

e

Indian Libertarian



Price 25 Naye Paise

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

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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

Vol. IX No. 3

May 1, 1961

	IN THIS ISSUE		
	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL ..	1	In Whose Favour Is The Budget? by J. M. Lobo Prabhu	9
The Open Society by M. A. Venkata Rao	4	Consideration Of Some Basic Sociological Truths by Laurence Labadie	10
What Is Communalism? by M. N. Tholal	7	DELHI LETTER ..	12
		Book Review ..	13
		Gleanings from the Press ..	15
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	News & Views ..	15

EDITORIAL

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON'S HIGH DRAMA

A CHARYA Kripalani and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru raised the question of the Defence Minister's extraordinary dealings with promotions in the Armed Forces. They have roused keen dissatisfaction among officers and doubts about the intentions he may have in these moves among politicians and the general public.

Mr. Kripalani charged openly that the only principle that gave meaning to the irregularities underlying the recent promotions effected by the Defence Minister is that he intended to build up his own supporters in the armed forces who may be calculated to rally behind him in case he decided to play for a coup de etat and instal himself as a dictator when the time seems ripe to him!

These thoughts had occurred to thinkers aware of communist strategy and tactics in general and of the antecedents of Mr. Menon as a long time member of the British Communist Party Executive in London (it is said for fifteen years!)

But every move that Mr. Menon has initiated as Defence Minister has served to give meaning to these suspicions and confirm them to other observers. Now Acharya Kripalani comes out in open Parliament making the grave charge that Mr. Menon is playing for dictatorship! Mr. Bajpayee had made the same charge some time back though in less categorical terms.

There is no doubt that High Officers in the Armed Forces are dissatisfied and even alarmed at the arbitrary ways of Mr. Menon. Everyone is surprised that the Prime Minister should allow Mr. Menon to go so far. He allowed once before Sheikh Abdullah to plot treachery to the nation and defended him in the first instance! His hands were forced later and he was obliged to acquiesce in the action taken against Sheikh Abdullah. So now too it is only if some one else takes action against Mr. Menon on irrefragable legal grounds that the Prime Minister will be obliged to acquiesce in it. Even open treachery like keeping foreign invasion secret from the people and preventing the nation and government from taking defensive action as in the case of Chinese aggression has not served to induce the Prime Minister to throw his friend out of office and save the country.

It remains to be seen what development will bring the open manouvres of Mr. Menon towards personal-Power-aggradisement and the scuttling of democracy to an abrupt halt as in the case of Sheikh Abdullah. Now that the possible intentions and meaning of Mr. Menon's moves are published in Parliament by critics like Shri Kripalani and there are a number of Members in Parliament and others outside it who are aware of the strategy and tactics of communist revolutions (as for instance in Czechoslovakia and Hungary) and some of them are members of the armed forces themselves, the chances are that any actual step or putsch by Menon will arouse contrarian forces and frustrate it effectively! Hitler's first

Putsch which was joined by General Ludendorf the war hero was checkmated for some such reason. Those who wish to save Indian democracy and national independence should watch Mr. Menon and give wide publicity to the possibilities of Mr. Menon's ambitions. Innocent trust in such persons would be less than justice to the nation.

COMMUNIST TACTICS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Herbert Morrison and others of the British Parliamentary Association have published a chapter from a book published in Czechoslovakia by one who participated in the communist coup in 1948. He has written it as a genuine communist leader to instruct young communists in the technique of communist revolution in countries situated as Czechoslovakia was after the Allied Victory—an innocent democracy that trusted communist promises and believed in living with communism i.e. co-existence. Young Masaryk (I) and Benes (II) had to pay the penalty for such trust.

Coalition governments with communist ministers in charge of defence and police soon organise revolts and take the country over for full communism. Co-existence Ministers will find themselves ruthlessly eliminated! The Milk and Water Panchsheela of dreamers like Nehru will disappear from the scene as soon as their purpose in history is fulfilled namely that of softening democracy for communism!

Every Indian politician anxious to preserve democracy and national independence should obtain a copy of this chapter from the Czech book and make a deep study of it and apply its lessons to the Indian scene. The tragedy that is being prepared for India like a Greek drama may yet be frustrated and pre-

vented and the country saved, if the honest intelligentsia acts in time and informs itself correctly meanwhile.

Rakosi's pamphlet, "How We Took Hungary" has a similar dread import and should also be studied by Indian patriots. Here again we find a frank and unrepentant revolutionist giving details of his coup de etat in cool triumph as an object lesson to other communists in countries yet to be liberated from the "bourgeois yoke"!

This is all the duty of the Home Ministry but in India we have the peculiar circumstance of the heads of Governments encouraging hob-nobbing with Russian and Chinese aggressors or possible aggressors! The cow is being taught to respect the tiger as a patron and benefactor of the whole world. We owe this dangerous position to the influence of the Prime Minister who is committed to World Revolution a la Marxism as the only salvation for mankind.

RUSSIAN PILOTS ON THE INDIAN BORDER

Even Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who had declared several times even after his Swatantra party was formed that he endorsed his foreign policies has been obliged to draw the line and condemn the recent flagrant action of the Prime Minister. He has allowed Russian Air Pilots (military experts) to fly Russian aeroplanes over the Indian border areas ostensibly to instruct our air force men! When criticised for this in Parliament Nehru naively replied that all precautions have been taken not to let the Foreigners learn military secrets! The innocence of Nehru is becoming phenomenal and positively dangerous. It no longer deserves to be called innocence and sincerity but plain treachery to the nation. It is risk-taking with the safety of the land to the extent of endangering security knowingly! It is time that the nation learnt to give up the glamorous charismatic illusion regarding the hero of the revolution that Nehru can do no wrong. It is high time to see him with the eyes of commonsense and realism. We must emulate the mature citizenry of Britain who while preserving their hero-worship for their war hero, Winston Churchill, showed their clear-eyed perception that he was unfit for civil government in peacetime and voted him out at the hour of victory!

CONGRESS AND COMMUNALISM

With the approach of the general elections, Nehru and the Congress leaders are exercised as to how to neutralise or sterilise the communal bloc votes—of the Muslim League's of the Akali Dal's, of the Hindu parties like the Hindu Mahasabha or Jana Sangh—if they cannot be rallied in their own favour. At least the Muslims and the Akalis can be so rallied.

Nehru in such a moment and against the backdrop of the Jabalpur riots has come out with the suggestion that such communal parties can be legally banned and excluded from the elections! It would be convenient indeed for the Congress if it can be done, especially if the Jana Sangh could be put out of action.

So it appointed a committee and the Law Minister was approached for opinion. The committee has pro-

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by : D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates :

Annual Rs. 6 Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100 : Half Page Rs. 50 : Quarter Page Rs. 25
One-eighth Page Rs. 15: One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

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

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

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

nounced the predetermined opinion that a legal ban is possible. But the Law Minister has not obliged the party caucus. He has declared that such a ban would contravene the Constitution!

Meanwhile it must be noted that the real enemy is not communalism in the sense of preferring the lesser good to the larger but anti-national or extra-territorial loyalty. The operative charge against the Muslim League is that it owes primary loyalty to Pakistan and not to India and is disloyal and treacherous. It should be punished under present laws for such actions, as soon as they show themselves. Even the shouting of slogans like Pakistan Zindabad and Hindustan Murdabad by excited mobs of Indian Muslims parading streets should be prosecuted for disloyalty. Opinion should not be muzzled but expression of opinion in such a way as to count as action in public places should come under the law.

EXTRA-TERRITORIAL LOYALTY

The Communist Party of India has given ample evidence of its extra-territorial loyalty. It is curious that no one is thinking of banning it. It is more dangerous than the Muslim League or Jana Sangh. The fact that the danger of the communist party is not thought of by the ruling party today is symptomatic of the election climate in which the whole subject is being thought of. The object is to win the next elections and have another innings of power. The ruling party is not thinking of the long term security of the country and of its real enemies.

There is no reason why we should not have a military pact with Pakistan in order to free our forces for a single minded answer to the Chinese attack. But Nehru and his friend are not serious about repelling the Chinese attack. Nor are they serious about recovering Pakistan-occupied Kashmir! They are only serious in keeping power and to rule India as long as possible i.e. for the rest of their lives! Personal glory eclipses national interest in their eyes.

Indian political parties and the general public and intelligentsia are not yet sufficiently organised to oust them from the seats of authority.

THE FAT DOG AND THE WILD WOLF

A fat house Dog met a half-starved Wolf and proceeded to tell his new acquaintance about the luxurious life he led, supplied with all he could eat and sleeping in a warm house. He asked the Wolf to stay with him, and the idea looked so good to the Wolf that he decided to accompany the Dog to his house. But just as they started the Wolf noticed the dog's collar and asked, "What is that thing that you have on your neck, and what's it for?" "Oh, that is a collar," said the dog, "and sometimes my master uses it to tie me up." The Wolf pondered this a moment and then said, "I guess I'll not come with you," and he trotted into the woods.

—'Shirt Sleeve Economics'
by William A. Patan.

BRITISH SOCIALISTS ON NATIONALISATION

"I disagree with the view that nationalisation or even public ownership is the be-all and end-all, the ultimate first principle and aim of Socialism."

—Gaitkell, M.P.

"We must conclude that the ownership of the means of production is no longer the key factor which imparts to a society its essential character. Either collectivist or private ownership is consistent with widely varying degrees of liberty, democracy, equality, exploitation, class feeling, planning and workers control....."

"Nationalisation is thus not only not a Socialist first principle; even as a means to an end it is now less central to Socialist strategy."

—Anthony Crossland, M.P.

"I have little doubt that the Labour Party would greatly strengthen its prospects of office if it could disconnect itself once and for all from the idea of further nationalisation; and, for that matter, from any forms of interference with the ordinary citizens' liberty that were made necessary by the shortages of the years just after the war. What contribution might still be made by public or common ownership, or by social accountability, I cannot stop to inquire. I must confine myself to meeting the objection that by throwing away nationalisation we should be 'pouring out the baby with the bath water.'

"To put it crudely, should we not be liquidating the very essentials of Socialism? To that I return an unhesitating 'No!'"

Lord Pakenham, Former
Minister of Civil Aviation.

"Take that line of nationalisation cans down from the shelf and let's have a look at them. A bit dusty. Not selling so well as they used to. Where did they come from? In fact, 1918 is the date when nationalisation first appeared, although it was made in Germany rather earlier by Mr. Marx. 'Common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange' is the slogan on the tins.

