist Henry Hazlitt in his essay on 'The Fallacy of Foreign Aid' in the following words :-

"A careful country by country study however shows pretty clearly that wherever a country in recent years (such as West Germany) has reformed its currency, kept it sound and adhered in the main to the principle of free

enterprise, it has enjoyed a miraculous recovery and growth. But where a country such as India has chosen Government planning, has adopted grandiose socialistic 'Five Year Plans' arbitrarily directing production into the wrong lines, has expanded its currency but kept it over-valued through exchange controls and has put all sorts of restrictions and harassments in the way of private enterprise and private initiative, it has sunk into chronic crises or famine in spite of billions of dollars in generous foreign aid". He concludes that Government foreign aid as it exists at present, is a deterrent, not a spur to World economic prosperity and even to the economic progress of the under-developed recipients themselves.

### LIBERTARIAN SOLUTIONS

The last area discussed in the book is that of Prospects and Obstacles to freedom. Mr. Tibor Machan in the course, discusses the ways and means of reviewing Individualism as the guiding political theory. According to him, a Libertarian political tradition requires an ethical base. People must be explained that they have a right to their lives, liberty and pursuit of happiness and this right is inviolable by other persons and the choice between this right or slavery to political elitism, lies with people themselves. R. A. Childe discussing 'Statism versus Liberty' attempts to give Libertarian solutions to problems such as unemployment. Since unemployment is caused by statist arbitrary price fixing and wage-fixing resulting in rigidity of labour which naturally is elastic, the solution must be in letting the pricing mechanism adjust wages to economic reality. About monopoly, the Libertarian solution would be to abolish the privileges and allow the working of market prices to press on with decentralisation as was the trend of 19th Century capitalism. So also since depressions are large scale liquidations of massive mal-investments which result from state action in credit manipulation—expansion, free market is the only remedy. Inflation could be controlled by simply

taking money out of the hands of the state and to rest the money supply on a commodity base such as gold or silver.

### SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE FACTORS FOR TOTAL REVOLUTION.

Thus according to the same writer, Statism has created more problems than solving them. This has resulted in the desertion of intellectuals from Leftism on a large scale. The objective conditions for a revolution are existing now. An increasing number of intellectuals are attracted to Libertarianism. The writer approvingly quotes from a penetrating and illuminating analysis made by Kuhu, of the present critical state of affairs in a large part of the World, his following observations.

"Political revolutions aim to change political Constitution in ways that those institutions themselves prohibit. Their success necessitates the relinquishment of one set of institutions in favour of another and in the interim, society is not fully governed by institutions at all. In increasing numbers individuals become increasingly estranged from political life and behave more and more eccentrically within it. Then as the crisis deepens, many of these individuals commit themselves to some concrete proposals for the reconstruction of society in new institutional framework. At that point, the society is divided into competing camps, or parties, one seeking to defend the old institutional constellation, the others seeking to institute some new one. And once that polarisation occurred, political recourse fails." (How true of the present confrontation in India between the Rulers and Opposition Leaders today.) The question, therefore, is whether libertarianism could be the alternative to Statism in this crisis. A reply to this question is attempted by Murray N. Rothbard in the last essay. The prospects for Liberty. In his opinion free market becomes a greater necessity as industrial system develops and radical deviations from free market economy

cause break-downs and economic crises. Communist countries are increasingly forced to desocialize their economy and they will in the end reach the free market. In the U. S. there is a growing moral ferment among the youth against the fetters of centralized bureaucracy, of mass education of uniformity and of brutality and oppression exercised by the minions of the the State. The writer thinks that objective conditions for Libertarian Revolution exist in the world today and what is required is the subjective factor, namely, a growing body of informed Libertarians who will spread the message to the people of the World that Liberty and free market provide the way out of their baffling problems and crises. Libertarianism is therefore according to this writer the wave of the future in as much as it reflects the spirit of the youth and exhorts Libertarians to be up and doing in the words of Randolph Bourne :—

"Our elders are always optimistic in their views of the present, pessimistic in their views of the future; youth is pessimistic towards the present and gloriously hopeful of the future. And it is this hope which is the lever of progress."

This book is readable from end to end to intellectuals seeking alternatives to the present moribund political, social and economic systems both of the Right and the Left varieties which have proved themselves incapable of facing pressing problems of the day and solving them. On the other hand they have been only creating never-ending crises in all segments of human life. The Indian reader will find much food for thought in these pages particularly at this juncture when Indian people are feeling their way however haltingly, for a new radical, political and social philosophy and political system that will replace the present moribund establishment in the country.

-I. L. May 1975

# "THE SINGLE TAX" SYSTEM OF HENRY GEORGE

By D. M. Kulkarni

**T**HE ideas of individual Liberty and Freedom, long cherished by mankind, are being constantly challenged today by the Communist totalitarianism. All freedom loving people of the world are therefore greatly exercised over finding out the best means and Ways of combating this menace to modern civilisation. The great American Economist and thinker, Henry George, (18 9-1897) was one of those great minds that applied themselves to this serious problem. The remedy that he suggested in his epoch making book "PROGRESS & POVERTY (1879)" has come to be known as 'Single Tax' and his followers now call themselves 'Single Taxers.'

## IN TUNE WITH THE MORAL LAW

It is generally agreed that communism and its mild variety socialism, thrive well in a society in which extreme poverty of the many, prevails side by side with the great affluence of the few. So all leading democratic countries of the world have evolved elaborate and complicated systems of taxing the rich heavily for the benefit of the poor. But this method, as experience has shown, has its own serious defects. The special tax on the rich, can be evaded in more ways than one, or a large portion of it can be passed on to the poor consumers, who are made to pay higher prices of goods they purchase in the market. The worst part of it is, that it dries up the springs of industry and enterprise. Henry George, therefore, did not favour it. After mature thought and study, his acute mind lighted upon an effective method of taxation which would at once remove the appalling poverty of the workers, without obstructing the smooth turning of the wheels of modern industry and also would supply the modern govern-

ments with necessary funds to discharge their public functions. The reform that he proposed was "to appropriate rent by taxation and to abolish all taxation save that upon rental values". ("PROGRESS & POVERTY" Book V, Chapter II)

In this reform, Henry George saw perfect harmony between the moral, law and the economic law. The amazing phenomenon of persistence of poverty in the midst of plenty, resulting from modern industry, led him to infer that "in the social organisation, moral law has been defied and the natural rights of man have been ignored." (H. George—'Social Problems' Chapter—'Rights of Man'). In this view, social institution in order to have a healthy growth, must conform to the great absolute moral laws. He implicitly believed in the alienable human rights of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", as set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, and heartily agreed with the diagnosis of social evils made in the Declaration of Rights of the French National Assembly (1789), that "ignorance, neglect or Contempt of Human Rights are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government." He held that these equal rights of all to life and liberty were flagrantly violated by denying to man the right to the free and equal use of land which was as much of nature's bounty as sunshine and air. A few land-owners monopolised all land and unjustly took rent from the tenants for its use and thus deprived the producers of their full share in the produce of their labour. This rent was a social value attached to the land, created by the presence of the community and its social and economic activities. Rents rose high with the growth of the population. Therefore, this social value should properly go to the community and the State would be perfectly

justified in assessing a tax on land, equal to its annual rental value, and using it for the benefit of the community. Thus alone would the equal rights of the people to the equal use of the land, basically essential for the pursuit of life and happiness, be fully assured and protected. This rent according to this theory, did not include consideration paid by the people to owners for the use of the buildings, industrial structures raised and other improvements made by the owners on the land with their capital and labour. So improvements and such other forms of wealth were to be exempted from taxation, since they constituted the private property of the individuals in the real sense of the term, on which the State could lay no claim. This 'Single Tax' was to be assessed on all lands whether used or kept out of use by landowners, out of speculative considerations, since what was to be taxed really, was not merely the actual rent yielded by the land but also the potential rental value of every land in use or out of use.

#### THE BENEFITS OF 'SINGLE TAX'

The immediate beneficial effect of this tax would be to reduce the sale prices of land to nominal ones. Landowners would no longer find it profitable to keep for themselves idle lands, since they would have to pay taxes for them equally with the rest. So lands would be available to the farmers and industrialists on easy terms. New industries would spring up; production would rise to great heights and wealth would increase by leaps and bounds. The element of rent, having been largely eliminated from the prices of commodities, the cost of living would go down considerably. Workers would be in a position to employ themselves on easily accessible lands. They would no more be compelled to sell their labour for a minimum wage. Hence competition would not be one-sided among the labourers only, but employers also would be competing with one another for getting good and efficient labour. This would tend to increase workers' wages bring about a fair distribution of wealth, and normalise the relations between capital and labour. Consequently, the intervention in such matters, of the Trade Unions which Henry George

called "Trade Trusts" would become outmoded and unnecessary. Industrial prosperity, thus induced in a natural way would stop the periodic paroxysms of booms and slums overtaking trade and industry. Industrial stability and full employment at home, would pave the way for international free-trade and consequently for international peace, amity and goodwill. Moreover, Georgians claim that this "Single Tax", if properly assessed on land-values or annual rentals, would provide ample funds even to modern governments for carrying out their manifold duties.

#### HIS CONFESSION OF FAITH

After the publication of "PROGRESS & POVERTY" Henry George came in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of Herbert Spencer and others, that he was no better than a Communist, out for nationalisation of land. In a spirited rejoinder to such criticism, Henry George succinctly and precisely made his confession of faith in the following words :

"I have never been a land nationalist. I have never advocated taking of land by the State or the holding of the land by the State, further than needed for public use. From my first word on the subject I have advocated what has come to be widely known as the 'Single Tax' i.e. raising of public revenues by taxation which, as far as possible, and as far as practicable, should be made to absorb economic rent and take the place of all other taxes.

I have been an active, consistent and absolute free-trader and an opponent of all schemes that would limit the freedom of the individual - I have opposed every proposition to help the poor at the expense of the rich. I always insisted that no man should be taxed because of his wealth and that no matter how many millions a man might rightfully get, society should leave him every penny of them". (Henry George in "THE PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER" Page 66).

He did not detest capital. It was to him the 'hand-maid' of labour. He did not set a ceiling on wealth as our Indian Government

and our socialist friends are seeking to do. In fact, he denounced communism as "robbery that would bring destruction."

Nor did he base his system on charity or "Dan" as we call it in India. This reform rested solely on human rights and moral justice. He was not opposed to the accumulation of riches. He wrote "I would not have it dinned into his (rich man's) ears that it is his duty to help the poor. What he does with his wealth is his own business." ("Social Problems"). Our 'Bhoodan' and trusteeship' faddists, who are never tired of sermonising to the rich and the well-to-do that they should hold their wealth and property in trust for the poor, may well ponder over these wise words of a great economist, moralist and humanitarian.

His means of achieving the ends were legislation, persuasion and education of public opinion and appealing to the sense of duty which was "more potent for social improvement than the idea of self-interest; that in sympathy is a stronger social force than in selfishness." Therefore the communist methods of appealing to the narrow and selfish class interests and of violent class conflict had no use for him.

### THE GREAT LAW OF PROGRESS

A close study of ancient civilisations of Rome and other countries enabled him to discover the important law of progress which he expressed in the telling phrase "Association in Equality". It meant humanity progressed through mutual asso-

ciation among men and this association could be effective only among equals. Inequality bred fruitless struggles and conflicts and frittered away the creative energies of people needed for the building of a healthy society. This law, he held, explained the growth and decay of all civilisations ancient and modern, "all diversities, all advances, all halts and retrogressions." ("PROGRESS & POVERTY" Book VII Chapter III).

### RADICAL CURE FOR A DEEP-SEATED MALADY

Georgians look upon 'Single Tax' Reform as the most natural and radical cure for the disease of the poverty of the masses. Communist remedies, in their opinion, are at most palliatives and may in the end, do more harm than good. This reform movement is gaining in influence in all industrialised democratic countries of the world like America, Australia, Denmark, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, specially in consequence of the ever increasing burden of taxation on the people in the aftermath of the Second Great War. There are according to 'Encyclopaedia America', a million 'Single Taxers' throughout the world today.