"I have no doubt at all that we must scrap nationalisation. That is politics—'Government of the people, for the people, and by the people.' and the people have spoken. They want no more of the Labour Party's stale lines....."

Mr. F. J. BELLENGER, M.P.
(Bassetlaw) former Secretary of State
for War.

"It is no good just bashing away at nationalisation like a dinosaur. We all know what happened to him: he had a large body, I am sure a large heart, but he had a pin head, and he is extinct."

Mrs. Eirene White, M.P. (East Flint)

"It is humbug to argue that a nationalised concern is necessarily more efficient than either an old-time East End sweat-shop or a great modern combine such as Unilever."

—Mr. F. Beswick, M.P. (Uxbridge)

The Open Society

By M. A. Venkata Rao

DEMOCRACY requires for its successful operation (and maximum beneficence in the lives of the people who sustain it) what may be called the open society as its matrix and psychological climate.

There have been a couple of distinguished exponents of the open society as an ideal and system of social relations whose discussion of the idea has served to win for it a place in current social thought. Henri Bergson relates the idea to his own doctrine of Creative Evolution and imparts an élan of his own to the concept in his stimulating book: *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*.

Dr. Popper has a keen, analytic exposition of the idea in his challenging work: *The Open Society and its Enemies*. Both have been stirred to fundamental thinking on the basis of social order and political loyalty by the challenge offered to free society and democracy by totalitarianism after the first world war (1914-1918).

Bergson is more concerned with the acute problem of how modern society could pass from current nationalism as source of supreme loyalty to human society as such transcending all narrower social bonds and claims.

Dr. Popper is now concerned with the democratic temper as such as against the totalitarian principle. Democracy postulates a freedom from all privilege for its citizens. Every citizen in a democracy should have the right to all opportunities for ascent in society limited only by his own limitations. Society should offer no obstructions to the rise and movement and achievement of any citizen in any line of endeavour not founded in the nature of the qualifications required for the function and absent in the aspirant. If mathematics of a certain level are required for admission to technical institutes and a candidate is found deficient therein, his exclusion from it is justified. Plato's inscription of the maxim: *No admission to those lacking in mathematics*: on the door of his academy is an example to point. But if a social system excludes a candidate from admission on the ground of an accident like the colour of his skin or the social custom of polygamy to which his tribe or nation is complacent, the society would be condemned by Dr. Popper as closed in character.

If a society like the Medieval Catholic made orthodox opinion a condition of safe membership and admission to social rights and relationships of every kind, branding a heretic as an outlaw, it would be an example of the closed society.

Modern communism would be a signal example of a closed society according to this point of view. For communism demands that every citizen should adopt the official view of all things—its view of nature, science and art, philosophy, social evolution, economic order and political structure, party system and

hierarchy defining loyalty in accordance with official standards. Complete regimentation of the mind is required by communism on the part of all its subjects. This regimentation bears most oppressively on the intellectual professions such as philosophers, scientists, journalists historians, sociologists, novelists and even artists. Politicians of course have to be most careful in the expression of their views.

Bergson's discussion stresses the crucial importance of getting modern nationalist citizens to extend their loyalties to wider horizons to include the whole of humanity. For this purpose he sketches a theory of the origins of morality and religion as systems of loyalty. Morality and religion arise, he thinks, as inner, intellectual supports to the needs of defence and social solidarity and cosmic backing in moments of crisis and danger. They are defence reactions developed like the organic tools of offence and defence, the claws and teeth of tigers and lions, in the course of the struggle for existence. Human tribal societies too need uniform feelings of solidarity with one's fellows and of hatred with one's opponents for survival in the struggle for existence. The pressures of struggle develop the forms of loyalty and other social attitudes such as obedience to leaders as means of survival. They become the virtues of successful societies. Hence the admiration for valour, loyalty and obedience to leaders, and for self-sacrifice in the interests of the tribal or national society. They are extensions of the herd instincts animating animal packs.

The right of private judgment is not much valued in such tribal or national society characterised with the closed outlook on essential defence matters. Bertrand Russell was nearly mobbed in England during the first world war for being out of tune with the national feeling. Mrs. Asquith aroused a strong indignation from the British public for expressing some slight sympathy with German prisoners of war as regards their conditions of living in war camps!

Even during peace time much later, Lord Russell had to give up his teaching post in New York City on account of his views about free love, though they had nothing to do with his competence as a teacher of mathematics for which he was being appointed!

The standard of judgment in a closed society such as the national society in modern times is set by what is thought to be implied in social survival. Uniformity in such matters is regarded as indispensable. But modern democracy even in national societies does allow for considerable leeway in individual views in all other subjects—in science, art, philosophy etc. The state in a democracy does not prescribe a set code of beliefs to be adopted by all citizens irrespective of their private experience, inclination and thought.

Bergson turns to religious mysticism as a possible source of universalism and example which may deve-

lop standards of value applicable to man as man irrespective of national interests and prejudices. God with whom the mystic claims to enter into direct relations of loving identity is the God of the whole of humanity and loyalty to such a God will nurse a loyalty to a universal standard of judgment and motivation.

At first only a small elite will display such transnational character and behaviour. Gradually, their example will leaven the whole lump of national society if allowed to do so by the ruling groups and other influential circles in society. In Nazi and Fascist societies, such manifestations of universalism were fiercely condemned as disloyal to the nation and Leader and were not allowed to grow!

All forms of totalitarianism whether Nazi and Fascist on the one hand or communist and theocratic on the other are hard on private judgment and indeed all private individual life altogether. They wish to absorb the whole interior life of the individual in state-sponsored and state-directed activity using only the substance of thought and feeling that is approved by state authorities! The individual becomes a mere cog in the wheel in Fascist or other totalitarian societies which are perfect examples of the closed mind in a closed society where both the ground and horizon are determined by the state for the individual!

In such a servile or slave or sheep-like society, man cannot realise his potentialities and grow to the height to which his nature is capable both in breadth and width. The most progressive characteristic of man as a species is his capacity for progress or growth or rather his capacity for determining the conditions of his own growth. Man is a self-determining animal capable of determining the line of his own progress. This also implies as an inevitable condition the capacity to determine the line of his own destruction. The capacity for progress is inseparably linked with the capacity for regression! The nuclear bomb today is an awful example of this bipolarism in man's nature.

The open society therefore is the line of progress and norm and standard for all social growth. Societies should advance along this line. The open society offers a standard of judgment by which we can measure social progress, the place of any society along the curve of social ascent in history.

Ancient society wherein advance depended on birth, dominated as it was by caste, therefore should be adjudged to occupy a low place in social development. It might have displayed remarkable qualities of stability and resilience shown triumphantly over centuries of vicissitudes. But the moment external conditions changed radically they collapsed unable to meet the challenge of changed circumstances.

If all knowledge was reserved to a few favoured by birth, the society can only be regarded as a closed one. Satyakama Jabali was admitted to discipleship in the Upanishadic story on the theory that a boy who could speak such an unpleasant truth as the ignorance of one's own paternity should have been a Brahmin cannot be cited as an example of an open mind.

The caste society where every job had to go to birth-determined individuals is another example of a closed system.

The career open to talent: is a maxim of the open society. It is said that one source of the enthusiasm evoked by Napoleon Buonaparte among the masses in France (which kept him at the peak of popularity so long) was his maxim: Every soldier's knapsack contained the baton of a Marshal of France! Horse syces, street urchins, peons from the provinces, peasants from the villages, scholars from the schools and cities of France were sure of opportunities of rising under Napoleon to high posts suitable to their capacities. This horizon of opportunities connoted an expanding universe or society that inspired a whole generation of young Frenchmen to heroic work for France! It was this intoxicating effect of expanding opportunity on new circles of talent from new levels of French society from the interior as well as from the old ranks of cities that created such a strong wind of progress in Europe in the early years of the nineteenth century.

'Bliss was it in that Dawn to be alive,

But to be young was very Heaven!' exclaimed the young poet Wordsworth!

The nineteenth century continued to be the century of expansion and opportunity for the Britisher in his global empire. Advance in science and invention, industry, trade, administration and civilisation in general kept successive generations of talented families busy globe-trotting, planting building ships and steam railways, conquering forests in Canada, Australia and New Zealand etc. All along, England advanced in liberal democracy and her administration of India and the colonies advanced *pari passu* in standards of humanism! India owes her success as a post-independence new nation to her long tutelage under Britain during her advance as a liberal modern nation assimilating new levels of science and humanist ethics and art and culture in many fields.

Britain had an Open Society at least for her nationals during the growth of her empire.

The Commonwealth is the logical development of this development necessitating the recent shedding of South Africa in spite of her being a White Member! Apartheid and open society do not go well together! The Commonwealth consisting of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ghana, Nigeria, Malaya, Ceylon (to which other new nations from Africa are likely to add themselves before long—Kenya, Central Africa, Sierra Leone etc.) would constitute a unique example of the road of the open society along which future associations of nations will travel until a full world society is formed and perpetual society is established.

But many hurdles have to be jumped successfully before such open societies are established or before present national (or tribal societies as in the Congo) develop the institutions and attitudes of the open society. The open society demands certain favourable attitudes on the part of leaders and rank and file in modern nations. There should prevail a

greater regard for the dignity of the human person as such. This is the part of democracy that is wrapped up in a mystique or emotional experience clustering round a value. The rule of law and the other institutions of democratic societies, socialist in temper and aspiration, if not in Marxist institutions like nationalised State economy aiming at equality of opportunity for all citizens should be seen as institutions necessary as parts of the open society irrespective of the degree of power possessed by the people according to formal democracy through the elections. In addition to political democracy, we have to scrutinise economic mobility and opportunity secured through education and the economic system, whether private or public or mixed.

The open society offers a criterion by which we evaluate the effective institutions of any society from the standpoint of progress.

From the educational angle, we could ask: Is the school system wide enough to welcome the whole school-age population of the society up to fourteen years of age so that universal literacy is achieved?

After that stage, does the school system offer ladders in evening schools and through special scholarships to merit to enable the able scholars to acquire higher skills while at work in factory or office or workshop or field etc. ? Is the door to opportunity open to the able and determined? Is it shown to such children by special agencies in time?