India, too with her traditional respect for "Dharma" that is to say the Moral Law, which is also the central core of Henry George's teachings, will find in the "Single Tax" much that is useful and instructive in her present endeavour to end poverty and to catch up industrially and materially with the progressive nations of the world.

-I. L. January, 1960

#### Potential Dictator

Every advocate of the Welfare State and of planning is a potential dictator. What he plans is to deprive all other men of their rights and to establish his own and his friends' unrestricted omnipotence. He refuses to convince his Yellow citizens. He prefers to liquidate them. He scorns the 'bourgeois' society that worships law and legal procedure. He himself worships bloodshed.

—Prof. Von Mises.

# 12 REASONS WHY GEORGIST REFORM ARE NEEDED NOW

(The founder of This Journal evinced great interest in Georgism and Land Rental Taxation —Editor)

1. Because land prices are too high for housing, commerce, industry, farming and cultural activities.

Only land rental taxation can satisfactorily lower land prices.

2. Because current taxation is too onerous and too unfairly distributed.

Only land rental taxation in lieu of taxes on labour, industry and consumer services can remedy this.

3. Because the hope of owning one's own home is receding for an increasing percentage of people.

Land rental taxation reduces land prices. In addition, lower taxes on buildings and building materials will lead to cheaper houses.

4. Because unemployment in Australia is now at an intolerably high level.

A tax shift from goods and earnings to land rentals will stimulate proper use of land and encourage effort and productivity - both factors will increase employment opportunities.

5. Because income tax has become a complicated maze of loopholes, arbitrary concessions, intrusion into private affairs, and a penalty on exertion.

Land rental taxation, by providing a substantial source of alternative revenue, can realistically permit scaling down of income tax.

6. Because society has become the stamping ground for all sorts of pressure groups, each trying to extract more privileges from the public purse; thus Government spending has got out of control.

Under Georgism, it is easier for voluntary groups to remain self-sufficient, and by precisely identifying the natural source of public revenue, it is possible to curb this trend.

7. Because Australia's economy, international trading relations, and consumer price index

are plagued by high tariffs for a minority of inefficient industries.

Georgism, by ensuring free trade and that the benefits of free trade are not absorbed by land holders can satisfactorily rectify this.

8. Because inflation still persists, even though its rate may have fallen.

Georgist revenue policies can play an indispensable check to inflation, (Other measures e.g. balanced budgets, are also needed.)

9. Because there is a significant amount of involuntary poverty in Australia, and 'welfare' measures are insufficient to remove it.

Georgism deals with root causes, whereas welfarism usually deals with symptoms and effects.

10. Because vast fortunes have made out of land speculation and land profiteering, sometimes with corruption.

Georgism is the only way of making it impossible to acquire large fortunes in this way, while not suppressing liberty.

11. Because our society is caught in a tension between unbridled monopoly on the one hand, and coercive bureaucracy on the other.

Georgism provides a middle way, reconciling individual rights with social obligations.

12. Because for most people, economics remains 'the gloomy science', largely helpless in the face of current problems, apart from some occasional tinkering.

Georgism offers a soundly, ethically based science of political economy, grounded on universally valid principles, and gives a solid basis for a hopeful future provided these principles are recognised and followed.

—Progress

-I. L. June, 1979



# IS SOCIALISM THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT?

By B. S. Iyer

It is only in recent times that a good deal of attention has been given to the problem of unemployment. Not very long ago it was thought that a person was unemployed because of some defect in him. It took very long time to realise that personal characteristics may not have anything to do with unemployment which may arise due to inefficiency of economic system. However, when this was realised, the problem was analysed in detail because the cost of unemployment is heavy. Further unemployment must be eradicated at the earliest because prolonged unemployment works like trap which turns unemployed workers into unemployable workers.

By unemployment let us take it to mean involuntary unemployment. Further in the context of Indian conditions it is necessary for us to add one more branch of unemployment viz., that of disguised unemployment.

The problem of unemployment has taken a serious turn in India because of the high rate of growth of population and the consequent growth of potential labour force amounting to 1.5 to 2 million per year.

Is socialism the solution to the problem of unemployment?

Apparently there seems to be no relationship between a particular "ism" and the successful solution of the problem of unemployment. No economic system has "unemployment" as one of its implied or expressed feature.

The most important factors responsible for unemployment and underemployment in India is the scarcity of capital. The solution, therefore, lies in stepping up the rate of investment. We

may have to invest as much as 20% of the national income to have any favourable impact on unemployment situation. There are certain factors which must be taken into consideration.

The first is the growth of consumption. If more employment is created, the demand for consumer goods will step up and unless steps are taken to restrict the growth of consumption inflationary pressures in the economy will increase and either the pace of development will be reduced or the painful process of inflation will bring about a redistribution in consumption. Therefore, it becomes necessary to control prices of essential commodities and to restrain consumption of non-essential commodities by taxing them or stepping their imports or production in the economy. In addition steps must be taken to increase the supply of consumer goods (mainly wage goods) and to increase productivity of available resources. Such drastic control cannot function automatically in a free enterprise economy. But in a socialist economy, there is ample scope for the introduction and success of such step when taken through governmental machinery.

There are many lines of production where labour can be utilised in schemes which have a short gestation period. Some labour intensive activities in rural areas are; local capital construction (to increase and regulate water supplies build roads, constructing storage facilities, improving village social services and amenities, more labour intensive methods of cultivation (double or treble cropping, heavy manuring, deeper ploughing, closer planting, more weeding) development of rural industries or other productive activities (animal husbandry, afforestation.

poultry farming, fruit growing, rural handicrafts, etc.) In urban areas more employment opportunities can be created by fuller utilisation of existing capacity, (multiple shifts) development of handicrafts cottage and small-scale industries, construction works etc. It may, however, be pointed out that the crux of the problem, of successful implementation depends much upon the ability and efficiency of a central organisation.

The effective supply of complimentary resources can be increased by raising the productivity of existing resources which does not require much additional investment. These measures will increase production of capital and consumer goods and thus improve the employment potential of the economy. In agriculture output can be increased by introducing simple improvements in farming methods, selection of seeds, rotation of crops, soil protection, use of machines insecticides etc. In handicrafts and small-scale industries, productivity can be stepped up by providing adequate and cheap credit facilities improved arrangements for purchasing, a steady flow of cheap and good raw materials, improved marketing arrangements, merger of small uneconomical units, establishment of co-operatives etc. Further, small-scale industries can be establish a complimentary relationship with modern industries which will increase their productivity and also reduce the problem of displacement of labour. Lastly in modern large scale industries productivity and output can be raised by effective use of existing plant and equipment of the labour force, etc.

The fact that there exists in almost every country permanent mass unemployment is considered by public opinion as conclusive proof that capitalism is incapable of solving this economic problem and that, therefore, government interference, totalitarian planning and socialism are necessary.

Unemployment in capitalist countries is not a proof of the inefficiency of capitalist system, nor is the absence of unemployment in communist, Russia proof of the efficiency of communist system. It is not capitalism which is respo-

nsible for the evils of permanent mass unemployment but the policies of the statesman which paralyses its working. What has been done in recent years has been nothing else than a series of attempts to conceal the effects of an economic policy which has lowered the productivity of labour; what is now needed is a return to a policy which ensures higher productivity of labour.

The confidence in capitalistic methods to solve the problem of unemployment will be strengthened if we have a look at the miracle that capitalistic approach has played in countries like Japan, Singapore etc.

Should we not, therefore, ask ourselves why and how these and many other developing countries have done so much better than we have in creating mass employment, widely dispersed prosperity of stability for their people while, after twenty years of planning, draconian controls and Rs. 30,000 crores invested in development, our economy continues to stagnate, unemployment grows and wholesale shortages prevail ?

All these countries, unlike India, are totally free from economic dogma.

All of them, including those with socialist governments, rely mainly on private enterprise for production and distribution and hence for creating employment opportunities.

All of them go out of their way to create conditions favourable to private investment, initiative and enterprise.

None of them impose on their business and industrial community India's nightmarish licensing system and paralysing all pervasive controls.

None of them seek to counter the mythical danger of a concentration of economic power in private hands by concentrating it in those of a handful of ministers and bureaucrats.

( Contd. on Page 20 )



# ECONOMIC PROSPERITY OF JAPAN AND THE LESSONS IT HOLDS FOR INDIA

*By Prof. K.K. Gajria*

With a growing population of more than 90 million people, which threatens to cross 100 million souls, squeezed in a small land area, Japan is dependent on foreign trade to a much greater extent, than possibly, any other country of the world — communist or non communist. To feed and clothe her growing population, she must import food and some essential raw materials and then export goods to pay for her imports.

Japan's foreign trade was almost completely ruined by the war and the humiliating defeat that it suffered at the hands of the Allies. In the early post-war years, control over Japan's foreign trade was entirely in the hands of SCAP. But a partial return to normal methods of overseas trade was made during 1949 with the introduction of a single exchange rate. Fortunately, for Japan, post-war developments have moved towards strong recovery in the domain of international trade. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 transformed the trading situation. Japan could earn large amounts of foreign exchange by sales of goods and services to the United Nations forces. Thereafter, her foreign trade, in spite of some fluctuations from time to time, has achieved an impressively rapid advance. To continue her essential economic growth, Japan must look abroad for new trade opportunities and sources of food and raw materials. And actually she looks to the United States to increase the already large and mutually beneficial exchange between these two vigorously expanding economies. Nevertheless, Japan has established fresh links with South East and South Asian countries, including India; the share taken by Asian countries in Japan's foreign trade is about 35 to 36% of her total export trade and about 30% of her total import trade. Moreover, Japan gives substantial loans and economic assistance — in their

planning programmes — to a number of developing countries, and naturally, claims that it (Japan) stands in a unique position among all Asian countries to supply their industrial needs. Nonetheless, her main trade continues to be directed to the Americans.

From foreign trade, let us now turn to the remarkable economic development of Japan and the miraculous economic recovery staged by her during the years 1953-1965. At the end of the Second World War, Japanese economy was in shambles. At the beginning of the Occupation, both agriculture and industry were in a very bad condition. The index number for agricultural production had slumped from 115 in 1937 to 65 in 1945, while the index for live-stock had gone down over the same period from 107 to no more than 24. The position was much worse in the case of industry. The index of industrial production was 130 in 1937. In 1946 it stood at the shocking figure of 31. Added to the physical destruction caused by the War, there were other complications, specially on the financial front. In the immediate post-war period, the Japanese economy was in the grip of an inflation of unprecedented severity. The Government placed large funds at the disposal of industry, specially in the form of lavish subsidies. The central bank of the country gave easy credit facilities, at nominal interest rates for purposes of industrial reconstruction. A reconstruction Finance Corporation was established in 1947 which gave away liberal loans for the reconstruction of essential industries. The activities of these institutions injected large amounts of monetary purchasing power into the economy, thereby feeding the fire of inflation. Thus, the whole economy was in a chaotic condition, both physically and financially. On top of this, at the time Japan was

defeated, the victors were in a vindictive mood and they wanted to extract from the vanquished country heavy reparations. The Pauley Mission made recommendations of such a nature that Japanese economy would never have been able to bear the financial burden imposed by the reparations and would have remained in a state of permanent collapse. However, faced with the actual state of the Japanese economy, it soon came to be realised that the idea was not only inhuman but also impracticable. Soon the Strike Mission urged a reduction of reparations and conceded that these should be determined with a proper regard for the requirements of a self-supporting and relatively stable economy in Japan. By 1948, almost entirely the reparations programme was given up. The United States, on the other hand, found itself shouldering a massive aid programme for alleviating extreme economic distress in Japan. United States decided to adopt a positive policy of helping in the economic recovery of Japan.

Japan's post-war recovery, originally, took longer than that of other industrial countries. From 1963 onwards, however, the rate of growth of the Japanese economy has been "explosive". From 1953 to 1965, gross national product (G.N.P.) increased by 9.4 per cent a year, a rate higher than that of any other developed country in this generally dynamic period, and indeed, without parallel in the previous history of any other country. Japan's total industrial output in 1960 was four times as high as the pre-war normal. Agricultural output also increased rapidly. Ohkawa has justly characterised this phase as one of "explosive" growth. The major source of dynamism in the economy has always been industry. This has always grown fast in Japan, but its growth rate after 1963 was truly spectacular in terms of both production and productivity. There were far-reaching structural changes in the economy. Exports have risen faster than G.N.P. and so has investment, which for the years 1953 to 1965 averaged about one-third of G.N.P.

How was the Japanese economy able to grow at such an incredible pace? What lessons does this spectacular growth hold for other co-

untries, specially developing countries? Among the major causes responsible for the rapid growth of Japan's economy, one should give prime of place to the complete absence of hampering restrictions on industry and trade which governments in many developing countries are imposing on the economy. The Japanese economy functions on the basis of a predominantly private enterprise system. The government has never directly controlled the major part of the economy, and has relied on the market mechanism for most resource allocation. Japanese economy has been not only willing but eager to use the market mechanism and incentives in the most efficient and effective manner. Of course, there was a willingness by government to carry out fundamental institutional reforms, to act as an entrepreneur and innovator and to give adequate technical help, both to industry and agriculture. Government policy has been continuously active

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None of them believe, as our government does, that socialism primarily means the nationalisation of trade and industry and a dominant public sector. On the contrary, they consider a dominant private sector entirely compatible with socialism.

None of them have adopted the savagely high rate of personal taxation prevailing here which have provided such a powerful deterrent to investment and initiative and hence to the creation of more employment opportunities.

Thus we see modern socialist governments going all out to encourage private enterprise to create the wealth from which they can extract the tax resources required to pay for the welfare services of a socialist state. They have understood, what our socialists have failed to do, that capitalist enterprises can play a crucial role in financing socialism, and in making available the fruits of economic development to the people in the very process of development; the cake, so to speak, being distributed while it is being made.

-I. L. July 1971.

and has been a major propellant of the Japanese economy in almost all its phases. Many governments in developing countries claim to give economic growth equally high priority but they seldom have enough power or vision to carry through right type of policies. Sometimes, ideological considerations in these developing countries, put formidable road-blocks in the path of economic progress.

If a country wants to have rapid development, it must indeed to fulfil certain basic requirements. It must for instance, build up an adequate system of training and education, it must so reorganise its agriculture, industry and financial institutions as to make possible the raising and investing of a substantial "surplus" from the economy. It must learn to rely on sound and sensible methods of financing economic development. It should not have recourse to financial "jugglery" which goes by the name of "deficit financing"

Developing countries seeking rapid economic growth will have to do most of the things which Japan did. They should also give emphasis to high capital formation at an early stage of development—even though this may mean considerable reliance on foreign aid. They will need to do more to limit population growth. Above all, narrow ideological considerations should not be permitted to come in the way of economic progress. A poor country cannot afford the luxury of an "ideology". People committed to an ideology tend to believe that some particular set of institutions is essential to economic growth. But here, as elsewhere, history has a way of by passing narrow convictions. The range within which choice and experimentation is possible in economic development may not be unlimited, but it is fairly wide

—J. L. August 1971.



### INFLATION

Inflation is normally taken to be a rise in the general price level. As such, it means, that the prices of goods have risen relative to that of money, that is, the exchange ratios have changed so that money is worth less vis-a-vis other commodities. What can cause this? Only two things a general decline in the quantity of other exchangeable commodities, which can only be caused by a natural disaster, by state destruction of goods, or else a drastic increase in the money supply. This last has been for centuries a monopoly of the state, and accordingly it is responsible for "inflation". The free market libertarian solution is simply to take money out of the hands of the state, and to rest the money supply on a commodity base, such as gold or silver.

Prof. Von Mises.

# AT OUR POST AGAIN !



The last issue of this Journal was specially brought out in June 1975, the Centenary birth month of the Founder of this Journal, the late Mr. R. B. Lotwala to acquaint our readers with the salient features of the Founder's Life and his work in the field of propagating Libartarian ideology in India where authoritarian trends were slowly but surely gathering their strength under the cover of Socialism and Soviet methods of economic planning advocate by Mr. Nehru and his colleagues some of whom are to be found heading the present Janata Government, Right up from 1954 till the end of his days in 1971. Mr. R. B. Lotwala spared neither his energy nor his purse to fight this dangerous trend towards dictatorship through the columns of this Journal

His light for individual Freedom and Free Economy Finnted Government. Retention of English as the link-language of India, rationalization and humanization of the irrational caste-bound Indian Society, and religious obscurantism, was almost single-handed and unaided by any powerful group or political party. When Rajaji launched his Swaraj Party in about the year 1960. R. B. Lotwala hailed it as a land-mark in the political history of India, inasmuch as its ideology and programme were pragmatic and realistic and were founded in the fundamental principles of individual freedom in all walks of life political, social and economic. The right to dissent and to free expression of one's thought even against the Party Boss or Governmental Head or so called Leader of the Nation was in his eyes the essence of freedom. With the rise of the Swaraj Party R. B. Lotwala thought that his initial efforts to fight in the cause of freedom would be ably supplemented and eventually fulfilled and a strong and well-organized party would operate in the country as an effective alternative to the Congress.

But the License-Permit Raj introduced by Mr. Nehru in the name of Socialism, centralised all economic and political power in the hands of the Congress ruling chque which perpetuated itself in power for decades together by corrupting the illiterate electorate, just on the eve of General Elections. This fact could be proved by the many ill-conceived and hastily drawn-up enactments and ordinances that came to be enforced at such opportune time just to win votes. The art and technique of corruption that were introduced in public in public life by this permit-licence Raj as Rajaji called it was only carried to its logical consummation by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who in a way, loyally carried forward the legacy left to her by Mr. Nehru and his cabinet colleagues. During Nehru's time, one man's hegemony prevailed in the affairs of the country though in a subtle manner. while naked and unabashed dictatorship was imposed on the people non-chalantly by his successor Indira Gandhi just to save her power and prestige.

During Emergency the whole country almost lay prostrate at the feet of the Dictator. In this situation, the working of this Journal was naturally paralysed and its publication had to be suspended. The Managment had neither adequate staff nor finance to comply with the day-to-day requirements of censorship strictly imposed on the press by the Government. Votaries of Libartarian Thought, as we have always been, we could not simply function in the suffocating atmosphere of dictatorial rule.

The Janata Government, it must be said to its credit, his restored to country civil liberties including the freedom of the Press. It is to hoped that these Leaders of the present Government who were closely associated with the licence-permit Raj of Nehru would at least now after their bitter

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# GASTEISM IN EXCELSIS



The origin of caste is shrouded in mystery. Its vitality lies in its survival as a social institution through all vicissitudes of time, storms and struggles of monarchical dynasties like those among Kauravas and Pandavas as graphically narrated in Mahabharat, the wars between the Aryans and aboriginal tribes as told in Ramayana, the invasions of India by ferocious foreign tribes like Shakas, Huns, Tartars, Greeks, Moghals and Pathans and lately by Europeans, the Dutch, Portuguese, the French and the British. Solid as the rock, hard as the steel, caste has withstood the shocks and even the ravages of pillage, massacre, alien cultures and ways of thinking and living and what is more, the subtle but effective onslaughts of modern science and technology. Gandhian avalanche of Harijan Movement, Ambedkar's Buddhist mass conversions of Hindu 'untouchables', Marxist dialectical materialism, Democratic Socialism and lastly Radical Humanism—none of them has been able to shake this caste system to its roots and to touch even the fringe of the problem. Democracy itself has lain itself prostrate at the feet of Caste, sometimes hailed as the crowning glory of Hindu culture and at times, condemned as the veritable curse of Indian Society. Those who laud it to the skies like Brahmins and some foreign scholars never live up to its rules and injunctions; and those who are never tired of exposing its demerits and shortcomings, are known to be clamouring for the benefits and gains that accrue to them by labelling themselves as particular castemen. Caste thus has become an enigma, a thing of wonder, a puzzle, that baffles any solution.

## SEMINARS PERPETUATE CASTE

These reflections could not but be provoked by the conclusions on this much discussed subject, arrived at, as reported in the press, by

the participants in the Seminar on 'Backward classes' held recently at Delhi. Curiously enough, the protagonists of the welfare of backward sections that 'Caste alone could be the criterion of backwardness'. In fact the subject of the Seminar should have been not 'Backward Classes' but the 'Backward Castes'. The sponsors of the Seminar seem to have accepted caste as a perpetual social institution either through despair or out of selfish motives. Having availed themselves of the special privileges and rights of the so called backward classes', these beneficiaries are reluctant to forego them, even if this attitude amounts to an unequivocal acceptance of a caste-bound society. One could understand the plight of 'untouchables' who are almost the 'Cast-ways' of Hindu Society and who had no place in the Caste System of four 'Varnas' and who were contemptuously called 'Panchamas' and did not enjoy ordinary human rights. Their desire to lift themselves up from the bottomless pit through special reservation of seats in educational institutions and Governmental services could be well-appreciated by the upper four castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. But how reservations could be made in these areas for upper castes who form the bulk of Hindu Society, passes one's comprehension. The 'Lingayats' in Karnataka have been classed as 'backward' though they are leading landlords, agriculturists, traders and businessmen. That is also the case with some other upper castes, who have been classed as backward classes 'along with tribals and Harijans' and it is said that it is only the Brahmins who have been excluded from category in this State. Even when caste was an article of faith with Hindus, Brahmins were not known to be in affluent circumstances though they got the highest honour for their being born in a caste which mostly was assigned the duty of holding aloft the banner of knowledge and

culture. The warriors and tradesmen were better placed than Brahmins, in self and power. That the trained intellect of the Brahmin was taken utmost advantage of, by the British rulers by turning them into 'clerks' as Macaulay boasted, was none of their fault. It was only under the British regime that Brahmin's material well-being improved though perhaps at the cost of their spiritual welfare. During British regime, the British constituted both the Kshatriya class and trading class. They even claimed to possess intelligence, culture and education, superior to that of the Brahmin caste. Thus all including Brahmins, were reduced to the position of 'Shudras' though they belonged to different castes by birth. All were hewers of wood and drawers of water' and the real Brahmins were British law-makers and legislators, real Kshatriyas were British Military Commanders, real Vaishyas were British traders and merchants, while real Shudras were all Indians educated or illiterate. The 'untouchables' who were in the employment of the British were at the lowest rung of the ladder while majority of them remained the same miserable 'Panchamas' that they were before.

### **CUT-THROAT COMPETITION FOR JOBS**

Thus ensued cut-throat competition among the new 'Shudras' to which status all castes had been reduced under the foreign yoke. The 'clerks' the 'Civil servants' the Judiciary' were mostly drawn from the Brahmin Caste as their duties required intelligence and efficiency. Some second class industrialists sprang up from the Vaishya or Vania castes. From Marathas and Jats, came second rank military Officers. But all castes occupied the position of 'servants' of the powerful British with their modern scientific outlook, more sophisticated weapons of war and more wealth. The fight for jobs which were few, thus commenced. It was nurtured and fostered by the British according to their principle of 'divide and rule'. But it must be admitted that they rated merit and ability more than the caste of an applicant for the post.

The initial advantage that Brahmins got in services over others because of their intellectual background by birth was an eye-sore to others who also

wanted to become 'civil servants' under the British. This British legacy left to the Indian Society is fondly cherished to this day and Gandhiji's Harijan movement and Dr. Ambedkar's crusade against caste-ridden Hindu Society which inhumanly treated the 'Panchamas', secured for the Harijans special privileges and rights in education and jobs. Other castes envied these benefits accruing to 'Harijans' and when some major castes like 'Lingayats' and 'Wakaligas' in Karnataka 'Marathas' in Maharashtra, 'Vanis' and 'Patidars' in Gujarat, 'Chettys' in Madras and 'Reddies' in Andhra and 'Nairs' in Kerala

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experiences of the Dictatorship, move in the direction of establishing Limited Government by divesting Government of unlimited economic power that inevitably breeds corruption, of which so much is heard in the press to day.

As for ourselves, we are pledged to fight for rooting out corruption at Government level and from the body-politic of the country, not by indulging in pious moral platitudes, insipid and ineffective but by pointing out to the necessity of rooting out the whole trouble of corruption which quickly breeds dictatorial trends even in the minds of well-intentioned leaders. Concentration of economic and political power in the State is a basic cause of corruption so rampant in our public life to-day. This factor is a greater source of danger and menace to society, and its freedom and wellbeing than the economic power monopolised by the much maligned industrial families in our country.