Is it open to private individuals to start industrial and trade centres on their own? Are they competitive keeping the door open to new entrants, not merely offering countervailing power or compensation or consolation?

Is it possible for people to travel anywhere from one end of the country to the other acquiring property anywhere and starting enterprise anywhere? In Kashmir today, Indians from other parts of India are not allowed to do these things!

In India today more and more lines of trade are passing into the hands of State Monopoly and we are supposed to be advancing as a democracy!

Indian States are developing the closed attitudes of full national sovereignties after the establishment of linguistic States. Leading groups in the State of Assam have indulged in lurid class war to drive out Bengalis who represent a more advanced class of society with a tenacious individuality of their own. They have lived in Assam for a hundred years. Now they are asked to go back to West Bengal leaving Assam for the Assamese speaking people! This is an example of the closed mind characteristic of virulent, chauvinistic nationalism even before Assam has developed a full fledged nationalism of her own! Coming events cast their shadows before and statesmen have to take account of them. The question is—Are we building a single Indian Nation or many Indian nations under the aegis of national independence? The Akalis and the Dravidas evoke similar questions before the national statesmen today.

If we treat the whole of India as a single nation with equal opportunities and freedom for all individuals from all parts of the country in every part of the common homeland, we shall have a vast Open Society. We can then offer expanding horizons to

our nationals like Russia in her Eurasian continent and America in her vast North American Continent. Democracy is bound up with expanding economies, horizons and opportunities for all citizens. Our leaders and rank and file should rise to the occasion.

The phrase Open Society has the further implication that each occupation should offer opportunities of full development for its personnel as well as allow and encourage them to go on side-lines in search of unusual openings on their own. Each occupation also should have the individual better than before for the devotion he has brought to it. This is a reflex effect that should be carefully offered by society and continually bettered.

AIR—FREE PASTURE FOR SALAZAR AGENTS

It appears that the Portuguese Propaganda Section of the A.I.R. seems to have been a special preserve for Salazar and anti-Indian agents. The more one thinks of it, the more one is puzzled as to why fifth-columnists are given preference in the propaganda section of the A.I.R.....Last week a great Goan "patriot", Dr. Gaitonde and his Portuguese wife, Edilla Gaitonde, left New Delhi for Brazil by plane. There is a background to this flight from Delhi to Brazil that needs to be exposed.

This flight of the "patriotic" Goan liberation leader and his foreign wife dragging her Indian husband out of India, has a warning to the Government. Mrs. Edilla Gaitonde has resigned from the AIR before leaving for Brazil. Now that it is reported that fresh efforts are being devised by the GOI for the liberation of Goa, why this "patriotic" Doctor has thought fit to shake the dust off Indian soil? The fact of the matter is that Mrs. Edilla Gaitonde seems to have finished her job of spying on behalf of Salazar. It is on record, that while in the service of the AIR, Mrs. Edilla had many times refused to relay anti-Salazar propaganda, or modified many of the remarks in the script to suit her purpose. This fact was brought to the notice of the Minister, Dr. Keskar, by her Indian seniors. But instead of reprimanding her, the Indian seniors were snubbed for complaining against this Portuguese spy. A clear case that this Portuguese woman had some "god-fathers" higher up in the Cabinet. Emboldened by this she had also threatened the seniors to get them dismissed if they still persisted in complaining against her. She had a number of times, expressed sentiments that "India is a filthy, dirty country, that it is far better to serve under the Salazar regime than work under the AIR. That such statements were made by her is very well-known to Dr. Keskar who presides over the destinies of the AIR.

This is not the first case of a Portuguese spy being openly harboured by the AIR. Three or four years back, a man named Tello Mascarenhas, was the Chief of the Portuguese Section of the AIR. He had the reputation of being a great Indian patriot, and noted for his anti-Salazar sentiments. But in 1958 he left all of a sudden the Government of India's service, and sailed for Portugal. Today he is occupying an important office there as the Public Prosecutor!

—Alamgeer (a Marathi Sunday journal.)

What Is Communalism ?

By M. N. Tholal

WHAT is communalism? Favouritism to one's own community, is the answer. Or, in the reverse, depriving other communities of their due. Surely, if a man insists on justice being done to his community, he can hardly be called communal. If a man insists that women of his community should be able to go their way unmolested by goondas, he can hardly be called communal, even if the offending goondas belong to one community. If he insists that he will organise a volunteer corps in every town to see to it that women of his community are able to go their way unmolested, can he be called communal? If he declares that he will teach women of his community the use of the revolver so that they may protect their honour, can he be called communal? The third person pronoun above refers to Madan Mohan Malaviya. The answer is of course in the negative and the insistence referred to above made the difference between Malaviyaji and orthodox Congressmen of the twenties.

Maulana Mohammad Ali used to say, with an obvious reference to the goondaism of members of his community, "Muslims are made that way: it can't be helped." Malaviyaji in effect said it can be helped. I once put Malaviyaji's case to Motilal Nehru and he retorted: "A drop in the ocean". I had no answer to give him then, for what he said was true enough, but on mature reflection I was inclined to go back to Malaviyaji's position for, if unchecked, the drop in the ocean would become the ocean itself. After all, there is such a thing as nipping the evil in the bud. If there is something which can legitimately make a man's blood boil, attempts should be made to eradicate it. "Muslims are made that way" was also true enough, though it wasn't true of Muslims in places where they formed a small minority. It was no use arguing with Maulana Mohammad Ali and I had already quarrelled with him once (by reporting one of his speeches correctly, a folly which no other reporter had committed!) so I did not ask him, "Where is the harm in trying to improve them?" That was indeed all that Malaviyaji was trying to do.

MOHAMMAD ALI'S NATIONALISM

Motilal Nehru's "drop in the ocean" smacked of appeasement, born though it was of the dictum "First things first". Let us get freedom first and not get entangled in communal wrangling and thus play the game of imperialism. A wise dictum, but as it related to actions which naturally rouse passions, it was ignored by the public, and the Swaraj Party suffered reverses in the general elections at the hands of Malaviyaji's party. What Motilal Nehru unfortunately ignored was the absolute righteousness of Malaviyaji's stand, with which every Hindu, indeed every gentleman, was bound to agree. Malaviyaji himself was inclined to shilly-shally a great deal and it was with difficulty that he could make up his mind,

but once he was convinced of the righteousness of a course of action, nothing could stop him. If the Congress leaders had recognised the need of Malaviyaji's 'dals' and talked less of nonviolence being the mightiest of all weapons, the Calcutta Killing, which forced them to concede Pakistan, would have been averted. There is no doubt about that.

While it seemed expedient to minimise acts of communal goondaism, it was politically unwise to condemn a man of Malaviyaji's stature and selfless record of public service, directly or indirectly. After all, what Malaviyaji condemned every decent man was bound to condemn. But what was the Congress President, Maulana Mohammad Ali, doing? At a public meeting he declared that the meanest Muslim was better than Mahatma Gandhi, by virtue of being a Muslim. As it is only right and proper to condemn the worse before condemning the better—if both must indeed be condemned—it was in the fitness of things to condemn Gandhi and other non-Muslims. A U. P. Congressman tabled a motion of no-confidence against Mohammad Ali at a meeting of the AICC but he was persuaded to withdraw it by Mahatma Gandhi. Mohammad Ali seemed to be saying, "Muslims are not only made that way but they are made the right way—as all of them are better than Mahatma Gandhi". The Maulana once also said, "Constitutions, like virgins, are meant to be violated." Our Prime Minister was then General Secretary of the Congress, having been chosen for the job by Maulana Mohammad Ali himself!

And yet Mohammad Ali was only bluntly stating the Muslim position. The same thing had been said by the famous Urdu poet, Mirza Ghalib, who can hardly be accused of fanaticism. Wrote Ghalib:

Hud chahiye saza men aqoobat ke waste;

Akhir gunahgar hoon, kafir nahin hoon main!

(There should be a limit to injury in punishment. After all, I am a sinner, not a Kafir or unbeliever. The implication here clearly is that there need be no limit to injury in punishing non-believers.)

I am mentioning this to give the reader an idea of the dimensions of the problem. It may also be recalled here that the rift between Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers came over the settlement of disputes in the Frontier Province between Hindus and Muslims. The Ali Brothers demanded that all disputes between Hindus and Muslims there be decided on the basis of the latter's religious law, the Shariat. Maulana Mohammad Ali had also got into the habit of declaring that a Fourth Battle of Panipat between Hindus and Muslims would settle the fate of the country. All that need be said about this here is that if the choice of your colleagues is absolutely wrong—i.e., not on ideological but on emotional grounds—you have yourself to blame for the rift that follows. Emotional integration obviously cannot last longer than the emotion on which it is based, and emotions are proverbially ephemeral.

NEHRU ON MALAVIYAJI

It is interesting to note here that under a ban such as that contemplated by some Congress leaders, a party like the Nationalist Party led by Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai in 1926 would have to be banned. Jawaharlal Nehru says of that party in his Autobiography:

"The new Nationalist Party represented a more moderate outlook and was definitely more to the right than was the Swaraj Party. It was also wholly a Hindu Party working in close co-operation with the Hindu Mahasabha. He (Malaviyaji) was also the most popular leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, and, in regard to communal matters, his policy differed from that of the Congress."

And yet Nehru says of him, and very rightly again; "But nationalism is a confusing medley and Malaviyaji was a nationalist alone and not concerned with social or economic change". (Emphasis mine.) "To Congress he had that sentimental attachment to an organisation with which he had been connected almost from the very beginning. His long record of public service in various fields from early youth upwards, his success in establishing a great institution like the Benares Hindu University, his manifest sincerity and earnestness, his impressive oratory and his gentle nature and winning personality have endeared him to the Indian public. Both by his age and his long public record he is the Nestor of Indian politics."

Yet, according to some Congress fanatics, such a man should have no right to contest an election in India.

To Nehru's tribute to Malaviyaji I might add my own. I was acting as Editor of the Hindustan Times when the 1926 general elections came on with a head-on clash between Malaviyaji and Lala Lajpat Rai on one side and Motilal Nehru on the other. Malaviyaji was then the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Times, and he used to say: "Remember we are nationalist first and everything else afterwards." My heart was divided between Motilal Nehru and Malaviyaji and I gave equal publicity to both sides, reproducing Associated Press messages which seemed to me to represent the situation correctly. Lala Lajpat Rai, a director of the Hindustan Times, was furious and complained to Malaviyaji against me. The latter, I must say to his great credit, took little notice of it, apart from mentioning the fact of Lalaji's complaint to me with a smile. "Anything specific?" I asked, and he replied, "No. It was a general complaint regarding your impartiality."