True and loyal to the Libertarian legacy left to this Journal by its illustrious Founder, it will continue to hold aloft the banner of Individual Liberty and Free Economy as apposed to that of collective slavery, be it of Fascist or Socialist brand.

We hope and trust, our readers old and new, will contribute their mighty best to this cause and co-operate with us in our endeavour to be at our post again watching, guarding, and fighting for the values of Freedom and Liberty which all of us cherish.

—D. M. K.

—I. L. January 1979

came to power in different states in post-freedom days, they exploited this idea of reservation of seats in Government services and educational institutions for 'Harijans' and Tribals for their own benefit and classed themselves as 'backward' classes which constituted in some States more than seventy percent of the population thus severely leaving alone the poor among the Brahmins and other less vocal minority communities to fend for themselves without any aid and protection from the States.

### THE TURN OF THE WHEEL

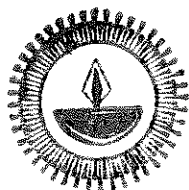
The Position in regard to Governmental services in the states and to some extent at the Centre is such that merit and efficiency are at a discount and caste intransigence of the dominant castes in the States as Dr. Ambedkar had so prophetically warned, has increased to such proportions that even post-freedom 'intellectuals' so called, have now become emboldened to declare that 'Caste is the criterion of backwardness'. They could have done better if they had honestly declared that 'the dominant caste is the criterion of backwardness' as is the ugly reality in Indian polity today. If the Brahmin was the most hated during the British regime, today after thirty two years of freedom, the dominant ruling community in the States is the most detested and most denounced, and it will not be far distant when all minority communities will unitedly vote the present rulers out of power, if such caste consciousness is fostered by them. It was Lohia who set the ball rolling by dividing Hindu society into 'Vishwamitra' and 'Vashistha' factions and pleaded for about sixty percent representation to 'Vishwamitras' in services. Strange Socialism indeed!

This spirit is now infesting Bihar and Uttar Pradesh politics. What wonder then that some such egoistic people should now look upon 'Caste' as 'the criterion of backwardness'? The wheel has turned full circle and while all minority communities are taking their stand on merit as the main qualification, these 'Vishwamitra' majorities are abetting casteism in the name of removing backwardness.

This journal has fought casteism and caste as an institution from its very birth. It has looked upon caste as a cankerous overgrowth in Indian Society. As such, it can never support this magnified and more dangerous form of dominant communities' Casteism in States which attempts to perpetuate their caste-rule and enslave minorities. If caste is an evil, let it be buried fathoms deep. Let it not be given a longer lease of life through the casteism of the dominant castes, which call themselves as 'backward classes' and confuse the issue of 'Class' with 'Caste'. Economic backwardness which is the root cause of all other forms of backwardness is wide-spread among all classes and castes and it needs to be first removed with Governmental aid in money and kind. To such forms of aid from Government all poor-people, irrespective of their class, caste or creed are entitled. Such public assistance to the poor will go a great way in eradicating the evils of caste system corroding Indian Society from within. Casteism of minority or majority communities would only hinder the evolution towards an equalitarian Society, so devoutly wished for by all well-wishers of the country.

—I. L. June, 1979

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# DISBAND THE CONGRESS



For the survival of Indian Democracy and for keeping the name of pre-freedom Congress Organisation unsullied, as also for honouring the sacred memory of the glorious leaders and fighters of India's freedom from the British yoke, the present Congress Party and its infighting factions and splinter groups under the leadership of Swarn Singh, Chawan, and Indira Gandhi need to be immediately disbanded. Those Congressmen who day in and day out, exploit the name of the Congress and Gandhi, would do better to recall to their minds the wholesome advice given to the Congress leadership in about the year 1948, that if the Congress and its political party were not disbanded forthwith, every Congressman so called, clad in white Khadi and with a white cap on would come to be shoed in the public streets by the people infuriated at the Congressman's insatiable lust for power and the corrupt practices employed for retaining himself in power at the cost of the suffering people. There are among Congressmen in power today, very few who had actively participated in freedom's struggle carried on under the banner of the Congress and had suffered hardships. On the other hand, thousands of silent Congress workers who had sacrificed their all during those heroic times, are known to be somehow eking out a miserable living, though they are less known than the power hunting Congressmen. The whole Congress edifice built up so laboriously by the ceaseless efforts of the Fathers of the Nation like Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Phiroz Shah Mehta, Lokmanya Tilak, Gokhale, Gandhi and Nehru, began cracking up like a house of cards on the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. The late Mr. Shastri tried to save the Congress but he had very little time to do so before his passing away within a year or so of his coming to power.

With the advent of Indira Gandhi, began a tussle for power which culminated in a split in

The Congress in 1969 with the elderly Congressmen ranged against Indira Gandhi and her supporters. Indira's leftist pose was only a stunt and only the old Congress policies of Socialist Pattern of Nehru were followed by these young Turks. This hotchpotch socialism motivated by lust for power on the part of Indira Gandhi who tried to groom her son Sanjay for Congress leadership after her, led to nepotism and corruption in all departments of the Government. Elderly Congressman like Morarji and national leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan revolted against her power oriented politics. But this revolt was nipped in the bud by Indira Gandhi's Government by declaring an emergency in 1975 and making Indira Gandhi a virtual dictator. Thousands of people were imprisoned under the Misa Act. But apprehending a bigger and violent revolt against her, Mrs Gandhi tried to appease public opinion by announcing General Elections to the Parliament in 1977. Instead of being appeased, the people all the same voted the opposition leaders into power and even unseated Indira Gandhi from the parliament.

## JANATA VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

All the opposition Parties combined to win back for the country her lost democratic freedom during the emergency period. Janata victory was in fact, a vote for freedom against the Congress dictatorial rule under Indira's leadership. The historical task of saving the country from the tyranny of Congress dictatorship was undertaken by the Janata party and was successfully accomplished.

But the Janata Party was a hot-house growth. It was formed of the former Janasangh which was rightist in its political and social approach, the Lohia-Socialists with their confused ideology, the dissident Congressmen led by Jagjivan Ram who worked with Mrs. Gandhi during emer-



gency, the Congress (O) still wedded to Nehruvian ideas and ideals and the B. L. D. under the leadership of Charansingh. The constituent parties could not outgrow their past, despite the election programme approved by them all which, as could be expected, was full of shibboleths of Gandhism, Socialism and economic ruralism. Self-contradictions and glaring inconsistencies were naturally abounding in such a common manifesto spelled out by such incongruous conglomeration of parties. The only redeeming feature of their programme was unequivocal advocacy of liberty and freedom, which was almost throttled by Indira Gandhi's dictatorial regime.

It is to be expected that such a many-faced party should become a rudderless ship sans a programme sans a policy, sans the will to rule and govern, drifting without any sense of direction, with Ministers declaring their views according to the ideals of their old parties, setting at naught all sense of collective responsibility even in regard to vital policy matters. Lohia Socialists have shown themselves to be quite indisCIPLINED in this regard. B. L. D. Leaders' irresponsibility knows no bounds. They are breaking the Janata Party from within the Government and from without, without any regard for the future of the Janata party. It must be admitted, however, that Congress (O) C. D. F. and the former Janasanghites are more restrained, dignified and disciplined than other constituents of the party in conducting the affairs of the Party and the Government.

The overall results of inner party conflicts are too tragic for this two year-old party which had such a glorious opportunity to strengthen the roots of Democratic Freedom deep into the Indian Polity so as not to permit the demon of Autocracy to raise his ugly head again either under Indira, Sanjay or Communists. The Party seems to be heading for a split into its former groups. The Congress (O) C. D. F. and Janasangh group could still save the party from further disintegration by evolving a liberal-Democratic political and economic policy on the lines laid down by the now defunct Swatantra

Party under Rajaji. Such a party is the need of the hour and will succeed in giving a clear lead to the country's politics and economics, seeing that Marxian Socialism have lost much of their appeal for leftist parties of Western Europe and even in China, the citadel of Red Revolution. Liberal Democracy seems to have to have come into its own. Even if Congress groups in the Janata are unable to give up Nehruvian socialism, the Janasangh members may take up this task of giving the country liberal-Democratic orientation to Indian Politics. The conservative victory in England is a pointer in this direction. People are sick of so called rigid ideologies, Socialist or Fascist, which create a mess only without solving the imminent problems of the day like more production, more employment, economic prices, improving the moral tone of administration. Pragmatism is what the people are hankering for in the administration of the country and not ideological overtones and slogan-mongering. The Janata Party will be remembered for its valiant fight for the people's freedom and delivering a deathblow to the forces of reaction and tyranny, and even if, in its process of disintegration, it should give rise to such a liberal Democratic Party, it will have left behind it a rich political legacy for the future generations.

#### RENAMING OF THE CONGRESS :

The Congress was a national organisation started for winning self-government for Indians. It contained within it people of all hues and colours. Till 1918, it was mainly liberal-democratic in its outlook. Gandhiji's Congress consisted of Gandhians, Praja - Socialists, Lohia Socialists, Forward Blockists and ordinary fighters of freedom with no particular ideological leanings. With the advent of freedom, congressmen became power-conscious and though the Constitution that was framed was liberal-Democratic in essence, congressmen thought of perpetuating their power by stealing the thunder from Communists and left Socialists and began indulging in shouting socialist slogans. Nationalisation became their watchword, because of its being a means of retaining power for themselves through economic power. This led to corruption and nepotism, and ultimately to

congress split. The old moral fibre of the Congress was lost. Ministers and officials came to be interested more in their own welfare than in the welfare of the people. Any opposition to them was sought to be smothered through illgotten money or through forcible political suppression.

Now that the same power-greedy congress politician is played out, the Congress has been split up into many groups, each claiming to be the real old Congress. It is therefore high time Congressmen gave up this attempt to fool the people with the high lable of old Congress and banded themselves together under some other suitable name.

A parallel could be found in the history of British history. Tories have now been functioning in the Parliament as Conservatives who are mostly Liberal-Democratic and who have absorbed in their Party all moderate elements from the old Liberal party and from the middle

class. Leftist-minded elements from these groups are organised in the Labour Party. If a Liberal Democratic Party should arise in India out of the disintegration of the Janata Party, a leftist Progressive Party could also be constituted out of the leftist Congress elements wedded to the ideals of Nehrurvian Socialism.

The emergence of such two political parties on the lines of Conservative (liberal democratic) and Labour (Leftist) Parties in England or Liberals and Democratic parties in America, will tend to purify Indian politics, in as much as these parties will be judged on their present performance rather than on their past glory of pre-freedom days. Will Mr. Urs. and Mr. Sharad Pawar try for such a realignment of political forces in the Congress and pave the way for the rise of two political parties with welldefined policies and programme suited and relevant to the needs of the present times ? —D. M. K.

—I. L. July, 1979



## IDEOLOGY AND DEMOCRACY

The pluralistic society, I would suggest, can provide the peoples of the world what Communists promise but can never produce. Communism can never produce a decent world because communists use the false means of hatred and violence, means which can produce only their own image and which can never usher in the brotherhood of man. The essential choice remains the choice between the one and the many; between a monolithic world moving irresistibly in a single direction and ending inexorably in a single centralized society, or a pluralistic world in which a diversity of nations will solve their own problems according to their own value and traditions within a framework of respect for individual dignity and loyalty to world community. It is a choice, in short, between dogmatism and pragmatism; between the theological society and the experimental society; between ideology and democracy.

—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

# DAYAN'S VISIT

By K. Kumar Sekhar

One wonders why the Cong. (I) men inside and outside parliament should raise a hue and cry over Dayan's secret visit to India, as if it is a "sacrilege" that ought not to have been committed. After all, Indian leaders should be free to talk with any leader from any country, including Israel. No one has a right to circumscribe that freedom of ours. So, Mr. Vajpayee ought not to sound apologetic on Dayan's visit to India. It is unbecoming of a courageous people like Indians, who did not even fear the ruthless colonialists, to dread Arab displeasures, and always to their line in the Arab-Israeli conflict which is essentially a regional conflict of the Middle East Region, in which India should not take sides, but judge each action of each side on its merits. How long can we allow Arab susceptibilities to decide our relations with a country like Israel? Surely, there must be an end to this sort of surveillance of India by the Arab world. Even if Arab countries threaten us with dire consequences, we must retain our "right to talk" with others.

When even Egypt's Sadat does not hesitate to sit for talks with Israel leaders, why should not any of our leaders openly have talks with them? Again, though non-aligned do not our leaders have talks with leaders of aligned countries? Do not our leaders openly speak with Chinese and Pakistani leaders also, although they belong to countries, which previously fought with us killed our soldiers, and invaded our land? Had Israel ever declared war on us? Or is it likely to do so in future? What wrong did they do us, to treat them as untouchables?

The way that Mrs. Gandhi goes about talking about Dayan's visit, as a "sacrilege" that ought not to have been committed, offending Arab sentiments although, as citizens of

sovereign country, our leaders have every right to talk to their Israeli counterparts, only brings to light the fears that haunt her in this regard. She seems to fear that we cannot afford to antagonise the Arabs, and yet live in this world. She seems to be under the fear that if we offended the Arabs, they might stop sending us their oil, or might use their petrodollar millions to arm Pakistan to fight us, or even that the Muslims in India might be alienated from her, if she hobbled with Israeli leaders. Mrs. Gandhi always seems to be under a mortal fear that if she spoke against the Palestinian cause, the bloody PLO might even try to do away with her. Such are fears that Mrs. Gandhi seems to entertain for the Arabs that even if they butcher Israeli children or commit a blood bath elsewhere, she does not utter a word of protest. And what is more, she wants other Indian leaders too to have the same fear and awe for the Arabs!

Today our ex-foreign minister, Mr. Vajpayee says that he deliberately did not disclose the Israeli leader Moshe Dayan's visit to India, as it was not in the "national interest" to do so. However, one feels the real reason for his secrecy about the visit is, the "legacy of fear" against doing so, inherited from the previous Nehru and Indira regimes, that prevented Mr. Vajpayee to make bold and own up his meeting with an Israeli leader. One thinks that on deeper thought, Vajpayee himself would agree that this is a more truthful explanation, for his suppression of the truth of Dayan's visit. In the atmosphere of fear, instilled in us, by the pre-Janata regimes, of Nehru and Indira, that if we ever did anything whatsoever to displease the Arabs, or arouse their suspicions about our loyalty to them, our future might be doomed, and our survival might be in jeopardy, it should not surprise one, if Mr.

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# INFANTILE SECULARISM OF MASTER DEFECTORS



The Janata Party which was voted into power by the people of India (Hindustan) that is Bharat has foundered on the issue of dual membership of erstwhile Janasangh members of Janata party and their continuing their membership of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh which could be translated into English as National Volunteers Association. The object of this Association is to serve the 'Hindu Rashtra' i.e. 'The Hindu Nation' by inculcating into the minds of its volunteers a sense of disciplined conduct and behaviour and a spirit of selfless service to the country and love for Indian (Hindu) Culture and Civilization. The Janasangh Group of the Janata party, it cannot be denied, commendably behaved itself with greater restraint and decorum than other so called secular groups comprising the Government, both from within and from outside, at the parliamentary or public level, thus more than justifying the claim of the R. S. S. that its platform is a training ground for future leaders of the country in acquitting them-selves ably, usefully and patriotically in any department of natinal life, whether political, social, economic or cultural. In times of crisis created by natural calamities like earthquakes, floods, this organization is found to be more often than not, in the fore-front to serve afflicted people and come to their rescue and aid, independently of governmental agencies, operating in the field. It has never been known to have indulged in any activities against the best interests of 'India that is Bharat'. The Lohia Socialists and B. L. D. 'Ramas' and 'Hanumans' and some other Leftist Parties, styling themselves as seagreen secularists, have been mounting a politically-motivated attack on the Janasanghites that their loyalties are divided between the Janata Party and R. S. S. and as such Janasanghites should either repudiate

their membership of the R. S. S. or quit the Janata Party. These Secularists have not been able to give cogent reasons why a member of Janata Party could not become a member of a Cultural or Social volunteers Orgnization. Their activities appear to be deliberately designed for paving a safe way for the old Congress-guard, whether under Mr. Chavan or Mrs. Indira Gandhi to come back to power. Party treachery and breach of faith with the electorate could not go farther.

## THEOCRATIC OR LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC STATE

Secularism is fast becoming a slogan and shibolletth with these defectors to hoodwink the unwary and the unenlightened. If R. S. S. is non-secular, because it uses the native word 'Hindu Rashtra' i. e. Hindu Nation, Raja Naranay is as much non-secular when he freely indulges in Ramayan terminology of 'Hanuman' and Ramachandra. India is known over the whole world as 'Hindustan' i. e. the land of Hindus. Iqbal, the Urdu Poet's popular song of 'Hindustan Hamara' is considered to be patriotic. Muslim and Christians of Hindustan are called in foreign countries 'Hindu Muslims and Hindu Christians' which means Indian Muslims and Indian Christians. We do not know why the secular words 'Hindu or Hindustan' or 'Hindu Rashtra' jar on the ears of Raj Narayan of Hanuman fame or Madhu Limaye, the ultra-Secularist, unless they have turned to be Anti-Hindu Anti-Indian and have extra-Indian or extra-Hindustan loyalties. The very language spoken by Indians is known as 'Hindi' or 'Hindustani', the very sound of which so very upsets these self-atyled secularists. Besides, the Prime Minister Charan Singhs Secularism does not prevent him from wooing the Muslim League, the Akali Dal, which names manifestly spell nothing but radid religionism and communalism and even antilndianism as in the case of the Muslim League.

The Muslim League has its own ignominious history of having been the cause of partitioning 'India that is Bharat' with sword and blood. What type of secularism and Anti-Communalism is this? Should one understand that the minorities, religious and communal have every right to organise themselves even for a political purpose, while the majorities have no right to organise cultural institutions even when they are prepared to broadbase their institutions so as to allow members of minority communities to be admitted into their fold. If democratic states like England, France and Germany could function as such without shedding their Christian heritage, India that is Bharat, could as well practise Democracy without having to sacrifice its ancient Hindu Cultural heritage. These Secularists, out of selfish motives, to browbeat the R. S. S. and Janasanghites in their game of power politics, appear to forget the distinction between religionism and love for national cultural heritage as also between the Theocratic clerical State and Civil State. Christianity is the Religion of the State in Great Britain is on no account a Theocratic State, since Christianity and its canons are not imposed on subjects under the State and the State is not ruled by the clergy as the Vatican State is. The R. S. S. does not insist on Hindu Religion, being the religion of the Indian State nor does it stand for the rule of The Swamis and Shankaracharyas in Hindustan or Hindu Rashtra. It is no doubt a staunch supporter and defender of Hindu or Bharatiya Cultural heritage to the propagation of which veteran Congress leaders and eminent men like the Late Mr. K. M. Munshi and Radhakrishnan dedicated their whole lives. If these ultra-Secularists do not like their Hindu heritage, let them dare disown it. There is ample room in our Liberal-Democratic State for genuine secularists, rationalists and even atheists and anti-caste and anti-Communal Liberals and Democrats, as there is also for zealots of Hindu, Muslim and Christian cultures. In this context, the senseless tirade carried on by Limayes and Georges and B. L. D. Hanumans and Ramachandras appears to be self-stultifying, irrelevant, uncalled for and even mischievous in the

extreme. It has wrought only irreparable damage to the evolution of democratic and sane politics of the country, apart from the wreckage it has brought about, in the only alternative party to the old and moth-eaten Congress which still relies for its survival on its per-independence glory and achievement under the leadership of Gandhiji and Nehru.

#### LIBERAL-DEMOCRATISM ALONE IS ENOUGH

The Janata Party nows horn of its fire-eating and wayward elements, must address itself to the task of reorienting its ideology and policies towards Liberal-Democratism. They must give up the slogans of Secularism, and Socialism by which also all defectors and opportunists are swearing day in and day out. This Journal, it must be clearly stated, is devoted to Rationalism and Libertarianism from its very inception and is not very much enamoured of religious or cultural revivalism of the R.S.S. or the Janasangh, but at the same time it is apposed to the infantile and hypocritical secularism of the Defectors like that of George Fernandes, Mrs. Mrunalini Gore, Madhu Limaye and also to the factionalism of professional party-breakers like Raj Narayan. As Libertarians we think that Secularism is irrelevant and unmeaning in the context of Indian politics, since India is already a Civil Liberal-Democratic State and it has neither a State Religion, nor is it ruled by any Church, Hindu or otherwise and its canons. It is also our conviction that Socialism and Democracy are incompatible and Dictatorship is inherent in a collective Society and that the run-away rule of the 'Demos' i.e. the masses, not checked and controlled by Fundamental Civil Freedoms of conscience, expression and association, Freedom to pursue any avocation and private enterprise and to hold property, either ends in chaos or dictatorship, Fascist, Socialist or Communist.

Let the Janata Party therefore transform itself into a Liberal-Democratic Party with a clear-cut ideology of basic and inviolable freedoms and an economic programme of maximum production and consequent automatic rise in

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# THE POWER OF THE MINISTERS IS GROWING AND IT MUST BE CURBED



It is said that Government is better which governs the least and that Government is best which does not govern at all. The sad spectacle of Cabinet members at Delhi defecting from the party in power just to fulfil their ambition of becoming the Prime-Minister as Mr Charan Singh has openly confessed or at least some important Minister in the Government is simply disgraceful. All parties are swearing by the same slogans of Secularism, Democracy and Socialism to fool people. Defectors also defect with the same mantram on their lips. The question therefore arises: Why is there so much scramble for power in post-freedom period?

This lust for power and authority, it will be seen on a close scrutiny of the ideological changes effected in the political thinking of the parties and the new pattern of Governmental set-up arising therefrom, in the post-freedom period that an office in the cabinet or Ministry now brings in a rich reward to the incumbent in the form of power and prosperity within a short time. A farmers' son who had been living only from hand to mouth, suddenly becomes the owner of big fortune within a term of three or five years by ruthlessly exploiting the people who approach such a minister for permits and licences and other favours. Holding a political Ministerial post in the Government has therefore been looked upon as a golden opportunity to climb up quickly to the top of the ladder of material prosperity and affluence.

It was Rajaji who characterized this Raj as Permit and Licence Raj and called upon the people to minimize this evil arising out of a system of Government which centralize all political and economic power into the hands of ministers and advocated free and private enterprise in general and public sector only when the latter was absolutely necessary. Under such a political and economic set-up, he

opined, only those who wanted to do public service would join the Government. Corruption would be reduced to the minimum. 'Prosperity through freedom of private Enterprise' would decentralise economic power. Deserving and high-souled politicians would only get public honour and respect. Absolute power would not be there to absolutely corrupt the Minister. Public Administration thus would become more efficient and more honest.

In this connection, one cannot but be reminded of the cryptic resolution passed by the British parliament about the Stuart King, which said, "The power of the King of England is increasing and it must be curbed". In the political conditions prevailing in India with defectors and opportunists succeeding everywhere, thus befouling the whole Indian polity a resolution may well be introduced in the Parliament saying "The power of the Prime Minister and other Ministers is growing and it must be curbed" and then the Parliament must set about depriving the Ministers of their power to control the economic life of the people and aggrandise themselves at the cost of the latter. Will some enterprising and public spirited members of the Parliament summon up the courage to set the ball rolling.

—D. M. K.

—I. L. August, 1979

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Vajpayee too should have come to think, that it is a sacrilege to see an Israeli leader or talk to him, and that even if he did dare to talk to him, he should be have in public as if no such thing had happened, fearing reprisals from the Arabs or pro-Arab Indians. Doubtless, but for such a fear engendered in us, both by the Nehru Indira regimes, would we have ever felt that an enemy of the Arabs is necessarily our enemy too? Is there anything more servile than this?