GANDHI'S COMMUNALISM

Yet the gulf between Hindus and Muslims did not widen on account of the activities of Madan Mohan Malaviya. It really widened because Gandhiji threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the removal of untouchability. For Muslims the untouchables formed a happy hunting ground for conversion and that ground was being taken away from them and that by a nationalist Congress leader. Untouchability was undoubtedly a blot on the nation, but Gandhiji's movement to remove it was communal, the Muslims argued, inasmuch as its removal was not only to strengthen the Hindus but also deprive

the Muslims of the prospects of emerging as the majority in the country in course of time. Was not a movement confined to a community communal? In any case, the movement caused widespread heart-burning among Muslims. Almost every Muslim leader complained that Gandhiji had turned communal and was spending all his time in communal activities. It may be recalled here that for sometime Gandhiji shunned politics altogether. The fact seems to be that for Gandhiji untouchability became a pawn in the game when politics had to be eschewed to keep out of prison, and he was fed up with prison life.

And yet even others' communalism is not so repugnant to a man as their attempt to reduce him to zero. (Included in the reduction process were Subhas Bose and Jinnah.) After all, Jinnah was on the best of terms with Madan Mohan Malaviya. It was Gandhiji's attempt to reduce others to zero, and the (successful) attempt of the "chela" of his "chela" Nehru—Rafi Ahmed Kidwai—to reduce Khaliqzaman to zero by depriving him of the chairmanship of the Lucknow Municipal Board after he had been unjustly kept out of the Cabinet that lighted the match that resulted in the conflagration of 1947 and the formation of Pakistan. In other words, what brought about the holocaust was pursuit of dictatorial power in the garb of unadulterated nationalism through which the Muslim leaders headed by Jinnah claimed to be able to see as through a pane of glass. That same pursuit of dictatorial power is on again and the motto for retaining it is "by hook or crook".

Look at what is happening in the U.P. Although his own state, Nehru had little say in matters there, until illness deprived the state of the selfless advice and guidance of Purushottamdas Tandon, lovingly called Rajrishi by U.P. Congressmen. Then for no rhyme or reason—I beg your pardon, what reason can be greater than the impertinent fact that he was not a yes-man—Sampurnanand was shunted out of the premiership and now Nehru wants his own nominee to be the President of the state Congress. All the time Nehru is busy strengthening his hold on the Congress and the country. The Jana Sangh victory in the Delhi by-election to the Lok Sabha has been a maddening shock to Congressmen and the result is the mad talk of banning organisations like the Jana Sangh. What else can the Congress leaders think of, determined as they are to retain power at all costs?

WHAT YOUNG AMERICANS BELIEVE

"We as young conservatives, believe: That foremost among the transcendent values in the individual's use of his free will, whence derives his right to be free from the restrictions of arbitrary force; that liberty is indivisible, and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom; that the purposes of government are to protect these freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defence, and the administration of justice; that when government ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty."

—From 'The Sparon Statement' of the Young Americans for Freedom

RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

A New Atom Bomb

By S. Ramanathan

IN the November-December 1960 issue of the *American Humanist*, Mr. Weston LaBarre has written an article on "Neurotic Defense Mechanisms in Supernatural Religion". In that article the writer claims that a revolution in psychology and social thinking is long overdue to keep pace with the revolution in physical science created by the atom bomb. This psychological atom bomb is not a new discovery but is the revaluation of an old discovery which has been hitherto discarded and misunderstood. The possibilities of such a psychological atom bomb are inherent in the writings of Sigmund Freud. Psycho-analysis is not only a therapy of individuals but of societies. In regard to individuals this method leads to an analysis of behaviour leading to a revelation of many complexes formed in early life which cause complications in later life. The little child in its relationship with its parents, especially with the father, is in a state of helplessness though it needs the father's protection against the dangers inherent in its helpless state. It is that helplessness that leads to the many psychological complexes to which the child becomes a prey in after life when it no longer needs the protection of the father. Similar is the case with religion. Religion belongs to the childhood of the human race when man was exposed to the many dangers of natural elements like thunder and lightning, storm and drought. Hence man had need for the Gods to protect him against these elemental forces. But man has grown and changed since these early days. The growth of knowledge and advances in science and technology have brought to the aid of man forces which are able to counter-act and conquer the crude elemental threats which beset his early life in this planet. There is no longer the need for a God or Gods to protect him in this life. He is like the child which has grown up into manhood and is no longer in need of parental protection.

Such an analysis of the religious predicament is too simple and takes away the breath of religious folk and the calling of the priests. Hence an elaborate attempt is being made to resuscitate religion and put new life into God. The best that can be said in favour of God is that he served the purpose of Santa Claus during Xmas. Even as Santa Claus lends colour and merriment to children during Xmas festival so did the hierarchy of Gods lend feeling and satisfaction to human life in early ages when life was beset with dangers altogether incomprehensible and unquarable by man. But now the position is changed and God looks a silly hypothesis just like Santa Claus. But there are contemporary philosophers as well as anthropologists and sociologists who argue that God

is necessary for the common man unaware of the implications of modern scientific discoveries even as Santa Claus is necessary for children who have not grown up yet. Mr. Weston LaBarre replies to this argument: "I maintain that the truth is none too good for us, that nothing but the truth is good enough for us, and that any truth, if it is genuine, is good enough for every man".

In this connection it may be pointed out that the defence mechanism of most societies against the inroads of science is known compendiously by the term culture. Culture in the ultimate analysis is nothing but the hotch-potch mixture of discarded cosmology, Oedipus complex, superstitions, folklore and infantilism. There is an attempt to make Freud respectable and to integrate psycho-analysis with religion. Such an attempt must be fought by all Scientists and Rationalists because it falsifies the very nature of Psycho-analysis as a scientific method. "There is an inevitable war between the authoritarian character, categorically worshipful of the sacred tribal past, and the mature man and scientist relying on his new assessment of the here-and-now empirical world. It is simply fatuous to pretend that there is no conflict".

We may mention that this attempt to make science look like religion or, which comes to the same thing, religion to look like science, was begun early in the last century by Mrs. Anne Besant who was once a freethinker and a collaborator of Charles Bradlaugh but in later life became the High Priestess of religious superstition and the advocate of Theosophy. It is in the nature of religions to war against each other. The follower of any one religion considers the follower of a rival religion as the enemy of his God and hence an atheist. Mrs. Besant saw for the first time in history that such fratricidal war might lead to the extinction of all religions. Hence she raised the slogan that all religions lead to the same God which is quite absurd when considered in the light of the sacred scriptures and the prophets of each religion but acquires a meaning when considered against the threat of the advance of science which threatens to put an end to all religions. It is this same attitude of unification of all religions and of all superstitions that Mahatma Gandhi took up with such tragic results that led to the partition of the country. It is the same facile attitude that is adopted by Vice-President Radhakrishnan. Not able to defeat the growing influence of Science, the old religions cry out in anguish "we knew it all the time. There is no conflict of the old and the new". This is utter dishonesty pre-

(Continued on page 11)

Humanism In India

By Narsingh Narain

(The Humanist Union was registered under the Indian Societies Registration Act last year. The Memorandum of Association set down the basic principles of the new society and were published with the following explanation. It is emphasized that this, like the rules themselves, is subject to revision.)

DISSENTERS from the traditional religions have naturally differed both in the nature of their dissent and in their positive beliefs and attitudes. They have used various labels to indicate their viewpoints, namely, Freethought, Secularism, Ethical Culture or Ethical Religion, Rationalism and Humanism. Since the formation of the International Humanist and Ethical Union in 1952 there has been a growing tendency to use Humanism as a general term for all those viewpoints which are represented in that Union, and it is in this sense that we shall use the word. The 1957 Congress of the International Union made a beginning with the drawing up of an agreed statement of fundamental beliefs, but the task has not yet been completed. Writing soon after that Congress, though in another context, Mr. Hector Hawton, the Editor of *The Humanist* (London), said that humanists agree to differ 'about almost everything except the right to differ.'

The diversity of views among humanists has led to the adoption of another set of labels. Humanism has been described as 'Scientific', 'Naturalistic', 'Religious', 'Radical', 'Ethical', and 'Evolutionary'. Whenever it may be necessary for the Humanist Union (India) to wear a distinctive badge we will call our viewpoint 'Common-sense Humanism'. We wish to emphasize that humanism is not meant for an intellectual elite but for everyone, and that we rely more on common sense than on science or philosophy.

We do not regard either 'Naturalistic metaphysics' or any other brand of metaphysics as essential to humanism. We are not concerned, as humanists, with metaphysical theories as such but only with their bearing, if any, on our practical aims. And we believe that as long as our judgment is not fettered by the acceptance of the authority of religious scriptures, and our aims are this-worldly, it makes no

(Continued from page 1)

tending that the new Science is the same thing as the old folklore. We are inclined to defend our social defence mechanism which is religion as individual neurotics defend their defence mechanism because they do not like to know about the painful facts. Sigmund Freud in his book "The Future of an illusion" says:—"Religious fantasy is thus born of the need to make tolerable the helplessness of man, and built out of the material offered by memories of the helplessness of his own childhood and the childhood of the human race".

He further says "Man cannot remain a child for ever; he must venture at last into the hostile world". This Freudian revolution in the psychological make up of man must be accomplished lest we all perish.

difference whether our philosophical preference lies towards naturalism or idealism.

COMMON SENSE AND SYMPATHY

We do not deny the value of philosophy as an intellectual discipline and have no desire to under-rate the importance of reason and intellect. Nor do we deny that in the sense of an attitude towards life (not a cosmic theory about the ultimate nature of things) everyone has some kind of philosophy or world-view. We do not under-estimate the power which science has placed in our hands, for both good and evil; and the scientific temper, in the sense of loyalty to fact and readiness to revise opinions, is one of the basic values for which we stand. But the basis of morality is instinctive and emotional. It is rooted in the sentiment of love and friendship which not only the unsophisticated human being but even the higher animals share with us.

There is a persisting misconception about morality which equates it with the observance of socially useful rules and conventions: 'Thou shalt not kill', 'Thou shalt not steal', etc. And many people think of it mainly as correct sexual behaviour. The essence of morality, as we conceive it, is the extension of love and sympathy beyond the family, a community of interests and fellowship with all mankind.