—I. L. August, 1980

# INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY VINDICATED



The Commonwealth Regional Meeting held recently at Delhi, it can be fairly stated, went a great way in clearing the cobwebs of misunderstandings deliberately created by interested parties about India's Foreign Policy. The voice of anti-Indian crusade carried on by U. S. and some Western powers particularly in respect of Afghanistan and Kampuchea was reflected in the open onslaught directed against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the sly criticism of India's stand on this issue as also on the recognition by India of the present government in Kampuchea, by Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore joined by Malcolm Fraser. President Carter's new aggressive policies relating to the use of nuclear weapons by way of giving the first but effective blow to the enemy nation which in the present context could only mean Soviet Russia do naturally run counter to India's non-aligned policies advocating peace and nonaggression as their basic platform, from which problems of peace and war facing the nations of the world could be debated and solved across the table, Pakistan and China are partners in this game to blackmail directed against India. But The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's firm stand on these outstanding issues of the day based on a keen desire to minimise the menace to the peace of the world, particularly in Middle Asia taken at international forums seems to have come to be better understood now by the moderate and same elements among the European powers. West Germany and even Australia are reported to have some understanding in the matter of undertaking some joint projects like constructing floating docks in Tasmania and aluminium smelting projects, which move may be even construed by the United States as instability in the relations between U. S. and the nations. India on her part is avowedly non-aligned in international

policies and is under no obligation contractual or moral to stand by U.S.A. at any cost. Our Prime Minister in her welcome speech to the delegates at the Commonwealth Regional Meeting, made it abundantly plain that India firmly stood by the independence of Afghanistan and that independence could be made secure and safe not only by Russia's withdrawal of her troops from that land but also by Pakistan, China and U.S.A. creating conditions in and around Afghanistan, favourable for a safe withdrawal of Russian troops. This must be admitted to be a balanced and realistic view of the situation prevailing in that country and the neighbouring areas.

## EXPANSIONISM

As for Russia's expansionism, after the second war, Russia has not been able to extend her sphere of influence beyond the frontier lines which she had occupied during the war, while it is alleged by Iran against the USA that she is interfering in her internal revolution. There are also grounds for believing that the Indian Ocean is fast being turned by U.S.A. into a Warzone or at least a Coldwar Zone by

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the standard of living of the people as in all free countries, through private and free enterprise and social welfarism and give a clear lead to the country in framing sane and sound political and economic policies, in the midst of prevailing confounded by renegades and defectors jockeying for power and pelf through any means fair and foul. Let the Party help the country get rid of forces of infantile and sham Secularism, disgusting defectionism and outlandish and unpatriotic Leftism, and un-Gandhian Gandhism.

—D. M. K.  
—I. L. August, 1979

her indrasion into its waters through her warships and the naval bases she is building up in Egypt and elsewhere. India and Iran have therefore every cause for apprehending military designs on the part of U. S. A. just in the vicinity of their ocean borders. Any way Indira Gandhi appears to have succeeded in removing the misunderstandings about her Foreign Policies from the minds of the delegates attending the regional meeting, as could be seen from the joint communique issued by all the representatives which just skips over all controversial issues and emphasises, the freedom of Afghanistan and envisages the continuation of a regime as far as possible only with the consent of the people inhabiting any country, ascertained through democratic processes. This has been and even now. The Indian stand on these issues. Thus the ill-conceived attack directed against India at the meeting was more or less silenced and what appeared at the commencement of the meeting as a splendid isolation of India from the rest of Commonwealth countries on certain important issue of the day was turned into a process of sweet persnasion of those who came to scoff but stayed back to pray along with India for a genuine peace in South-Asian Countries. The tables were cleverly turned against Australia on the ground of her having played the role of an opporent of colonial freedom. This pertinent observation made by Indira Gandhi almost put Australia and other allies of U. S. A. on the defensive and they became apologetic about their past attitude in this regard.

India's main interest at this meeting lay in regional cooperation in the economic field. Here also India's view as expressed in the memorandum 'Economic Problems of the Eighties' submitted by the Indian delegation is incorporated in the resolution calling for regional cooperation and identifying some areas for the purpose. It is to be hoped that these formulations approved on paper will be implemented in practice and not remain only as pious hopes as has so far happened.

The Menace of Muslim Fundamentalist Theocracies was the politico—religious phenomena of the Middle Ages The Twentieth Cen-

tury was supposed to have given a decent burial to such states in the wake of scientific and technological progress. Marxist and Communist States are openly atheistic while Democracies concede freedom of conscience and worship. It looks as if Theocratism has come into direct conflict with Marxist materialism and this conflict has first made its appearance on the borders between Communist Russia and Islamic states which are either ruled by dictators or by fanatical religious leaders. Democratic States of the West and also India, the largest Asian Democracy, are trying to hold the scales even between Atheism and Theism and have evolved the the concept of Secularism which divorces the State from religion and expects them to live and let live and let live side by side. But Muslim fundamentalism seems to be monistic and aims at transcending all political and social barriers and welding the Muslim blocs of nations into one in inalienable entity. The entity could of course be only loosely built up on the flexible basis of autonomous Muslim territories. But it must be stated her that this trend towards formation of theocratic Muslim States has little chance of success in the modern scientific age that has brought together all the religions into the melting pot of materialism Even social distinctions are not considered to be basic and fundamental It is therefore difficult to fully comprehend what constitutes Muslim Fundamentalism. It may usher in an era of religious wars so a life and death struggle between Atheistic states and theocracies and perhaps, civil wars within democratic countries between Muslim Fundamentalists and non-muslim masses.

This is frankly speaking an ugly development in the Islamic world which may have unwholsome reactions on world events. Perhaps scenting this danger Mrs. Indira Gandhi made a vague reference to importing religion into mundane political affairs of the world.

It may be that this Muslim Fundamentalism serves the temporary selfish interests of some antirelations and such it is receiving their backing. But since this is a reactionary move-



ment, no modern state should support it. It must be actively opposed if not directly fought out. It was therefore timely that a warning was sounded by the Prime Minister. In as much as a secular state like the Indian, State is expected to resist any attempt on the part of any country to revive a Theocratic state and even if USA or Western Democracies in their short sightedness should encourage this trend India's sympathies will and should always remain with those states who are forced into stru-

ggle with countries wedded to politice-religious fundamentalism, whether Islamic or otherwise.

The-Commonwealth Regional Meeting has thus vindicated India's firm stand on the freedom of Afghanistan to be kept safe from foreign aggression or foreign sabotage from within and without, economic cooperation in certain well defined areas, and unalloyed secularist character of a modern State

—D. M. K.

— I. L. October, 1980.



## FOREIGN AID

A careful country-by-country study, however, shows pretty clearly that wherever a country in recent years (such as West Germany) has reformed its currency, kept it sound, and adhered in the main to the principles of free enterprise, it has enjoyed a miraculous recovery and growth. But where a country (such as India) has chosen government planning, has adopted grandiose socialistic "five-year plans" arbitrarily directing production into the wrong lines, has expanded its currency but kept it overvalued through exchange controls, and has put all sorts of restrictions and harassments in the way of private enterprise and private initiative, it has sunk into chronic crises or famine in spite of billions of dollars in generous foreign aid.

—Henry Hazlitt

—"THE LIBERTARIAN ALTERNATIVE".

# VIOLENCE OF LABOUR UNIONS



The City of Bombay is the nerve-centre of the Industrial life of not only Maharashtra State but also of India and as such, job seekers clerks, mental servants flock to the city from the remotest corners of the country. This fact has given a cosmopolitan character to this city though it is the capital of the Marathi-speaking region. Bombay labour was perhaps first in the field of organizing itself into Trade Unions. The trade union movement owes its origin to the pioneering efforts made by such trade-unionists like the late Mr. S. M. Joshi and Bakhle and others belonging to the Servant of India Society later on Trade Unionism came under the influence of the Communist leaders like Mr. S. A. Dange and others. During British regime, the movement was not allowed to step out beyond the limits of Labour laws enacted by the Government, local or central. As Socialism became the badge of Leftist progressivism as it came to be styled by Nehru. Jayaprakash Narayan and others, trade unionism became more and more politically oriented. Every political worker talked of labour welfare since industrial labour was organized and was vocal. Agricultural labour remained neglected though some of the national leaders called themselves peasant leaders.

The disparity between the emoluments received by Industrial labour and those received by agricultural labour is very wide even if some allowance is made for the higher cost of living in the city of Bombay. After independence all political parties attempted to get control over trade unions. Today trade unionism as understood in the west does not prevail in Bombay or in any other industrial area of the country. Rivalry for controlling trade unions among the political parties such as the Congress Socialists or Communists is now replaced by rivalry among trade unions

led by adventurous independent labour leaders who go on whelting the appetite of labour for demanding higher and higher emoluments exceeding the cost of living index figures published by the Government.

Apart from the Dearness Allowance being linked up with cost of living index published by the Government, the system of paying Bonus introduced by labour legislation in this early Thirties of this century still holds the field even when basic salaries and dearness allowance have been increased. Instead of industrial firms having to pay Bonus out of net profits made by them during the year, the Government has made its payment compulsory. Thus Bonus has become a part of the total annual wages payable to the worker and it is no wonder it has become a source of labour unrest and ever recurring bone of conflict between capital and labour. In this situation desparadoes among the Union leaders who make impossible demands on behalf labour and instigate their followers to get their demands satisfied by the Management even through violent methods which flout the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and of labour legislations get the better of saner elements among union leaders. And the rivalry between the political parties to get their supper in elections adds fuel to the fire and under party pressure, the Government connives at or simply becomes indifferent to the increasing violence indulged in by Union workers under the leadership of such adventurist leaders.

This has resulted in a woeful deardock or the industrial front in Bombay in particular and in industrial areas of the country in general. In post-freedom days labour movement has taken a violent turn since violence as experience

shows, pays more dividend than raising industrial disputes before the industrial courts.

This situation in the industrial field has become desperate. Many industrial units have closed down or have been transferred to more convenient places. If this sorry state of affairs continues any longer, the day would not be far distant when the industry of Bombay would be wholly paralysed, to the misery of the unemployed and to the reduction of national wealth, while it will be only a small section of labour and its leaders who will have made gains by holding the city to ransom.

This unhappy state of affairs could be speedily remedied if labour and its leadership are brought under the discipline of labour legislation and civil and criminal law of the land. Political parties must cease to pamper to the whims and caprices of labour. The industrial executives must also curb their just for profit making through illegal means. Lastly the Government must neither fear nor favour capital nor labour and act as a fair and just arbitrator between the two wings of industry. —D. M. K.

—I. L. October, 1980

## Thin Line Between Communism and Fascism

Both Communism and Fascism stand for collectivism. The Communist collective ego is the proletariat class and the Fascist collective ego is the nation. Both sacrifice the individual on the altar of the collective ego. It makes no difference whether it is the class or the nation. That being the case, when Communists establish a National State being the case, when Communists establish a National State and become the prophets of patriotism, their collective ego can hardly be distinguished from that of the Fascists. In either case, it is totalitarian. So, the dividing line between Fascism and a decadent Communism is very thin.—

—M. N. Roy.

# RATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY FOR INDIA

*By. P. Kodanda Rao*

*"I am firmly of the opinion that the replacement of English by Hindi in higher administrations and education, particularly Science, would be a great disservice to India. I am, therefore, opposed to the change".*

—Sir C. V. Raman  
Nobel Prize-Winner

In considering the language policy for India, it is wise to keep in view the principles which may command general acceptance

Language is a means for the communication of ideas. It is a non-material cultural element like religion, science or any item of knowledge. It cannot be owned exclusively by any individual, and is unlike property, which is a material cultural element and which can be owned exclusively by an individual. A teacher who shares his language and knowledge freely with his pupils, will not equally freely share his salary also with them because he does not suffer diminution of his language and knowledge by sharing them but will suffer diminution of his salary by sharing it. All languages, and all the knowledge they convey, are universal inheritances, and therefore, the possessive concept of "my" language and knowledge and "your" language and knowledge is not valid, for both "I" and "you" can acquire both the language and knowledge.

Languages, and knowledge they convey have no political nationality, even as they do not have a race, a religion, or a sex. If for instance, English were British by political nationality, white by race, Christian by religion and male by sex, non-Britishers like Americans and Indians, non-whites like Indians and Negroes, non-Christians like Hindu and Muslims, and even British women would not be able to use it. But that is not so. The concept that English is British "and Hindi and Tamil are "Indian"

is therefore invalid. No language is either 'foreign' or "Indian".

No language is correlated with a nationality or a religion. All Hindus who have the Hindu religion in common do not speak the same language. They speak different languages like Bengali, Tamil, etc. Islam is the common religion of all Muslims in the world, from Morocco to Indonesia, but they do not speak the same language. Urdu is not the exclusive language of Muslims in India and Pakistan, for many non-Muslims speak it and all Muslims do not speak it. The British and the Americans speak the same language—English—but they do not have the same political nationality.

Since a language or knowledge has no organic connection with any race, religion, sex and political nationality, the choice of language and knowledge must depend on their current utility for work and enjoyment to the persons concerned. However great their admiration for Shakespeare few Englishmen speak today the language which he himself used centuries ago. However great their admiration for Kalidasa, few Hindus speak the language which he used in his Shakuntala.

The nature and number of languages that one should learn depend largely on the range and variety of his communicational needs. The great majority of people in any part of the world are not likely to need more than their

mother-tongue, as their communicational needs are limited to its range. Those, whose requirements transcend the boundaries of their mother tongue, need more languages than their mother tongue. Diplomats need several languages as they likely to be posted to different countries with different languages.

People whose mother-tongue is a well-developed language, like English, hardly need any other language as most knowledge is available in it.

Language per se is not knowledge except to a few linguists. It is like the spoon which carries the sugar to the mouth, but it is the sugar that is consumed and not the spoon. To most people it is the medium for knowledge, which they need for work and enjoyment. While a few gifted people may learn several languages if only as their hobby, most people prefer to have to learn the minimum number of languages and scripts for maximum use. The best policy is : maximum knowledge through minimum number of languages and scripts.

Since a child starts speaking in its mother tongue even before it learns to read and write it at home or at school and normally uses it for most purposes, it is the best means of acquiring knowledge. If the mother-tongue is well-developed like, say, English, there is hardly need for a second language. But if it be not well-developed, a well-developed second language is very useful for a wider range of needs.

In view of the above considerations, what are the linguistic needs of India for current purposes, and how can they be met with maximum utility and minimum strain on mind and money ?

During the last century and over there has been a kind of horizontal bilingualism in India. Several mother tongues have been the media of primary education and village administration, and one single language, English, was the medium of post-primary education and post village administration, Provincial and Central

However, during the last few decades, and particularly after Indian independence, some people have been advocating the replacement of English by Hindi at the Center, and by "regional" languages at all levels of education and administration in so-called uni-lingual States. But no linguistic State has become uni-lingual but has had several linguistic minorities.

While it is admitted that no single majority language in any State in India is today able to replace English with equal efficiency, the hope is cherished that, if it be made the sole medium at all levels of education and administration, it will soon be able to do so. But as English will not stay out till the other languages catch up, the prospect of their catching up with English is receding like the horizon.

The people whose mother-tongue happens to be the language of the majority of a State have been forcing it by law as the official language of that State, due largely to their linguistic patriotism. But they callously ignore that people who speak the minority languages have also linguistic patriotism for their mother-tongue and resent the imperialism of the mother-tongue of the majority.

If each linguistic State adopts its major language for all purposes, the administrative unity of India would be broken up, which few seem to contemplate with equanimity. Some people, who would preserve the unity, would continue English as the official language of the Government of India and as the medium of higher education in India **until Hindi is developed enough to take over.** But still others would get rid of English **at once, if not sooner.** The main reason for their antipathy to English is that, in their opinion, Hindi is an "Indian" language, and English, a "Foreign" language, imposed on India by the British Imperialists, like Lord Macaulay, and which independent India should banish forthwith ! As a matter of fact it was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the eminent Indian patriot and scholar, who invited English before the arrival of Macaulay with a view to the introduction of modern experimental Science in

India which had made significant progress in England since Sir Francis Bacon invented the experimental method and which would help India also.

„Foreign“ and „Indian“ denote political nationalities. If, as stated earlier, no language has a political nationality, no language, neither English nor Hindi, can be either 'foreign' or 'Indian'. The only relevant question is their relative utility for modern purposes.

Granting without admitting, that a language can be "foreign" is English "foreign"? The Linguistic Census India of 1951 classified languages and dialects current in India at the time under "Indian" and "non-Indian" and included among the "Indian" group Sanskrit, which was the mother-tongue of just 555 Indian nationals, and over fifty dialects each of which was the mother-tongue of just a single Indian national, though it did not say with whom that single Indian spoke in that dialect! On the other hand, it included English among the "non-Indian" languages, though it is the mother-tongue of some thousands of Indian nationals including the Anglo-Indians who are hundred per cent Indian nationals and who are recognised as such in the Indian Constitution! To acknowledge Anglo-Indians as "Indian" nationals and condemn their mother tongue as "foreign" is not only most illogical but also most insulting to the "Indian nationals" who happen to be either Anglo-Indians or other Indians.

In 1954 Mr. M. C. Chagla, then Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in the famous judgment in *Bombay Education Society vs. The State of Bombay*, pronounced *inter alia* that English was an "Indian" language and the "more important Indian language". The Supreme Court upheld the judgment of the Bombay High Court.

As Minister of Education in the Government of India in 1965, Mr. Chagla said that English was no longer the language of foreign rulers and that it was a badge of progress and not of humiliation to Indians. On March 23, 1953 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, than whom there

is no greater Indian patriot, said that English was one of the languages given to us by Goddess Saraswathi. In his speech at the Nagpur Rotary Club on August, 17, 1961, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, now Minister for Finance in the Government of India, said that English was not a 'foreign' but a 'national' language. Dr. K. M. Munishi said, in his Note on Hindi of February 26, 1956, that English was an 'Indian language by adoption.'

In his speech in Hyderabad on December 8, 1955, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India said that English should have been included among the 'Indian' languages listed in the English Schedule of the Indian Constitution. In response to Mr. Frank Anthony's plea in parliament on August 7, 1959, to include English in the Schedule to 'remove the taint of foreignness', Mr. Nehru said that non-inclusion in the Schedule did not mean that English was not an 'Indian' language, and pointed out that it was recognised by the Sahitya Academy, along with several other 'Indian' languages.

In so far as English is said to be 'foreign' inasmuch as it did not originate within the four corners of India most of what is being taught in the Indian education system, like the Physical Sciences and the Social Sciences, Medicine and Engineering, etc., is also of 'foreign' origin, but there is no 'patriotic' demand to eschew it and replace it by Puranas and Ithihasas! Scores of Indians are being sent to 'foreign' countries like Britain and America to learn, not Hindu PURANAS but 'foreign' Sciences and Technology. Even most of the administrative systems in India today are of foreign origin. But there is no "patriotic" demand of boycott them. They are retained and valued because of their usefulness in modernising India. The more of them, as well as of English, the better for India.

There is a large body of opinion in India today that English is necessary as the medium of higher education in India to facilitate the acquisition of modern up-to-date knowledge. English is useful for much else also. According to UNESCO, more than 1,500 vocations were

practised in the world. A good many of them obtain in India also and offer the means of livelihood for millions of people who do not aspire to go to the University. In most of the vocations improvements are constantly being made and find ready publication in English periodicals, pamphlets and books. Because they are published in English with international circulation, they lend themselves to be printed in thousands of copies and at a low price per copy. Most of the Indian craftsmen are still at the level of skill which their forefathers had attained centuries ago. It is most cruel and uneconomical to deny them modern knowledge in their skills. Either it should be provided to them in their mother-tongues and at prices they can pay, which is almost impossible, or they should be taught English. English has a unique universality of utility. In so far as English is advocated as a compulsory language even from the Primary level of education, if only as part of the Three - Language Formula, it is bound to be universal in India in the near future. Since Hindi has not the same usefulness, it is an unnecessary infliction to make it also compulsory.

The late Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, as Home Minister in the Government of India, said that Hindi would be made the sole official language of the Government of India when a sufficient number of non-Hindi people had acquired sufficient knowledge of Hindi. He did not reveal how the sufficiencies would be tested and by whom. If Hindi be made compulsory on students under the Three-Language Formula and even on officials under official pressure, the next Census will list the great majority of non-Hindi people as "knowing" Hindi, and offer the excuse for making it the sole official language of India. But the Census, which can measure only the number of non-Hindi people who have to say that they had learnt Hindi, will not however measure their efficiency in Hindi. By and large, most non-Hindi people will have acquired only a smattering of Hindi and not the same efficiency in it as the Hindi people and are bound to suffer a permanent handicap. Non-Hindi People should, therefore, reject Hindi in

any form other than as a voluntary hobby, like any other language, say, Bengali or French.

while everybody should be free to learn any number of languages and scripts voluntarily and at his own expense, the State should promote, at taxpayers' expense only the mother-tongues in Roman script and also English since most mother-tongues are ill-equipped for modern, particularly useful, knowledge.

In so far as the Constitution ordains compulsory education of children till their age of fourteen, and English is made compulsory, the whole of the Indian population will in the next decade or so have acquired a working knowledge of English, at least enough to enable them to read it for their vocational knowledge though not to speak and write fluently enough to attempt literature in it. English thus acquired will, if necessary, constitute the "link" language to those who need it. It is more useful to concentrate India's limited resources on two languages, Mother-tongue and English than burden the people, particularly children, with a third, Hindi, which most of them will not need at any time.

The adoption of Hindi as the official language of India gives an unearned advantage to the mother-tongue, who speak it even before they learn to read and write it and who use it for most of their linguistic needs, and inflicts an undeserved handicap on other Indians who have to learn it much later in life and in school and have few occasions to use it. There cannot be equality of facility in the use of Hindi between those who have it as their mother-tongue and those who do not, except in very rare cases. Even as most Germans cannot compete with Englishmen in the English language, even as most Englishmen cannot compete with Germans in the German language, so also non-Hindi-speaking Indians cannot compete on equal terms with Hindi-speaking Indians. It is a fact admitted even by the Hindi protagonists. It is a permanent and unfair preference for one mother-tongue, Hindi, as against several other mother-tongues, to which the latter cannot at any time

and for any reason submit willingly. A few exceptions apart, while the Hindi people are defending Hindi because it is their mother-tongue, the non-Hindi people have not been equally selfish in that they did not demand that any of their mother-tongues should be the official language of India. The conflict is between Hindi selfishness and non-Hindi unselfishness. In supporting English, the non-Hindi people are not standing for unearned advantage for their mother tongues, since it is not their mother-tongue, but because it equalises the linguistic load on all Indians. Further, it is more useful than any other language current in India for the easy flow into India of modern knowledge which every body needs.

Some friends have advocated that Hindi and English should both be adopted as the official languages of the Government of India. If every official document should be in both the languages simultaneously or all purposes it may lead to conflicts as to which version was correct and authoritative. The cost of such bilingualism is bound to be colossal. There is no justification to incur it when there is not enough money to liquidate the colossal illiteracy in India, which is estimated at about seventy percent ! Bilingualism of Hindi and English may be a clever manoeuvre to taper off English and leave Hindi as the sole official language of India and as soon as possible !

Policies of the several Provincial Governments impinge on one another and on the Government of India, and sometimes on the Governments of other countries as well, and must therefore be in the same single language. English is best fitted for that role.

While peoples of many countries in the world, whose mother-tongue is other than English, are learning it and while most delegates

from most countries are using it in most of the international gatherings, it is most unfortunate and reactionary that Indians, who inherited English for over a century and built up their political, administrative and educational systems on its basis, should deliberately discard it on the false assumption that it is "foreign".

**It is, therefore most rational and wise that English should continue as the sole official language of the Government of India and the medium of higher education and administration all over India and the mother-tongue or English as the medium in the lower level of administration and education and on a permanent basis.**

The mother-tongue is better fitted for the more exalted use as the "language of the heart" in subjective literature, such as poetry, essay, drama, biography and fiction, which are individualistic in authorship and vary with individual readers in appreciation, while English is better fitted for the less exalted use as the "language of the head" in objective and factual Science and Technology, which have a common validity to the majority of people and for official and commercial purposes. Further, literature in any language has a more intimate appeal to those who have it as their mother-tongue because of their familiarity with its peculiar idioms, nuances and allusion which may lose their literary flavour in translation, but writings in Science and Technology and official and commercial correspondence hardly ever rise to the level of high-class literature and lend themselves to translation into any other languages without loss of their validity. The best policy therefore is : MOTHER-TONGUE FOR LITERATURE AND ENGLISH FOR SCIENCE AND FOR GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCIAL USE.