LIFE HERE AND NOW

Many humanists seem to think that rejection of God is the first necessity for rational living. In our opinion this is as untenable as the opposite view, which is constantly dinned into our ears from other quarters, that atheism must lead to moral decay. Belief in God, by itself, does no harm. It is some further beliefs, usually associated with it, that have a bearing on our ideas of right and wrong and our practical aims. These are (1) that the will of God is revealed in this or that sacred book or through this or that prophet or incarnation and (2) linking morality with the idea of reward and punishment in another world or another life. Where beliefs or speculations about God are not associated with further beliefs of this kind, there is no reason to make their rejection part of our common ground.

It has been argued that the existence of God must make a difference and so we cannot be non-committal on the issue. Yes, the existence of God must make a difference. Suppose we accept the position that (as Prof. Karl Jaspers has succinctly put it) 'man is not himself in his freedom without the power by which he exists'. That is, we assume that the existence of God makes a difference to what we are. But the question is whether this need make any difference to what we have to do.

We believe that, so far as humanism is concerned, this question can be dealt with on the basis of common sense alone. Let us assume that psychical research has established human survival. Now, in the first place, it does not follow that we should therefore make the life hereafter the pivot of our efforts in this life. We may well say that we confine our attention to the welfare and progress of ourselves in this life, and of those who are to come after us, and leave the future life to take care of itself. But suppose further that we think it would be prudent to do something about the future life, as we provide for our which is constantly dinned into our ear from other old age, for instance. The next question would then be, what are we to do about it? There is no evidence of any kind to tell us what we could do, and we do not accept the authority of any religious scriptures. So we can only guess.

We cannot substitute for the certainties provided by revelation another set of certainties derived from human knowledge. And common sense should tell us that the religious accounts of what happens after death are also guesses or rationalizations. If there is indeed a future life, the only thing we could take with us, it would seem, is our character, which is formed by self-discipline and moral striving. But these are valuable in any case. Therefore, there is no need for us, as humanists, to consider the evidence for and against human survival. For whether we survive or not makes no difference to our practical ideals.

THE WEAKNESS OF MYSTICISM

Human values have been classed as material, intellectual, aesthetic, moral and spiritual. Our Memorandum of Association refers only to moral values. This, of course, does not mean that we deny the existence of material, intellectual, and aesthetic values, but only that the Union is not directly concerned with them. The conception of spiritual values varies greatly. We have no collective stand on this matter, except that moral values, for us, take precedence over, and are independent of, spiritual values, which is the reverse of the usual religious position. We have referred specially to mysticism as it is supposed to satisfy man's spiritual need in the highest degree.

Individual humanists may be inclined to dismiss mysticism as of no consequence, or even as a kind of hallucination, but this is not at all necessary. Dr. Corliss Lamont, who is a materialist and an atheist, says: 'Humanists do not doubt that famous mystics and prophets have had remarkable and soul-shaking subjective experiences, tremendous moments of exalted vision. What we doubt is the correctness of their interpretation of these experiences, the meaning that they give to them.' Now, religious mystics have usually interpreted their experiences in the light of the theology which they had previously adopted. A Roman Catholic will have the vision of *Virgin Mary*, a Hindu may have the vision of *Lord Krishna* and so on. There may be communion with a personal God or contact with a more abstract transcendent Reality. There are also two non-theistic religions, Jainism and Buddhism, with a strong mystic tradition. Is there any common feature in the midst of this diversity? Prof. A. R. Wadia has pointed out that 'mysticism at its best can lay claim only to one great uniformity, the sense of oneness that the mystic feels with the whole universe'.

But the religious mystic is usually indifferent to the reality around him. That is why Albert Schweitzer has remarked that 'of all the mysticism of the past it must be said that its ethical content is too slight'. The emotionally felt sense of oneness has suffered a misdirection owing to the world-negating bias of the traditional religions. We have inherited the thought that man is born in sin, or to expiate past sins, that this earth is no place for the fruition of his highest and noblest aspirations. For us who do not share this outlook a deep emotional sense of unity with our fellow-beings can be just as elevating as mystical ecstasy. John Dewey was evidently inspired by such an emotion when he wrote:

'Within the flickering inconsequential acts of separate selves dwells a sense of the whole which claims and dignifies them. In its presence we put off morality and live in the universal. The life of the community in which we live and have our being is the fit symbol of this relationship. The acts in which we express our perception of the ties which bind us to others are its only rites and ceremonies'.

(Condensed from 'The Humanist' March 1961.)

The Struggle For Family Planning

By H. Cutner

IT would be a mistake to imagine that the problem of the pressure of population on the means of subsistence was virtually unknown before Malthus took it in hand from what was then a scientific standpoint. In Professor Norman Himes's *Medical History of Contraception* (1936)—now a classic, by the way—will be found detailed surveys of the work of very early pioneers and it would surprise many people to find how many of these old sociologists were on the right track.

In any case, we must not forget that for Malthus

it was what he called the "Law of Population" which he pressed. He insisted that population tended to grow faster than the means of subsistence, but, as a clergyman, he had one remedy only—late marriage. Hence the almost immediate "split" in the ranks of his Malthusian followers, those who favoured artificial contraception, and those who were in favour of late marriage or complete abstinence. And it was only a little later that quite a lot of "family planners" (as they would be called now) began to see that one need not be a Malthusian to believe in the necessity of Birth Control.

BIRTH CONTROL NOT NEW

Here again it would be quite a mistake to imagine that the "ancients" knew nothing of Birth Control. Himes gives the names of many writers going back many centuries, among them the illustrious name of Soranos of Ephesus who flourished 98-138 AD. Soranos had an astonishing knowledge of contraceptive technique, and so had many of his successors. But there was little scope to put these measures into universal practice. The knowledge was hidden in abstruse medical works nearly impossible to obtain. Moreover, Christianity was at last (even if slowly) making headway, and sex and everything connected with it were obviously the work of the Devil. The Devil then—and in some quarters even now—was as real to an earnest Christian as is God Almighty to a bishop.

Although the work of Malthus attracted people like Francis Place and John Stuart Mill, they were just as earnest in their advocacy of contraception; though actually they knew very little about the technique. Even Richard Carlile's *Every Woman's Book* was unsuitable for the then average working wife, though no doubt it helped a little.

The best two books of the early nineteenth century were Dr. Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* and Robert Dale Owen's *Moral Physiology* though they, like all contraceptive information, had to be sold "under the counter". With them came the masterly *Elements of Social Science* by Dr. George Drysdale—a work which sold thousands of copies in many languages and which, incidentally, was a "godsend" to the Christian Evidence Society. The CES having failed so miserably in meeting the Freethought case, found in the "beggarly" (as they called it) *Elements* some forthright opinions on sex by a doctor, and immediately started to squeal. They would be still squealing if the book had not gone out of print, and thus had fewer and fewer readers.

AFTER FORTY YEARS

Why the Knowlton pamphlet and Dale Owen's were not prosecuted during their forty years of undisturbed existence has always been a mystery. I suggest that our lynx-eyed policemen seeing the word "philosophy" on one, and "physiology" on the other, felt that they must be quite innocuous.

However that may be, after the two books—and many others—had sold for something like 40 years, the "authorities" became horrified! Could anything be more terrible than teaching the working classes how to limit their families? And Knowlton was immediately put on the rack. The publisher pleaded guilty and was let off; but the authorities had reckoned without the one man they should have feared—the redoubtable Charles Bradlaugh.

Nobody in England had been then so much to the fore as Bradlaugh in propagating Birth Control, but he was not concerned so much in this case with contraception as with the right of free publication. He immediately ordered (I think) the printing of 100,000 copies of *The Fruits of Philosophy* and awaited results.

THE BRADLAUGH TRIAL

The authorities had two reasons for arresting Bradlaugh, and Mrs. Besant, who at that time (1877) was working courageously with him. The first was to

stamp out Birth Control for the poor at all costs; and the second was to do their utmost to convict Bradlaugh of some criminal offence so that he would be unable to take his seat in Parliament. The latter object was very discreetly veiled; but that it is true can be seen in the attempt to get Bradlaugh charged with "blasphemy" when Foote was indicted. It must have broken the hearts of our authorities when no evidence could be trumped up against Bradlaugh.

The whole sorry tale of the Trial can be read in the pages of the *National Reformer* or in the verbatim report of the trial later published in book form. From the Lord Chief Justice to the merest Christian hack at Court, the whole weight of the law was hurled at Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant—but they got off all the same. This was a terrible blow; and a worst one came when poor 70-year-old Edward Truelove was tried for selling *Moral Physiology* and the jury disagreed. However, another jury was hastily called, and in the new trial—God be praised!—Truelove got four months and a £50 fine. After that, it was easy for the authorities to fine or imprison (or both) anybody else telling the poor how to limit their families.

FREEDOM AT LAST

World War One brought a courageous fighter into the movement, Dr. Marie Stopes (not a medical woman however), and Dr. Norman Haire, and with their books, the problem of the right to give contraceptive information was solved. The authorities were obviously scared of Dr. Stopes who was always bursting for a fight. At first, she was inclined to go for the Freethought Party as well, but a little more experience proved to her that it was Roman Catholicism which was the enemy par excellence. She got the shock of her life when she found one of her working committee was a Roman Catholic lady.

In any case, with Margaret Sanger in America and Marie Stopes here, the battle was almost won. I say "almost" because in both countries there is the vicious strangle-hold of Roman Catholicism. Its followers got into key positions—in our national journals and influential magazines or on the staff of prominent encyclopedias. And, let us face it, they are ready to invade any public or private institution. So long as they get their way, the means are of secondary importance.

We do not know who in the first place allowed the posters sent by the Family Planning Association to be put up, and who gave way, undoubtedly to Roman Catholic influence, and had them banned. The real story we think would not bear the light of day. People—rich or poor—have the right these days to know how to limit their families. Nobody is forced to do so of course, but it is time that a comparatively small minority body in this Protestant country should be told to mind its own business. And this is what we expect the officials of a nationalised industry to tell all interfering minority bodies.

Bradlaugh fought the whole might of English law and a bench of English judges and won. The Society he founded, the National Secular Society, now takes up the struggle with the British Transport Commission. By petition and picket it intends at least to make a protest against an absurd and deplorable ban.

—The Freethinker.

In Whose Favour Is The Budget?

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

THE habit of self-deception dies hard. Having deceived himself that Prohibition of liquor is successful, the Finance Minister has proceeded to prohibit through his budget something to everybody and everything to the legitimate development of the economy. The duties on betel, liquors, tobacco, rayon, radios, glassware, paints may be regarded as duties on luxuries, though proportionately to their income, the poor themselves spend more on the first four. The duties on tea, coffee, kerosene, matches, cloth are on common necessities, which will be paid by the whole population, in much more than the amount of duty, as in a sellers market, the rounding off is always in favour of the seller. The duty on diesel, as it will increase the cost of transport, will also fall on the common man. The Custom duties on machinery and the Excise duty on steel, aluminium, electrical instruments will directly reduce industrial development while the general inflation and changes in the Income Tax Act will do the same indirectly. The duty on newsprint will be a tax on information and knowledge.

The Finance Minister probably thought he would get away with a pre-election budget by sparing those in industry and trade, from whom contributions are expected. In fact, he has favoured them by the increased duties on capital goods, which will reduce new enterprises which can compete and reduce price. But the Finance Minister ignored certain basic economic factors, first that the price level is indivisible and the increase in prices of items newly taxed, will communicate itself to all prices, and costs, including wages, which will reduce the market for all productions. Secondly, Customs duties are not only paid by the articles imported but the articles produced in the country which immediately level up on prices. Thirdly since the taxes and loans for public enterprises reduce the share of money and credit available to private enterprise, the rates of interest are unnecessarily raised, those for agriculturists in West Bengal, for example, according to the report of Prof. Dumont being 19 to 75% on secured loans and 800% on unsecured loans.

The Finance Minister has justified his taxes on the improvement in agriculture and industry. The first is illusory and the second inappropriate, to judge by the prices, the inexorable measure of quantity, which have risen even last year by 10% for manufactured goods and 6% for food. In respect of Food, the figures given in the Economic Survey to the budget have apparently not been seen by the Minister. In 1954-55, when the production was 66.96 million tons, the supply was so abundant that export was allowed, imports were down to 0.59 million tons and the price index was 86.6. In 1960, with a production estimated at 72 millions, imports were of 5 millions and the price index was 127. Either the figures of production of 1960 are wrong or the Control and fiscal policies of government have prevented

people from obtaining the grain produced in the country. Since those who have no land or less than four acres, which is necessary to feed the family, form 78% of the population, the increase in prices paid by them of nearly 40%, must be laid at the door of the Government.

In respect of Industry, though the increased production is wholly from the Private Sector of which government did not think much before, the benefit to the public has been small, first because, in the monopoly conditions created by Government licences, prices have risen even more than the 10% admitted by the Finance Minister, steel, cement, sugar commanding nearly double the price in the blackmarket. Secondly industrial development of industries which have to import nearly all their raw materials and components with the result there are some which only use Indian water and labour, have firstly lost custom duties, which are lower for the components, secondly raised prices to more than double the world level in the absence of competition which can arise from import of finished articles. In any case, this industrial development has not been of articles in common demand.

The Finance Minister is astute enough to know that the taxes proposed by him must spur prices, as they are already doing. He probably thinks that this is only transitional for three reasons, first that grain prices because of abundance both of indigenous and imported supplies must fall and neutralise the rise in prices of other commodities. This may be true but it is neither fair nor wise to squeeze the agriculturists who form the body of the economy. Secondly the mercies shown to industrialists is expected to increase investment but this will depend first on the competition of the public sector being reduced, second on controls ceasing to strangle new enterprises and third on the threat of nationalisation being indubitably removed. Thirdly, the Minister expects that the increased Plan expenditure will somehow boost the economy. This is only possible if the expenditure employs the 45 idle millions, in productive work, which is not possible unless the Third Plan is completely changed from public to private enterprise, from capital intensive to labour intensive schemes.

The question, a very important one for the country is, whether the Finance Minister will alter the Third Plan, which the Prime Minister supports and the Budget, which he regards as his piece of ingenuity? An ascetic, living only half a life, he may not understand that the population of the country is human and expects return for work, in something more than hopes for the future. Logic may not convince him because in the Parliament there is only rhetoric for regional and party interests. The logic of facts, particularly in an election year may be more effective. And the facts are not only apparent in the

(Continued on page 10)

Consideration Of Some Basic Sociological Truths

By Laurence Labadie

THE central evil of all historically known civilizations is the misuse of the principle of property, or the exclusive control of persons, things, or actions. The origin of the impulse for the institutionalization of organized predatory coercive power grew out of ancient situations of absolute scarcity. Under such circumstances, the well-being of one or some individuals had necessarily to be obtained to the detriment of others, and conflicts naturally arose.

Once implanted as a *modus operandi* for the control of circumscribed areas, and the inhabitants therein, the eradication of the aggressive power establishments becomes virtually impossible. The reason is because, according to the line of least resistance, it is easier to follow precedent than to think; and always current thinking and impulse is done in terms of precedent. The master-slave relationship becomes entrenched as a "way of life" in all so-called "nations", and the consequences of this relationship inevitably and fatefully proceed toward the gradual degeneration of all the humans involved; and whatever the particular trappings which any regime may clothe itself with, the fundamental design remains the same—any differences between governments are mostly semantic.

Inherent in the dynamics of nationalism is ultimate clash of economic and military forces, the organs of predation and power. Those who aspire to achieve a *modus vivendi* between States are fatuously attempting the impossible.

Inherent in the drives of what is known as "capitalism" is imperialistic expansion. The two main factors of this drive are an interest-bearing money system and the consequent accumulations of investment capital which search for natural wealth in the earth, wherever it is located, as elements to exploit; and unlimited holdings of land as private property. Economic power begins to transcend the welfare of humans as a subconscious force which invokes many rationalizations not the least of which are protestations of moral respectability.

I have elsewhere indicated that State Socialism and Communism not only require semi-military operations for their inauguration, but are inherently military and predatory societies, or what is called totalitarian.

(Continued from page 9)

continued rise of prices but in the equally continued fall in incomes as revealed by the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry report and Sample Surveys, as also by the increasing number of beggars and pavement dwellers. If with the majority behind him, he ignores what any exercise of intelligence can disclose, he will doom the country and also his party at the next elections.

It is from the stresses arising from the resultant built-in conflicts of interest derived from the master-slave relationships of Statism that myriads of evils are effected, for the alleviation of which various groups form themselves into professions. These groups or professions thereafter have an entrenched interest in the very existence of the evils which form the source of their incomes, and thus are necessary for their very livelihood. Thus is inaugurated a self-aggravating system whose self-alleviating features become increasingly atrophied. The situation may progress beyond the point of no return, simply because of the static influences of Statism, and the consequent diminishment of Liberty with its ameliorative tendencies. Societies paradoxically seem to thrive on the very evils under which they suffer.

Politicians, preachers, physicians, psycho-therapists, lawyers, professors, pill manufacturers, social workers of every description, etc., whose *raison d'être* are the ills under which man suffers, most of which are effects, quite naturally have a stake in the existence of these evils, rather than their eradication. And indeed we may continue the list down to the last inhabitant all of whom to some degree or other constitute a working system, such as it is. There is an inherent contradiction in the very nature of things, and all the people involved are more or less victims.

That the process implied in the above leads to more and more prevalent, dangerous and catastrophic so-called "brinks", and eventually war, is becoming increasingly obvious. And since this process involves a trend toward totalitarianism as the need for more concentrated and coordinated power appears to be necessary for the preservation of respective power groupings, the inexorable and inevitable objective is the consolidation of power units, until they boil down into two opposing groups. Then it requires but a spark to get off actual conflict.

Heretofore the denouement of such conflicts has been the victory of one side over the other. The blind drive which enlists science into the services of power has, in this stage of historical development, invented the atomic bomb as an instrument of war and destruction. This invention has relegated to the garbage heap perhaps 90% of the rationalizations of so-called sociological theory or "knowledge". There is only one social philosophy which has emerged unscathed and actually vindicated by this development, and this is Anarchism, a social philosophy hardly over a century old.

The evils of antagonistic interests are attempted to be eradicated by recourse to communism, which inherently and even by definition makes every individual the slave of a hypothetical construction conceived as the collectivity. This recourse is almost as prevalent in so-called "free-enterprise" economies as in overtly collectivistic countries. The practical application of this doctrine requires the submission of each and every individual to the coercively imple-

mented decisions made by a centralized power group. This is an utterly vicious doctrine notwithstanding whatever good intentions may be held by its practitioners. It arose mainly, and maintains its virility, because of the love-and-concern relationship which exists between parents and children—because indeed of the fact that were it not for the operation of communistic principles, like “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need”, the human race couldn’t survive. It is this same principle which exists between parents and unweaned and incompetent infants and children. An adult who is emotionally addicted to this doctrine as a societary principle is obviously dominated by infantile urges.

The natural relation between adults is not the parasitism implied in communistic principles, but is rather in the increasing application of the principle of reciprocity. It is here that merit, as distinguished from need, receives its appropriate reward and becomes the predominating and necessary relationship if the human is to emerge from incompetency to competency. To do anything for anyone, especially a child, when that person is able or willing to attempt to do it for himself is to hamper and stunt his development, to retard his education, and to condemn him to immaturity. And if the practice be generalised, (as it progressively has been in America under the degenerating aegis of the Roosevelt regime), it is to contribute to the regression of the human race. The apparent increasing need to take care of the “health, education, and welfare” of the victims of an exploiting society, in order to preserve the system of exploitation, is undeniable evidence of social disintegration.

The natural evolutionary progress of societies, as of individuals, would or should be out of the incompetency of infancy toward the competence which finds expression only in liberty and reciprocity. That this progress can and has been contravened is one of the major features of history. In capitalistic countries it has been the owners of capital—bankers, industrialists, and commercial enterprises—who have been protected by privilege from competition, and who have fatuously deemed their successes in amassing wealth to be solely attributable to their competence, and who do not want their privileges disturbed by any attempts by government to heal the ravages which their privileged and monopolistic prerogatives have been responsible for.