—I. L. September, 1971





# A SECULAR HUMANIST DECLARATION

*( This declaration was drafted by Dr. Paul Kurtz and endorsed by leading humanists from all parts of the world.—Ed )*

SECULAR humanism is a vital force in the contemporary world. It is now under unwarranted and intemperate attack from various quarters. This declaration defends only that form of secular humanism which is explicitly committed to democracy. It is opposed to all varieties of belief that seek supernatural sanction for their values or espouse rule by dictatorship.

Democratic secular humanism has been a powerful force in world culture. Its ideals can be traced to the philosophers, scientists, and poets of classical Greece and Rome, to ancient Chinese Confucian Society, to the Carvaka movement of India, and the other distinguished intellectual and moral traditions. Secularism and humanism were eclipsed in Europe during the Dark Ages, when religious prety croded humankind's confidence in its own powers to solve human problems. They reappeared in force during the Renuissance with the reassertion of secular and humanists values in literature and the arts again in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the development of modern science and a naturalistic view of the universe and their influence can be found in the eighteenth century in the Age of Reason and the Enlightenment. Democratic secular humanism has creatively flowered in modern times with the growth of freedom and democracy.

Countless millions of thoughtful persons have espoused secular humanist ideals, have lived significant lives, and have contributed to the building of a more humane and democratic world. The modern secular humanist outlook has led to the application of science and technology to the improvement of the human condition. This

has had a positive effect on reducing poverty suffering, and disease in various parts of the world in extending longevity, on improving transportation and communication, and in making the good life possible for more and more people. It has led to the emancipation of hundred of millions of people from the exercise of blind faith and fears of superstition and has contributed to their education and the enrichment of their lives. Secular humanism has provided an impetus for humans to solve their problems with intelligence and perseverance, to conquer geographic and social frontiers, and to extend the range of human exploration and adventure.

Regrettably, we are today faced with a variety of anti-secularist trends: the reappearance of dogmatic authoritarian religions; fundamentalist, literalist, and doctrinaire Christianity; a rapidly growing and uncompromising Moslem clericalism in the Middle East and Asia; the reassertion of orthodox authority by the Roman Catholic papal hierarchy; nationalistic religious Judaism; and the reversion to obscurantist religions in Asia. New cults of unreason as well as bizarre paranormal and accult beliefs, such as belief in astrology, reincarnation and the mysterious power of alleged psychics are growing in many Western societies. These disturbing developments follow in the wake of the merge-nce in the earlier part of the twentieth century of intolerant messianic and totalitarian quasireligious movements, such as fascism and communism. These religious activists not only are responsible for much of the terror and violence in the world today but stand in the way of solutions to the world's most serious problems.

Paradoxically, some of the critics of secular humanism maintain that it is a dangerous philosophy. Some assert that it is "morally corrupting" because it is committed to individual freedom, others that it condones "injustice" because it defends democratic due process. We who support democratic secular humanism deny such charges, which are based upon misunderstanding and misinterpretation, and we seek to outline a set of principles that most of us share. Secular humanism is not a dogma or a creed. There are wide differences of opinion among secular humanists on many issues. Nevertheless, there is a loose consensus with respect to several propositions. We are apprehensive that modern civilization is threatened by forces antithetical to reason, democracy, and freedom. Many religious believers will no doubt share with us a belief in many secular humanist and democratic values, and we welcome their joining with us in the defence of these ideals.

**2. Free Inquiry.** The first principle of democratic secular humanism is its commitment to free inquiry. We oppose any tyranny over the mind of man, any efforts by ecclesiastical political ideological or social institutions to shackle free thought. In the past such tyrannies have been directed by churches and states attempting to enforce the edicts of religious bigots. In the history of ideas established institutions, both public and private, have attempted to censor inquiry, to impose orthodoxy on beliefs and values and to excommunicate heretics and extirpate unbelievers. Today, the struggle for free inquiry has assumed new forms. Sectarian ideologies have become the new theologies that use political parties and government in their mission to crush dissident opinion.

Free inquiry entails recognition of civil liberties as integral to its pursuit, that is a free press; freedom of communication, the right to organize opposition parties and to join voluntary associations, and freedom to cultivate and publish the fruits of scientific or philosophical, artistic, literary; moral and religious freedom. Free inquiry requires that we tolerate diversity of opinion and that we respect the

the right of individuals to express their beliefs, however unpopular they may be, without social or legal prohibition or fear of sanctions. Though we may tolerate contrasting points of view, this does not mean that they are immune to critical scrutiny. The guiding premise of those who believe in free inquiry is that truth is more likely to be discovered if the opportunity exists for the free exchange of opposing opinions: the process of interchange is frequently as important as the result. This applies not only to science and to everyday life, but to politics, economics, morality; and religion.

**2. Separation of Church and State.** Because of their commitment to freedom, secular humanists believe in the principle of the separation of church and state. The lessons of history are clear: wherever one religion or ideology is established and given a dominant position in the state, minority opinions are in jeopardy. A pluralistic, open democratic society allows all points of view to be heard. Any effort to impose an exclusive conception of Truth, Piety, Virtue, or Justice upon the whole of society is a violation of free inquiry. Clerical authorities should not be permitted to legislate their own parochial views—whether moral, philosophical, political; educational; or social—for the rest of society.

Nor should tax revenues be exacted for the benefit or support of sectarian religious institutions. Individuals and voluntary associations should be free to accept or not to accept any belief and to support these convictions with whatever resources they may have, without being compelled by taxation to contribute to those religious faiths with which they do not agree. Similarly, church properties should share in the burden of public revenues and should not be exempt from taxation. Compulsory religious oaths and prayers in public institutions (political or educational) are also a violation of the separation principle.

Today, nontheistic as well as theistic religions compete for attention. Regrettably, in communist countries, the power of the state is

being used to impose an ideological doctrine on the society, without tolerating the expression of dissenting or heretical views. Here we see a modern secular version of the violation of the separation principle.

3. **The Ideal of Freedom.** There are many forms of totalitarianism in the modern world secular and nonsecular—all of which we vigorously oppose. As democratic secularists, we consistently defend the ideal of freedom, not only freedom of conscience and belief from those ecclesiastical, political and economic interests that seek to repress them but genuine political liberty, democratic decision making based upon majority rule and respect for minority rights and the rule of law. We stand not only for freedom from religious control but for from jingoistic government control as well. We are for the defence of basic human rights., including the right to protect life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In our view, a free society should also encourage some measure of economic freedom, subject only to such restrictions as are necessary in the public interest. This means that individuals and groups should be able to compete in the marketplace organize free trade unions, and carry on their occupations and careers on their occupations and careers without undue interference by centralized political control. The right to private property is a human right without which other rights are nugatory. Where it is necessary to limit any of these rights in a democracy, the limitation should be justified in terms of its consequences in strengthening the entire structure of human rights.

4. **Ethics Based on Critical Intelligence :** The moral views of secular humanism have been subjected to criticism by religious fundamentalist theists. The secular humanist recognizes the central role of morality in human life. Indeed ethics was developed as a branch of human knowledge long before religionists proclaimed their moral systems based upon divine authority. The field of ethics has had a distinguished list of thinkers contributing to its development : from Socrates, Democritus, Aristotle; Epicurus,

and Epictetus, to Spinoza; Erasmus Hume; Voltaire, Kant, Bentham; Mill; G. E. Moore; Bertrand Russell, Pohn Dewey, and others. There is an influential philosophical tradition that maintains that ethics is an autonomous field of inquiry, that ethical judgements can be formulated independently of revealed religion, and that human beings can cultivate practical reason and wisdom and, by its application, achieve lives of virtue and excellence. Moreover philosophers have emphasized the need to cultivate an appreciation for the requirements of Social justice and for an individuals obligations and responsibilities toward others. Thus secularists deny that morality needs to be reduced from religious belief or that those who do not espouse a religious doctrine are immoral.

For secular humanists, ethical conduct is, or should be judged by critical reason, and their goal is to develop autonomous and responsible individuals, capable of making their own choices in life based upon an understanding of human behavior. Morality that is not God-based need not be antisocial, subjective, or promiscuous, nor need it lead to the breakdown of moral standards. Although we believe in tolerating diverse lifestyles and social manners, we do not think they are immune to criticism. Nor do we believe that any one church should impose its views of moral virtue and sin, sexual conduct, marriage; divorce; birth control, or abortion, or legislate them for the rest of society.

As secular humanists we believe in the central importance of the value of human happiness here and now. We are opposed to Absolutist morality, yet we maintain that objective standards emerge, and ethical values and principles may be discovered, in the course of ethical deliberation.

Secular humanist ethics maintains that it is possible for human beings to lead meaningful and wholesome lives for themselves and in service to their fellow human beings without the need of religious commandments or the benefit of clergy. They have been any number of

distinguished secularists and humanists who have demonstrated moral principles in their personal lives and works; Protagoras, Lucretius Epicurus. Spinoza, Hume, Thomas Paine, Diderot : Mark Twain, George Eliot John Stuart Mill; Ernest Renan; Charles Darwin, Thomas Edison, Clarence Darrow; Robert Ingersoll, Gilbert Murray. Albert Schweitzer; Albert Einstein, Max Born; Margaret Sanger and Bertrand Russell among others.

**5. Moral Education.** We believe that moral development should be cultivated in children and young adults. We do not believe that any particular sect can claim important values as their exclusive property; hence it is the duty of public education to deal with these values. Accordingly, we support moral education in the schools that is designed to develop an appreciation for moral virtues, intelligence, and the building of character. We wish to encourage wherever possible the growth of moral awareness and the capacity for free choice and an understanding of the consequences thereof. We do not think it is moral to baptize infants, to confirm adolescents, or to impose a religious creed on young people before they are able to consent. Although children should learn about the history of religious moral practices, these young minds should not be indoctrinated in a faith before they are mature enough to evaluate the merits for themselves. It should be noted that secular humanism is not so much a specific morality as it is a method for the explanation and discovery of rational moral principles

**6. Religious Skepticism.** As secular humanists we are generally skeptical about supernatural claims. We recognize the importance of religious experience; that experience that redirects and gives meaning to the lives of human beings. We deny, however, that such experiences have anything to do with the supernatural. We are doubtful of traditional views of God and divinity. Symbolic and mythological interpretations of religions often serve as rationalizations for a sophisticated minority, leaving the bulk of mankind to flounder in theological confusion. We consider the universe to be a dynamic scene of natural forces that are most effectively understood by scientific inquiry.

We are always open to the discovery of new possibilities and phenomena in nature. However we find that traditional views of the existence of God either are meaningless have not yet been demonstrated to be true, or are tyrannically exploitative. Secular humanists may be agnostics, atheists, rationalists; or skeptics, but they find insufficient evidence for the claim that some divine purpose exists for the universe. They reject the idea that God has intervened miraculously in history or revealed himself to a chosen few, or that he can save or redeem sinners. They believe that men and women are free and are responsible for their own destinies and that they cannot look toward some transcendent being for salvation. We reject the divinity of Jesus the divine mission of Moses Mohammed, and other letter-day prophets and saints of the various sects and denominations. We do not accept as true the literal interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, the Koran, or other allegedly sacred religious documents, however important they may be as interpretative. Religions are pervasive sociological phenomena and religious myths have long persisted in human history. In spite of the fact that human beings have found religions to be uplifting and a source of solace, we do not find their theological claims to be true. Religions have made negative as well as positive contributions toward the development of human civilization. Although they have helped to build hospitals and schools and at their best have encouraged the spirit of love and charity, many have also caused human suffering by being intolerant of those who did not accept their dogmas or creeds. Some religions have been fanatical and repressively narrowing human hopes limiting aspirations and precipitating religious wars and violence. While religions have no doubt offered comfort to the bereaved and dying by holding forth the promise of an immortal life they have also aroused morbid fear and dread. We have found no convincing evidence that there is a separable "soul" or that it exists before birth or survives death. We must therefore conclude that the ethical life can be lived without the illusions of immortality or reincarnation. Human beings can develop the self-confidence necessary to ameliorate the human condition and to lead meaningful productive lives.

—I. L. February 1981