Dangerously aggravating the societary habit of recourse to power of coercion as a modus operandi for the conduct of societies is the theory of the culpability of man, which is the central doctrine of most religious faiths. For if man is guilty he is blameable and punishable and subject to elimination. It is with this viewpoint that governments and religions have looked upon what they considered refractory individuals, and which has caused them to use indoctrination, intimidation, torture and murder, in order to maintain themselves as institutions. And it is with this mutual viewpoint that peoples, under the aegis of religions and governments ruling over them, face each other today. The political, military, and religious coterie speak in a gangster frame of reference, and with a gangster psychology—it is “we” against “them”—and to expect that such characters, or the institutions

they man, are going to change the course of events is the utmost limit of incredulity and imbecility. For it is more than obvious that it is precisely within this frame of reference that the prevailing threatening confrontation finds its reason for existence.

Elsewhere I have made note that no individual who ever lived asked to be born, and had no say whatever about whom his parents were to be, nor what combination of genes and chromosomes he was to be endowed with, nor what time or circumstance he was to be placed into, nor indeed whether he was to be fish, fowl, or fauna—that he was to be cudged by the institutionalized imbecilities of his ancestors because of the habit and conservativeness of man who in his terrors is so fearful of change—and to call these individuals guilty in the ordinary sense of this term can only be the work of theologians who foolishly or by design impart the fears and feelings of guilt to others and virtually erect into a dogma the vicious theory that man is the enemy of man (the good guy—bad guy theory).

The truth is quite otherwise. Man merely wants to live, and if in his ignorance he allowed to be established Church and State to be the authorities ruling over him, by bamboozlement and violence, he is unfortunately the victim of his own stupidity, and not of his malice. Why man does not now get rid of these thoroughly vicious institutions that are crucifying him can only be laid to the force of habit, and to the fact that now these institutions have him in almost inextricable thralldom. That billions of individuals do not comprehend the criminal nature of these institutions, but actually believe them to be beneficent, does not make them so in fact. This belief, I may say, has foundation not in truth, but sheer ignorance.

As stated before, practically all of our prevailing imbecilities arose out of long past conditions of absolute scarcity; and that now, like a snowball rolling down hill gathers mass and momentum, governments have reached the stage of being soulless monsters, with no hesitation whatever of mowing down anyone who presumes to dispute their validity. It is not because of the nature of the persons who man them, but because of the nature of the institutions themselves. These cancerous criminal organizations have spread their influence throughout the whole social body, with the result that perhaps 75% of all human activity is downright nonsensical, with everyone stupidly playing the role into which he inadvertently has been cast, and hardly a single individual in this benighted world, as far as I can make out, having an iota of sense or understanding of what it is all about. Practically all of the busybodies and self-styled reformers and revolutionists are attempting to treat effects, or to manufacture new systems embodying the same imbecilities under which they now suffer. Individual liberty is being crucified and annihilated by professional and amateur meddlers, not the least of whom are the subsidized and prostituted nincompoops who, while trying to preserve the old chains or forge new ones, label the new manacles as ‘freedoms.’ We thus see the paradox of such professional reformers and revolutionists quite naturally thriving on the absence of liberty.

Nuisance And Mr. Nehru

(From Our Correspondent)

A SPECIAL committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party has, by a majority of five votes to two, endorsed the proposal to put a legal ban on the participation of communal parties in elections. The committee also recommended to the general body of the Party that the proposed ban should be enforced only after the next General Election. The reasons advanced for deferring enactment of the "necessary" legislation are as unconvincing as the proposal itself. The committee says there is not enough time to take the necessary legislative steps. Not much time is needed to enact legislation or even to amend the Constitution. The other reason advanced by the Committee is that the Party must avoid giving the impression that it is trying to stifle political opposition which it cannot counter. How can the Party avoid giving that impression by deferring the proposed legislation by a year or two? Indeed, the Party will be giving that impression much more clearly when it enacts the necessary legislation after the political opposition has gained in strength, as is likely to be the case after the next general election. All that the Congress Party will then be able to say is that it had thought of the legislation when it was much stronger.

The fact of the matter would appear to be that the Congress expects to come back to the legislatures in strength somewhat reduced at the next general election, but at the rate at which it is losing ground it is not quite sure of being returned to power at the general election after the next. Therefore the proposal to defer the enactment of the required legislation till after the general election. It seems that the decision was given by Mr. Nehru to Mr. Jain, who is good at command performances. After his visit of inquiry to Assam, he reported what his chief wanted him to. To keep up appearances he had to go through the farce of going to Assam and visiting different places there. He is the same Jain who is being pressed by Mr. Nehru for the presidentship of the U.P. Congress, hitch over which has delayed the "election" of the new President.

CART BEFORE THE HORSE

In supporting the move for legally banning parties "with religious and communal denominations", the majority of the committee deliberately disagreed with the Law Ministry's opinion that a law to ban communal parties would be ultra vires of the Constitution. But the committee is reported to have added that, if the Law Ministry is right, there should be no difficulty in amending the relevant Articles of the Constitution.

In its brief report the committee stated that communal parties could be divided into two categories: one consisting of those who openly advertise themselves by adopting communal or religious names and

the other consisting of those which adopted secular names but pursued pernicious policies of fostering communal hatred and conflict. "Fostering communal hatred and conflict" is a matter of opinion. Jinnah was for long of the opinion that the National Congress was doing so and it was a Hindu body in a national garb. And what about the fountain source of communal hatred—the religious sacred books which preach communal hatred? So long as they are there doing their job, communal hatred will persist, be a matter of chain reaction, exercise its influence over the mind of the people and thus influence the elections.

To enable the Election Commission to determine whether a political party was communal or not, the committee has suggested the appointment of a high-powered and impartial advisory body. But who can be more impartial than Congressmen in matters communal? At least Congressmen assuredly think so. In any case, since the Congress Government is to nominate the "impartial" body, its choice is bound to fall on Congressmen and those who think like them. The fact is that in framing the constitution the Congress put the cart before the horse by making a secular constitution for a religious people and then doing nothing to make the people also secular. Even in Europe, the most highly advanced continent, there are parties with religious and sectarian labels. A very complex problem has been sought to be dealt with in a perfunctory manner by a body utterly incompetent to deal with it. That sums up the truth about the committee and its findings.

AN AMAZING CONDITION

Intervening in the Lok Sabha in the debate on the demands of grants for the Defence Ministry, Mr. Nehru said some of the charges made about Army promotions might be based on "misguided judgment" but most of them were based on "completely wrong facts" supplied to members by some people. And he proceeded to observe, "If even now members opposite, who have made these charges, tell me what their sources of information are, I may give them the actual information." This is, indeed, an amazing condition. Does the Prime Minister realise what the effect would be of the Opposition members giving away their sources of information? The result would be to dry up their sources altogether and incidentally render the opposition entirely ineffective. (Perhaps that is exactly what the Prime Minister wants. His almost unparliamentary reference to the Opposition leader as a 'nuisance' almost suggests that.) For who would care to come and give any information to any Opposition member if he knows or suspects that his name will be given away by the MP concerned, or that the latter would act as an official of the CID? Journalists have gone to

prison rather than part with the sources of their information.

Apart from the fact that the betrayal invited by Mr. Nehru would be a piece of melancholy meanness on the part of the betraying member, for such information is always given in confidence, how is the source of information relevant to the issue or the giving of the actual information by the Prime Minister? What difference would it make whether the information was given by A or B or C or D? It makes no difference at all. It is always for the MP concerned to assess the information he gets. The Prime Minister's motive in asking for the source of information, was, to say the least, undemocratic.

Mr. Nehru also said, "Now he (Acharya Kripalani) used, as it happens, identical language (in asking for an inquiry committee) which a retired Army Officer used when he put forward that very proposal to me." If the language used was identical, Mr. Nehru should have made sure before using the word "identical" by comparing the words used by the Acharya with the words in the written proposal and reproducing those of the latter. If Mr. Nehru was only trusting his memory, he should not have used the word "identical". Mr. Kripalani, however, took the ground away from beneath the feet of the Prime Minister by saying he had also suggested a committee of inquiry composed of members of Parliament. The Prime Minister then went back to his demand for his source of information, which he reiterated unabashed.

"NUISANCE TO THE HOUSE"

Even more offensive was the word "nuisance" used by the Prime Minister in respect of Acharya Kripalani. The Prime Minister said it was not too difficult a matter for Acharya Kripalani to ascertain facts from him. "I would have gladly given him the facts," he said. On this Acharya Kripalani said he could not go to the Prime Minister who was busy and make a nuisance of himself. Mr. Nehru retorted:

"Acharya Kripalani says, he does not want to make a nuisance of himself to me. Why then do it here in the House? It is better to be a nuisance to me than to the House."

If an Opposition Member goes to the Prime Minister, over the head of the Cabinet Minister concerned, as suggested by Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister would be perfectly within his rights to tell him, "Don't make a nuisance of yourself. I am a busy man." Mr. Nehru is well-known for his temper. He has himself been advertising it. In fact some people say he has made a bugbear of himself. Why then should any man with any self-respect go out of his way and try to see the Prime Minister to get some information from him? And in the process invite insult? What is Parliament for? Mr. Kripalani was only discharging his duty as an Opposition member of Parliament. It is the main business of the Opposition to make a nuisance of itself to the Government but it is the height of unmannerliness to refer to a member discharging his plain duty as a nuisance. Mr. Nehru has got into the habit of regarding every one who disagrees with him as a nuisance. No wonder there was a wave of interruption from the Praja Socialist members, many of whom sought to raise a point of order or a point of privilege, but the Speaker silenced them by saying,

"We will call a special session of Parliament, if necessary, to discuss any matter of privilege. Let any member who wants to raise it, write to me."

The Prime Minister's use of the word 'nuisance' for Acharya Kripalani only shows that his onslaught on Army promotions (which he had read from a prepared speech after Mr. Desai's warning that such criticism of the Defence Ministry might lead to a calamity) had gone home.

A SENSITIVE KING

In his New Year message King Mahendra of Nepal regretted: "Some people outside our country are still indulging in all sorts of misleading propaganda based on lies and invented by imagination." He did not identify these people but proceeded to observe, "We have also no hesitation in saying that, if anybody still has dreams of making our country a playground of his whims and fancies, he is in a dreamland." This is interpreted here as an indirect reference to Indians and Mr. Nehru, who has however not given any expression to any such dreams, even if he has them. Our Ambassadors in Nepal have been making some mistakes according to reports of Indian Press correspondents, with the connivance and the permission of the Governments of India and Nepal—the reference is to the previous Nepal Government—leading the Nepal King to suspect that somebody has dreams of making Nepal a playground of his whims and fancies. In view of those mistakes, it is all the more desirable for the Indian Press and leaders to be most cautious in their references to events in Nepal and to suppress their ideological enthusiasm for the sake of the very ideology they hold dear.

An even greater reason for the self-imposed reticence that is needed is that we Indians cannot afford to have enemies all round, or lay ourselves open to the charge of imperialism. The Nepal King proposes for the time being to march forward with the "goal of basic democracy" suited to our national aspirations and build from the bottom". The Congress demand (in embryo) for banning participation of communal organisations in elections would appear to suggest that this building from the bottom is something that has been neglected in India, with the result that the personality cult reigns supreme and somebody or the other is able to make the country a playground of his whims and fancies. We are indebted to the King of Nepal for summing up inadvertently the history of India of the last forty years in a few words.

Book Review

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE-SYSTEM AND ITS ROLE IN BRINGING FOREIGN RULE IN INDIA: By S. S. Arakeri: Published by the Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road (West), Bombay-4, Price 40 nP.

This is a prize essay which won the first place in a competition instituted for young men by the Libertarian Social Institute. It is indicative of the workings of the mind of the younger generation in India on the all important caste question. The essay is filled with quotations from the writings of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M. N. Roy, Dr. G. S. Ghurye and Mr. Frank Moraes. On the question of the origin and features

of the caste system and the way to end this evil the author is inclined to agree with Dr. Ambedkar and rejects the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi. In the author's opinion not only did the caste system pave the way for the advent of foreign rule in India but it led ultimately to the partition of the country resulting in the massacre of thousands of men, women and children and in the uprooting and rendering homeless of millions of families. Mr. Arakeri opines that the rule of the Muslims and the British were really boons to the Indian people. It was under the protection of foreign rule that the Sudras and the Untouchables slowly regained their humanity and self-respect and gained freedom from the oppressive domination of the Brahmins and the higher castes.

He says: "Thousands of downtrodden people embraced Islam and Christianity in which they regained their self-respect and social status which were withheld from them, because of their low caste and freed themselves from the octopus clutches of the caste-system. In a word, the British rule immobilised the power of the caste-councils and transferred it to the courts established by the Government".

It was the British rule that created the emotion of patriotism among the people, while formerly such a sentiment was unknown and all altruistic feelings began and ended with the service of the caste.

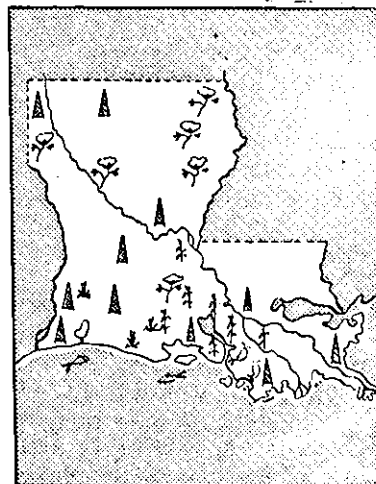
The reason why Mr. Arakeri rejects Mahatma Gandhi's solution of the problem of untouchability is that the Mahatma to the end of his days was a supporter of the caste system. Even when the evils of

caste were made patent to him by his admirers and friends he said that such evils were merely superficial and that the spirit of caste was **Varnashrama Dharma** which was, he claimed, a scientific principle and was supported by modern discoveries in genetics and sociology. Gandhi did not see the elementary fact that the Indian social structure was built by a graded system of social value acquired at birth with the Brahmin occupying the highest place and the Untouchables the lowest. It is a pyramid with the Brahmin at the apex and the Untouchable at the base. The entire pyramidal structure must be smashed before untouchability can be abolished. Dr. Ambedkar says "In the opinion of Mr. Gandhi, the caste-system is a natural order of society. How can untouchables believe Mr. Gandhi to be their friend when he wishes to retain caste and abolish untouchability, if being quite clear that untouchability is only an extended form of caste and that therefore without abolition of caste there is no hope of abolition of untouchability? In short, Gandhism with its call of 'back to nature', means back to nakedness, back to squalor, back to poverty and back to ignorance for the vast mass of the people".

It is good that the younger generation in India is thinking in the direction of discarding Gandhi's teachings and is acquiring the boldness to follow the path of sanity indicated by Dr. Ambedkar. Let us hope that more and more people will adopt the line of thinking of Mr. Arakeri. —S. Ramanathan

VISIT TO AMERICA

by Tom Jones



PARTING—Jol must resume his trip to New Orleans and Ford has a number of sales calls to make. As they part, Ford gives Jol a sport shirt. "This is a sample of my company's newest line. I hope you will enjoy wearing it," he says. Jol wants to pay for the shirt, but Ford explains it is accepted practice to give free samples of merchandise to prospective clients—"and you'll be good advertising for us, wearing it!"

GULF OF MEXICO—As Jol reaches the top of the Florida peninsula and turns west toward New Orleans, the highway skirts the 700,000-square-mile Gulf of Mexico. Actually part of the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico is almost surrounded by the U.S. and Mexico (see inset map). Jol's route will take him across the southern tips of the State of Alabama Mississippi.

LOUISIANA—Often called the "Creole State," because many of its inhabitants are descendants of early French and Spanish settlers, Louisiana is the leading sugar- and rice-growing State in the U.S. It also ranks high in production of cotton, oil, and seafood. The seaports of New Orleans and Baton Rouge are among the busiest in North America.

Gleanings from the Press

WHAT A PRIME MINISTER! WHAT A REGIME!

I recollect a talk I had with Lord Attlee (then Mr. Attlee) at his house eleven years ago when he was Prime Minister. He explained that the exercise of the right of the majority party to rule was only a part of the functioning of democracy. Its more valuable feature was the role played by minority dissent. The great honour paid to minority dissent as a source of constructive wisdom is the distinguishing mark of the British parliamentary system of government, he said. Mr. Nehru has yet to learn the A.B.C. of such a system for all his fourteen years of Prime Ministership. When the Chinese made incursions into the country he hid the fact from public knowledge. Twelve thousand square miles have been lost to the aggressor. No military action has been taken to recover the lost territory. It has been surrendered for good to the enemy. Yet we rush troops to Congo to set right matters there. Now comes the crowning outrage on commonsense with our Prime Minister going in for tutelege in border defence to the greatest friend and ally of the very aggressor against whom the country is to be defended. This is like handing over the key of national defence to the enemy himself! For a fraction of these wild betrayals of the national interest and safety, a British Prime Minister would have found that no majority could save him. After so much of failure in the elementary duty of saving the national frontiers, and worse still, outrageous flouting of commonsense exposing the country to more danger, we find the Prime Minister blaming his critics for "wild talk", indulging in offensive disparagement of their judgments and capacities. What a Prime Minister! What a regime!

—Saka in Swarajya.

News & Views

FACING BOTH WAYS

The Congress seems to have recently gird up its loins to fight, what it calls, "communalism". Speaking quite recently Mr. Nehru said:—"Minority communalism is bad, but it can be understood. Majority communalism is unpardonable."

—A News Item.

Well could Mr. Nehru have said: "The Congress winks at and tolerates minority communalism."

AT THE CRACK OF THE WHIP BY SOVIET RING-MASTER

Vijayawada: Mr. Mikhail Suslov, the Chief of the Soviet Observer group, attending the Indian communist congress, who took copious notes of the congress deliberations, successfully prevailed upon the Indian communists to relegate to the background the controversial Sino-Indian border issue.

—Times of India.

After which the sheep and the goats of the Indian "commies" nodded their heads, and stopped their bleatings. How "Indian" is the CPI?

MENON'S "LATEST"

Washington: In an editorial entitled, "TAINTED CONTRIBUTION", the "Washington Post", a jour-

nal generally favourable to India, has this to say about the latest performance of the "darling" of Mr. Nehru, Krishna Menon:—

"Some preposterous nonsense has emanated from Mr. Krishna Menon about the criticism of Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal."

It adds: "The other day Mr. Menon called upon the American delegation to the U.N. to disavow malicious attacks upon Mr. Dayal in the press as not representing the views of the American Government or the people. Properly has the "Times of India" reminded that neither in India nor in USA is the Government responsible for the actions of an independent press.

"Apart from utter misunderstanding of the roles of the press and the Government what is significant about Mr. Menon's remarks is the tendency to personalize the criticism of Mr. Dayal. This is similar to the broad hunt by Mr. Nehru that unless Mr. Dayal is retained in the Congo Indian troop contribution may be reconsidered.

"Whether Mr. Dayal stays or is replaced is a decision for Mr. Hammarskjöld to make, but the net effect of Mr. Menon's remarks, coupled with other statements in New Delhi, is to convey the unfortunate impression that India's support of U.N. presence in the Congo is conditioned upon the retention of an Indian as the U.N. representative."

Once again Menon has acted as a "Red" commissar, and not as the representative of a democratic India.

A CRUEL DILEMMA

Two fears fill us with dread. The first fear is that war will break out, killing millions of people, destroying billions worth of property, and wrecking what is left of a once free society. The second fear is that peace will break out and bring our vaunted material prosperity crushing down to earth. There is an untenable assumption in the fear of peace, but it is accepted, the dilemma is a cruel one. The desire for material well-being is legitimate, but the dilemma spells out in something like the following three stages:—

Material well-being depends on an arms-race; an arms-race is likely to actuate into a hot war; a hot war is a device, guaranteed to end prosperity and threaten our very survival. Here's a series whose first term is a natural desire for wellbeing; but whose last term cancels out everything which precedes it.

—Edmund A. Opitz in Freeman.

HOW CLEAN ARE THE CONGRESS RULERS?

Sometime back, the Congress High Command ordered the Congress Ministers and the Congress legislators to submit annually a list of their assets and incomes. Mr. D. Sanjeeviah, the Chief Minister of Andhra, has submitted "a clean bill of health". He states that he has no assets worth mentioning since his whole salary is just sufficient to maintain his large family.

As against this, only 12, out of a 250-list of Congress legislators, have submitted their lists, despite repeated reminders from the authorities. The Chief Minister was the first to submit the statement.

Whether Ministers and legislators of other States have submitted their statements is anybody's guess.

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

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

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

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

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

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



Write to :

THE MANAGER
THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4

Telephone : 70205

Telegram : LOTEWALLA